WAR ECHOES

OR

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA IN THE CRISIS

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OR

Germany and Austria in the Crisis

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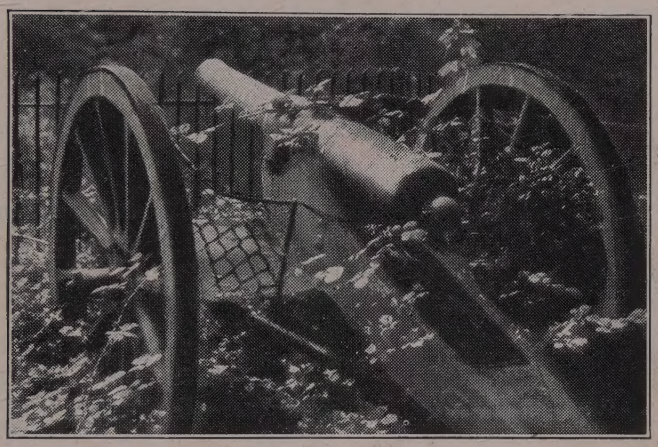

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THE WORLD WAR

BY

GEORGE WILLIAM HAU, A. M.

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PREFACE

WHAT THIS BOOK IS.

"Behold the true warriors; they are not quick to shrink, are not defiant, nor eager for fight, but when they are forced to fight, then have a care, they are in earnest."—Luther. (From the Fatherland, New York, April 28, 1915.)

War Echoes gives you a systematic presentation and interpretation of *Official Documents, Newspaper and Magazine Articles, Addresses, Lectures, Debates, Discussions, Editorials,* a thoroughgoing *Preface* with contributions from the Editor, with articles, discussions, comment, etc.; with comment on subject-matter included—and all, of course, in connection with the present European conflict, from the time of the assassination of the Archduke and the Duchess of Austria; the book is well illustrated, includes many good *Maps,* an analytical *Table of Contents,* an alphabetical *List of Contributors,* showing their choicest articles, and a complete *Index.* This book is the one, and only complete answer to the many questions asked and discussed throughout the civilized world on this subject.

HOW THE TASK WAS CONCEIVED.

The tremendous power of the American press, creating, and feeding upon popular notions and sentiments concerning the aims and conduct of certain European nations, and, I very much fear, only too often stooping to policies working to the great injury of certain persons and institutions for private gain through the misfortunes of others, which was especially so during the first months of the present conflict—impelled me to throw all my energies and spirit into the work of defending a people whose reputation and character we well know, in whom we have always had and still cherish a splendid *Faith* and in which *Faith* we shall abide until sufficient evidence compels us to give this *Faith* up as not well founded. I say *we* advisedly, because I regard my task in this connection as merely that of a collaborator with the many staunch defenders of the same cause and *Faith* which I cherish and champion. For instance, note what the Chicago Abendpost says of this:

"WAR ECHOES or GERMANY AND AUSTRIA IN THE CRISIS should be in the home of every American citizen who still holds to the idea of fair play in politics."—The Abendpost, Chicago, January 23, 1915.

It is very simple and clear to me how this task was plainly forced upon *us* through the overwhelming mass of untruthful, insulting and calumnious reports of a people whom we know too well to accept the hasty, nervous accusations, in the light of the spirit and circumstances of the evidence!

THE MISSION AND PROMISE OF THE BOOK.

Its Mission.

This suggests the *Mission* of the book, which is clear, and frankly to defend Germany and Austria in the present crisis, a high privilege and plain duty, as I see my relation to the situation, which has very plainly been forced upon all of us who believe in fair play, honor at home and justice abroad! We cannot escape this duty until every American citizen will be ready to grant to all belligerents the same open and generous hearing alike, and until we will be persuaded to strike a plane of a high moral and spiritual attitude in dealing with belligerents now and hereafter. I appreciate the technical position that we cannot very well pass a law now since the trouble is on, that would not work to the inevitable detriment of one of the contestants in the war, which would be equivalent to an *ex post facto* in common law; I am now appealing for a standing policy for my country in the future. Yet, why could we not do what Jefferson did with England and France, and what President Wilson did with Mexico a year ago? I am not criticizing, I am honestly asking for information. At any rate, we should at least not condemn a people or a nation until we have given all the witnesses in the case an opportunity to be heard if we must judge and condemn! It is with an open mind, a good conscience, and a glad heart that we are looking forward to the fulfillment of this important *Mission* of the undertaking!

Can you give a clear account of the German-Austrian and Serbian-Russian Balkan Policies, the Principles upon which the present heart-rending calamity was precipitated? Can you discuss the Historical Background of these Policies, the recent European History, especially that of the nations at war, the interests of the several nations that led to the present political alignment in Europe and elsewhere, the attitude of the neutral nations and the so-called neutrals? This book meets this demand absolutely.

My Fatherland First

My Fatherland First, the only possible meaning of Deutschland, Deutschland Ueber Alles.

This idea is further well expressed by the beautiful and strikingly patriotic Spirit of the Poem and Song, and also in the evident meaning of—"* * * from the Maas clear to the Memel, from the Etsch on to the Belt * * *"

This truth, as the very essence of poetry and song, must be experienced psychologically, not logically. My Fatherland First, is the real meaning of the poem, and I feel certain the author would confirm this conviction. Is there a man so dull as to find fault with his neighbor because of his neighbor's sentiment attached to his family, when he eulogizes the many virtues of the mother of his happy children: "She is the best and most beautiful creature God ever created!" Certainly nobody in his right mind would call him either a fool or a conceited, ambitious neighbor! We must know how to make allowances for expressions from so deep a source! And this is precisely a parallel case, as against the stupid, ugly rendering of this song, which we have seen so often recently, "Germany Above All"; both of these expressions have their life in spirit and love, the one in the love of Home, the other in the love of Country!

The Promise.

The book was to be ready to be sent on its important *Mission* soon after May first, but practical problems over which the Editor and Publisher had little control, have prevented this until the latter part of July; and now we cherish the hope that it will meet with a hearty welcome! For our good German and Austro-Hungarian sympathizers we need no argument to point out the importance of the undertaking; for these of our good citizens, suffice it to say that in this book we meet with the first and only serious attempt to assist the "Fatherland" more by disparaging her enemies less, but also by bringing her side of the story to the good people, the rank and file of Americans in the *American Language!* Moreover, by going into the various factors of the subject extensively, systematically, and scientifically! Civilized people cannot systematically believe in vilification, but it's just the best of physicians who use strong medicine at times, when intemperance and abuse have sent their poison coursing through a body; the enemy must be met in his own lair by the employment of his own methods and weapons. We do not delight in giving a rascal of his own medicine, but sometimes this seems to be the only recourse. Germans, Austro-Hungarians and their sympathizers do not require an argument; all they have been expecting is *facts, truths, fair play, justice!*

Now to those good Americans who sympathize with the European alignment of the opposition, permit me to say this solemn and serious word: the cause of your hearts—and the people in Europe that represent this cause in a last human effort to force their will, have had easily ninety per cent of the attention of American periodicals, England having been in a position to reap the benefit of this, whether it was justly earned or not. Capital and diplomacy go far in such crises, especially so when they can be employed in the language of the country, in a country having similar institutions, having the same political ancestry, etc. Then consider the first offices of the nation that have easily a thousand social-political and family bonds in the United Kingdom to one in Germany or Austria! How many of German and Austrian birth or near lineage are in our Congress, in the Cabinet? You have the further tremendous advantage in the fact of your faith in democratic ideas and institutions, viewing all types of Socialists with a sense of sympathy, fear, or pity!

Money, power, prestige, the popularity of the cause of the democratic alignment, with which you most naturally sympathize, the *Talleyrand* type of diplomacy, the more or less popular or catchy character of democratic literature, and finally, but by no means of less importance, the many things you *know* (?) and *feel* of what has happened and still is going on in Europe on the subject in question, which have neither foundation in fact nor truth! Therefore, let us be considerate and generous, and let us reason with you and appeal to you! Read at least such portions of the book as deal with the *character* and *honor* of the enemy! Let us show with a genuine pride that we have real chivalry! At least let us read the most excellent articles from Dr. Burgess, Dr. Schevill, Dr. Henderson, Dr. Fullerton, Dr. Sanborn, Judge Grosscup, and many others from equally prominent and worthy American scholars, and then let us talk the question over again, quietly! Read especially *Chapter I* on the *Causes of the War*, and look carefully into Germany's recent History. Let us show these nations at war that we Americans can at least show a spirit of *Fair Play* in an hour so trying to them! Not one of us would even have his personal enemy maligned or condemned without a fair trial! I venture to say that German sympathizers in America have learned much by having been obliged to content themselves with but a very meager sympathetic attention on the part of the American press, public utterances and the public spirit, and that they have had these things constantly before their eyes: it is not unlikely that you would reap a similar benefit by showing your good will and your spirit of fairness toward this question!

This book promises to meet the requirements of the American public for honor at home and justice abroad, as suggested by Herman Ridder:

"The feeling against Germany in this war in the United States is largely sentimental. It had its beginning in the violent utterance of British writers against the personality of the Emperor and in the greater pity for Belgium—harped so largely upon by England."—Herman Ridder, in the New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung, Jan. 4, 1915.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE WAR.

Our Neutrality—Official and Popular.

We have been most solemnly enjoined by the President to remain neutral during the European conflict, especially in that nobler, finer, subtle, spiritual neutrality. Accordingly we should refrain from speaking, yea, even from feeling and thinking partially on the subject, while many may be permitted to send munitions of war, when it is evident that only one side of the contestants can take advantage of such shipments! And this may be done while our foodstuff, clothing and shelter materials receive but shabby protection on their way to the civilian population of some of the belligerents! First, an element of the American press, pseudo-democratic and pro-British, did untold damage toward poisoning the innocent heart and mind of the American masses, and then, to cap the climax, we cannot prevent war munitions from going to the very maligners of a people whose case is still in court, and thus use us to add injury to insult to a people who have not yet had a full opportunity to be heard, and that is all they expect from a "Neutral" country! I often wonder if our American newspaper writers have ever read this proclamation! If they have, they certainly have not taken the President seriously. Of course, to send munitions of war, in the face of this proclamation, is, technically not unneutral, but hardly chivalrous, noble, American! But, to cap the real climax, that is reserved for an Englishman, a great rhetorician of fantastic figures of speech and a mental gymnast, Hall Caine: this man has the audacity to take it upon himself to reprove the President for his plea for strict neutrality and attempts to show Mr. Wilson, according to the reports of the local papers, how to work for justice, righteousness and humanity, by joining the British fighting forces!

It is furthermore my plain duty to state here, now, and in unmistakable terms, that I have not been able to approve of all that individual and collective German-Austrian sympathizers in this country have said or done in connection with the war. I shall speak of the various debatable questions in their proper, respective places in the Preface and also in the notes and in my articles in the book.

The People and their Governments.

Let us regard it our *Moral Duty* to try to understand that the *People*, especially in a non-democratic country, are much less or often very little to blame for governmental conduct: this applies especially to the *People of Belgium*, since I have it on good authority, from several sources, and from my own observations in Belgium, that the *People* were not to blame, for not even the general officials of all the three countries were "let in on the deal" of the secret "conversations." In one, a most flagrant case, not even a member of the British Parliament knew of the obligation to France, much less to Belgium! Are we surprised, therefore, when we hear of the resignations of high officials! I feel morally certain that, had it been left to the *Belgian People* to decide for themselves whether or not they should place their fate into the hands of Great Britain, they would have preferred to continue as they were, or at least consult Germany and Holland in regard to her course. Perhaps the *German People* would have done likewise, under ordinary circumstances, but once they understood the meaning of the alignment against them, without quibbling or exhortation, the *German People* would have voted war to a man! That is the difference; there is a reason!

We Don't Want Germany to Win.

One of the strongest reasons why people favor the sending of war materials to Germany's enemies, while dissatisfaction is heard everywhere because of the poor protection American shipments of food supplies for the German civilian population receive, is, as they say, "We don't want Germany to win"! Of course, they call that neutrality! The poll of the American press canvassed and reported by the Literary Digest showed the same spirit and results; it is the spirit of the country and the people, reflected by the press.

Here neutrality ends; I do not want to be found guilty of this spirit and deed. I am merely trying to do justice; this is our plain duty, not to take sides, beyond championing fair play and justice! Whatever our efforts, then, they must make for honor at home and justice abroad! We would, furthermore, be loyal and responsible citizens, and, therefore, we always wish to be found in a position in which we can support any and every vital government policy without stint, with courage, patriotism, and spirit, without fear or favor. But as there is filial, so is there also parental responsibility. A democratic government must certainly expect its people to take part in shaping its policy in such a way that the people may support it loyally, at all times, without question; as a faithful citizen, I want to be in a position to say at any time that nothing will stop me from supporting my country; that is why I am making sacrifices with this study for our common good! Is this clear to you? It is *American First,* and if no declaration is made to the contrary, this policy should always be supported without question!

This partisanship and the private interests at work in this country, making money by feeding the war-fire for more victims to the ghastly holocaust, have prolonged the frightful slaughter, and will continue to do so; many sensible people are now beginning to see that it is becoming more and more urgingly our duty to discontinue this sort of war-fare as neutrals, individually as well as collectively, since the inevitable result is becoming clearer from day to day!

Why Our Position is Difficult.

Let me mention some plain, practical reasons why the people of the United States have generally sympathized with the Democratic Alignment; certainly not because of, but assuredly in spite of our repeated disappointing experiences with Great Britain; compare, for instance, our relation with Germany, in history, with that of Great Britain! Consider the advantage of our common language, and consequently the power of the American press, though this is, in my humble judgment, not the only reason for the conduct of the press! Compare the similarity of our institutions and our governmental ancestry; in other words, democracy, and hence our sympathy, especially for France. But out of this grows also the peculiar democratic faith in numbers, majorities! The statement is *general:* "Why would so many be against Germany, if she were not wrong?" This is a question often asked in good faith. You know this is no uncommon argument, either in war between nations or political wars within the very borders of democratic countries. Of course, these people never heard of the great American Statesman who preferred to be right to being President! Then comes the natural, practical problem of getting something good for the papers! The American likes to be with the winning side, being an opportunist, hence here he can make it count, there being much at stake! Don't shudder because of purely business interests involved, for the press: our domestic political relations, right here at home, are *not even* free from these considerations, how do you expect love to extend beyond national boundaries when we don't even find it at home; love as charity begins there!

The Difficult Position of the Third Party.

The careful manipulation of the series of events on the part of Germany's enemies, to bring her to a place where it was certain she would protest, and that by force, if need be, and to try to make out that she sought war, when she was seeking self-protection and the protection of her ally, only, ought to convince even the most prejudiced! The situation is always presented by Germany's enemies that Germany could have conciliated the question of Austria's rights and duties, as if to say, *we* are *always* ready to compromise or arbitrate any question in dispute with our neighbors. If this were sincere, why did not England call a halt on Russian mobilization! That would have settled it all, in one stroke, and England could have done this as easily as Germany, dealing with Austria in connection with Serbia, accomplishing the same end. And what offense had Germany committed in comparison to the Russian *trick* in mobilization! Or, why did France or Russia not arbitrate? There is one alternative: England's cause for war was just, Germany's not! Don't say Belgium! It is now common knowledge that England would not remain neutral, by her own admission in the *Diplomatic Correspondence,* even if Belgian territory were not invaded; and again, as for the respect for Belgian neutrality, which was by this time registered on a mere "scrap of paper," Great Britain made it clear in the famous "Conversations" that her 160,000 troops would land on the continent, Belgium willing or not, as anyone may see for himself in Chapter II of this book. What noble or righteous impulse has urged France into the war, anyway? Revenge; what more! And if Germany and Austria do not look after their own interests, which no one can understand better than they do themselves, who would? In short, if there was a lack of willingness to arbitrate the question, then the Allies certainly have enough sweeping to do at their doors!

Why I Defend Germany.

From Germany's reply to Grey, as to Germany's motives: "Germany is not fighting to subdue the continent, but for her own independence and the freedom of the seas, and for all nationals who are bulldozed by the English navy."—From the Milwaukee Free Press, who quoted from the Nord Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, March 27, 1915.

My defense of the German cause, which is bound up with that of the Austro-Hungarian empire, is very simple, natural and reasonable; I am first of all a good American and have an honest and deep desire for genuine neutrality, according to the *Spirit* as well as the *Letter of the Law.* At least one American manufacturer has made a practical demonstration of his genuine neutrality, when he sets the example by refusing millions to contribute munitions of war. See Stevenson (John J.)—in the Index. This is what Mr. Stevenson says of this change in his life:

"The last time we made war munitions was for the United States government about eight years ago. We manufactured about 119,000 shells." Then came the conversion, I take it! "I then joined Andrew Carnegie's Peace Society—and have been an active member ever since. It is so much better to make things that are useful to mankind than to make things that destroy mankind."—Thus speaks one of the American manufacturers, John J. Stevenson, President of the Driggs-Seabury Ordnance Corporation.

See also: "Our Neutrality" in this circular. He is the noble President of the Driggs-Seabury Ordnance Corporation. Three cheers for Stevenson! It's a desire for *Fair Play,* for *Justice!* As usual for me, I am with the unpopular cause; and in this particular I am quite un-American for I glory in championing the maligned, the insulted, the hated person, institution or people, and especially so, when fear, revenge, power, ambition, are the *Virtues* arrayed against them, when such is the answer to an invitation to natural normal competition between the nations! What is the use to talk about neutrality when the spirit of the press and people is arrayed against them, even if we try to "toe the mark," according to the letter of the law, at Washington. Germans and Germany are human, however, and I am not defending them in their errors, wrongs or sins: I leave that to the teachers, the government, and the priest; to the world-Tribunal, and their God: and as for pointing them out, I think I could hardly improve upon what has been done during the past eight months! It is the palpably *one-sided* situation in *Spirit* that is un-American, unfair, un-neutral! It is this that I deplore and denounce, and this I do as a faithful American!

This is a move in the right direction; why do not our millions of good Christian people who pompously talk "Humanity" set for themselves the personal, private, individual task and plain duty to convert more of these individuals to a full sense of the realization of what their business in the ammunition traffic means! The government cannot now well pass a specific enactment dealing with this question for reasons above stated, but we can make it a private question which will work as far, at least, as it works. A law by the Federal government, indicating the future policy on this point, will certainly be duly considered when the war is over. It is a little inopportune to discuss what we might have done or could do in the future. But very clearly and plainly we must see our present duty and responsibility.

A great Mass-Meeting of Sympathizers for Germany and Austria in their present critical situation was held in Chicago, at the Auditorium, on the evening of August 5, 1914, for the purpose of calling upon the press and public to suspend judgment with respect to the responsibility for the present war until all the facts were learned. It was apparent that many Americans, through an anti-German press, had become prejudiced and, therefore, believed it was Germany, and especially the German emperor, that stirred up this great conflict. One of the speakers at this meeting said that the German sympathizers in the United States could best help Germany by spreading the truth concerning the war and its underlying causes among the American people.

How was this to be done most effectively?

Our book is so far the only satisfactory reply to this question. The meeting voiced the conviction that a book should be prepared in which would be presented articles selected from a mass of literature, choosing only that which would most adequately set forth the facts before our American audience.

Unfortunately the German side of the great issue has not been generally understood owing to the fact that a large proportion of the Anglo-American press has given the causes and news of the war almost wholly from the English standpoint. This has been simply the continuation of a campaign of misrepresentation extending over many years.

As Herman Ridder says, in the New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung: "We should be a great deal better off and a great deal wiser if the press, instead of feeding us with the events and arguments of the moment, had gone back some thirty or forty years and reprinted the happenings which have intervened between then and now. The gradual development of Germany as a world power—the coincident and resultant growth of British jealousy—the last phase of Russia's aspirations—the play of French pride and chagrin—are all written therein."

The Necessity of Our Efforts With This Book.

Our efforts, then, with this undertaking are intended to throw weight into the balance, to even up our relations with the belligerents while at war. It is high time that the average reader have an opportunity to study an unprejudiced, systematic account of the series of events preceding the war as well as of the progress of it. Where would they go to obtain such an analysis if we did not assist them in this plain duty!

The Task of Championing an Unpopular Cause.

I am by no means unmindful of the seriousness of championing an unpopular cause! It is all the worse that the very people and nations that have made this cause unpopular are those same people that have been unwilling to see Germany prosper! But I have also great faith in the fundamental well-meaning of the American people at heart; therefore, I can approach them with perfect confidence in my appeal. What revelations when *fact* and *truth* of the case are known!

I champion Germany's cause, moreover, because I now feel convinced more than ever that most of the cardinal sins of the calendar are at the bottom of her trials—jealousy, fear, revenge, ambition, conceit; ignorance, ignoble spirit, sentimentality, short sightedness, and many others, but first and last jealousy! The ugly politics in the British-French Press Room Campaigns that represent a nation thus forced to fight for hearth and home as the aggressor, aiming at nothing short of world control, and to present her thus, when isolated and her very existence threatened, to ignorant and credulous mobs proclaiming a pseudo-democracy, when she is not in a position to defend herself—will ever be branded in History as among the meanest and dishonorable acts in International politics!

Our Faith.

What we gain by taking advantage of another's misfortune is twice lost.

But where is our well-tried *faith* in Germany? Have the millions of Germans in this country and the thousands of American Students and scholars of German life, of German ideas and ideals, of German science and art, deceived us for all these years? Are the German civic pride, order, cleanliness, righteousness, efficiency only a sham, a make-belief? Are their domestic virility, their love for home and song, their science and philosophy, their unity and courage in trying hours, for the nation, their skill and patience in research, all a mere hallucination, a trick of civilization!

If, on the other hand, our *faith* in the German people is abiding because of the eternal values in their ideas, thoughts and ideals, as we now know them for many generations, can we imagine that their kin in the fatherland are so different! To be sure, I must recognize one vital cause for a difference: owing to the necessity of unusual compromises in democratic countries, his more socialistic cousin in Germany has a decided advantage over him, as long as he has the good fortune of competent and honest public servants. Count this against them, if you like, but don't abuse them; wait until you *know* them to be worthy only of hate and scorn, by personal experience with them. Where then, is our *faith* in the honest, the sincere, the industrious, the idealistic, the music-loving, the patient, plodding German? Which do you think will be more abiding, the half-century of vital, real, first-hand experience with Germans and German life, or the reputation Germany's enemies have given her through unspeakably abusive, insulting and even heinous accusations, during the heat of passion, many of which have been found to have been malicious lies, still more inflamed by many hysterical and fanatical war-news-garblers? Take your answer to your God!

Therefore, above and beyond all clamor of the pressing hour, I pray God that I may retain my Faith in Germany, at least until the Historian, all the witnesses, the judge and a God-fearing jury and God, with them all, have passed on her case, instead of her bitterest, most self-interested enemies, and their American confrères alone!

Yet, in the meantime, is it not our plain duty to see to it that they do not get entirely away with the scheme, resorted to at the expense of millions of innocent sufferers, of men, women and children!

Note what Dr. Burgess has to say of the situation:

"This is no time and no subject, when or upon which, one should speak lightly, ignorantly, or with prejudice. It is one of the world's most serious moments and the views and sympathies now formed will determine the course of the world's development for many years to come. Heavy indeed, is the responsibility which he incurs who would assume the rôle of teacher at this juncture, and it is his first duty to present the credentials which warrant his temerity."—From the article, "WHY I CHAMPION GERMANY," by John W. Burgess, Ph. D., LL. D., J. U. D. Dean of the Faculties of Political Science, and of Philosophy, Pure Science and Fine Arts at Columbia University.

How the Problem of the Working Out of the Idea Was Conceived—What the Object Was.

I finally conceived my problem to be the editing—chronologically, systematically, and from point of view

of the evolution and meaning of important world-events in connection with the present European crisis and the political life related to it, since July 24th, 1914—that is, from the time of the assassination of the Archduke and the Duchess of the Austro-Hungarian empire — the choicest articles, Editorials, Comment, Reflections of the press, from Social and Political Life, etc.; also from the Lecture Hall, Debates, including my own articles on various topics, Preface, Notes, Comment, etc., and from every available source—with the one hope of presenting the German-Austrian cause, to the end, as outlined in the preceding paragraph.

Our readers will find the European problems presented in War Echoes quite up-to-date, up to the first week in July—therefore, including the Lusitania Literature, Italy coming into the war, and the other important current events up to that time.

The plan of the book is simple and unique. The first part deals with the *Causes,* the second with *Belgium,* the third with the *Nations,* the fourth with the *War* and the last chapter with *Reflections* or *Philosophy.* Expanded we have: *The Causes of the War, the Case of Belgium, The Nations Concerned, By the Laws of War,* and *On the Philosophy of the War.*

THE MAIN FEATURES AND METHOD OF THE BOOK.

The book has a beautiful and most appropriate cover-picture of the Kaiser and Francis Joseph together; it has also a beautiful *Frontispiece,* a "Barbarian" feeding Belgian children; an extensive analytical *Table of Contents;* a special *List of Contributors; Subjects* indicated *at top of Pages;* a *General Table of Contents* of parts of *War Echoes;* a complete *Index,* by title, author, and subject or subjects; it is beautifully and extensively *Illustrated;* has plenty of good *Maps.* There is also a list of sympathetic periodicals listed at the end of the book.

The special *Features* are highly commendable to our patrons for convenience and assistance in the use of the book, and I am certain they will be appreciated. The analytical *Table of Contents,* for instance, shows at a glance the field covered, the nature of treatment, method and the relative value given to various subjects, etc. The extensive *Index* may be consulted for reading special topics, or it may be employed for reference purposes only. On the other hand, the book contains some of the choicest creative literature by some of the ablest men in the country; these articles are arranged to assist in carrying out the idea of the book, as made clear in other paragraphs of this circular and leads naturally other paragraphs of this Preface and leads naturally at the top of the pages. In short, *War Echoes* is a kind of Year-Book on all of the big questions relative to the war since July, 1914. The entire selection and arrangement of *Illustrations* and *Maps* have been made from the point of view of reinforcing appeals and arguments, and adds to the value of the book as a study and as literature.

Many attacks on Germany have appeared in American publications of general circulation. A number of the articles dealing with these attacks have been included in *War Echoes,* and the reader, referring to footnotes, will be directed to passages in the book which successfully refute these charges. By following these cross references the reader will be assisted in his efforts to clarify many European questions.

In regard to responsibility for Facts, Sentiments, Truth, Data, Places, Authorship, Omissions, Additions, etc., the Editor can only speak for his own articles, discussions, notes and comment in *War Echoes;* outside of this, the responsibility ends with the faithful reproduction of articles from others, by giving full credit; and wherever exact reproduction was impracticable, he has duly explained any deviations from this principle.

HOW TO USE THE INDEX.

A word in regard to *The Use of The Index* may not be amiss here: You may turn to *The Index* in perfect confidence when in quest of any of the vital topics or questions that have occupied our attention in regard to the war most of the year; follow the alphabetic order strictly.

ON THE USE OF WAR ECHOES.

Besides serving the evident purposes of a book of this kind, and those already indicated, *War Echoes* will also serve well as a *Reference Book,* because of an exceptionally well-worked-out *Index* and other tabulated and analyzed synopses of parts or phrases of the book. There is also much creative and recreative literature in our *War Echoes* that is simply invaluable, because it could not be produced under any other circumstances, for fame or money, than those under which it came about. The Reader also has a record of current events of the year, or a year book on the war, as one may say.

INDEBTEDNESS.

Besides our acknowledged indebtedness in other sections of the book to all special sympathizers with our efforts, such as all the German publishers in the United States or in Europe, whether the publications appear in their native tongue or in the American language, the Editor of *War Echoes* is more than pleased with the way his approaches to other publishers for sympathy and co-operation were received. Here are also included all the Irish publications he knows of and the Milwaukee Free Press. Among the magazine publishers, we might especially mention *The New Republic, The Literary Digest, Collier's Weekly, The Open Court;* among the newspapers, *The Chicago Tribune* and *The Chicago Evening News.* The Editor is sorry to state that in many cases publishers failed to respond to his repeated inquiries on this point.

Our patrons will render us an especial service by reporting anything in connection with the book that ought to come to our attention for explanation or correction.

THE EDITOR,
George William Hau,
Chicago, Illinois.

FIRST CHAPTER

CAUSES OF THE WORLD WAR
POPULAR NOTIONS AS TO THE CAUSE

CAUSES MORE REMOTE AND RECENT—SUBTLE AND APPARENT CAUSES
OCCASIONS AND CAUSES

MORE REMOTE CAUSES
THE EARLY DISTINCTION OF PRUSSIA

SKETCHING THE EVOLUTION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE—BISMARK

The Balkan Situation—Pan-Slavism
Here we find the Crux of the Frightful Cataclysm of the War
The Austrian-German Position—The Serbian-Russian Attitude

IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE WAR

From the Time of the Assassination of the Archduke and Duchess of Austria
The Real Immediate Causes of the War—The Russian Mobilization

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MODERN DIPLOMACY
ESPECIALLY "SECRET" DIPLOMACY

Discussion of General and Special Diplomatic Correspondence
Further Causes—Less Directly Related to the War—Popularly not suspected of being Causes at all
Wars are Inevitable on Earth

MORE REMOTE CAUSES OF THE WAR

Early Distinction of Prussia—Recent History of the German People
The Rise of Prussia—The Confederation of the German States

THE CENTRAL EMPIRES—AUSTRIA AND GERMANY
THEIR BALKAN POLICY

The Balkan Policy of many of the Slavonic Peoples in South Central Europe
Backed up by Russia—Pan-Slavism

Their Policy directly or indirectly supported by Great Britain, France, Japan, Portugal, Italy
Also by most of the so-called Democratic World

THE ROOT OF THE WORLD WAR

Looking Deeper and beyond Casual Appearances for Real Causes of the War

INTRODUCTION

DOCTOR PAUL ROHRBACH

THE ROOT OF THE WORLD WAR.

Address by Dr. Paul Rohrbach to the Protestant Union of Hamburg.

The present war has three roots. The one we can despatch quickly, that is the French. For more than forty years France has expressed the desire to renew the combat with us. The national Chauvinism has driven her to war. That is truly very foolish, but not dishonorable. We can not properly harbor hostile feelings against France for this.

With regard to Russia and England, we must proceed from two dates, 1890 and 1902. In the year 1890 the transfer of Helgoland from England to Germany took place. At that time England entertained no mistrust regarding Germany's development. The German-English conflict still lay beyond the horizon. In the year 1902 England formed a treaty with Japan, in order to force Russia out of the Far East and to direct its policy again toward the Orient. As Germany in the meantime became politically engaged in the Orient and in Turkey, her interests began to conflict with those of Russia. Germany's interior conditions had during this period undergone radical changes and the development of its foreign trade, which amounted in 1880 to five and one-half billions—in 1913 to a round twenty-two and a half billions, and as a result of the quality of our industrial productions, which brought in a seven-fold, yes, even an eight-fold profit, grew at such a rate, that England began to anticipate the time when we would equal or even surpass her. This was unbearable to the English. In the year 1898, when the German emperor was in Jerusalem and gave utterance to the dramatic words regarding his friendship with entire Islam, when German diplomacy supported the plan of the Bagdad railway, the chief interest of Germany and England was that the railway cut through Asia Minor, passed over the Taurus, reached Aleppo, made connection with the Syrian and the Mecca railways and extended to a point within 300-400 kilometers of the Suez Canal and of the crossing of the Red Sea. The English believed that the German emperor desired to establish a basis of attack against England in anterior Asia, which was inevitable as a result of the economic development of Germany. This was a misapprehension—Germany planned no attack upon England. But in the two particulars, the exchange of Helgoland and the promotion of advances to Turkey, our emperor proved himself an excellent diplomat. This has been verified by existing conditions.

Now began the policy of encirclement of Edward VII. France was an apt pupil. A treaty was formed with Russia regarding the division of Persia, but the chief feature of which was the liquidation of the Turkish inheritance and thereby the completion of England's dominion in the Indian Ocean. The outbreak of the Young Turkish revolution in 1908 prevented the execution of this plan. The prospect presented itself to English diplomats of leading the Young Turks and new Turkey into the channels of the English policies. But these expectations met with disappointment as the German-Turkish understanding soon assumed a firmer character than formerly. In 1909 came Russia's attempt to open the Oriental question, through the Servian-Bosnian trouble. But this was a Russian bluff. As Germany placed herself openly by the side of Austria, the Russians pulled in their horns. In 1910 King Edward died and the leadership of the political concert passed into the hands of Russia. Since then two factions have sprung up in England—one advocated the continuation of the policy of surrounding Germany and aimed at her destruction. The other faction wished for an understanding with Germany. The one party looked upon the attempt at an understanding with Germany as a trick, as a bait—a sleeping potion for the Germans. The others meant it honestly, honorably.

During the Moroccan crisis, the actual acidity of England was induced by a carefully planned French intrigue. It was reported that Germany intended to establish a naval station on the coast of Morocco, in order to have an opportunity of using her fast cruisers for the purpose of interfering with the course of grain ships, on their way from the Argentine, etc., to England, thereby cutting off England from this source of food supplies. After the settlement of the Moroccan crisis, England again made decided advances to Germany on her colonial policy. This tone was employed until the summer of 1914.

In 1912, Russia succeeded in bringing about the Balkan Union. But instead of turning against Austria, they turned against Turkey and the result was an incurable enmity between Servia and Bulgaria. The object of Russia's policy against Austria was the occupation of Constantinople and the realization of the Pan-Slavic idea—the union of all Slavs under the scepter of Russia. An insane idea, but one which is from a political-psychological point of view comprehensible, but which gave evidence of an exaggerated craze for extension which, by means of public opinion and the criminal unscrupulousness of the Russian Government, let loose passions which must lead either to revolution or war.

Russia and France had agreed to attack Germany in the spring of 1916. The question as to why the war arrived as early as the summer of 1914 is easily answered. In the beginning of August, mobilized Siberian regiments were stationed on the German border. When one considers that the transportation of these troops from Siberia must require weeks and that weeks and months were necessary for their mobilization in Siberia, it is quite clear that the order for mobilization must have been quite secretly issued as early as May—or in other words, previous to the assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, which took place in the middle of June. Shortly after this deed, the Russian Ambassador Hartwig and the Austrian Ambassador in Belgrade met. Soon after, a stroke of apoplexy ended the life of the Russian Ambassador. The suspicion will soon become general that his death was probably hastened by the excitement caused by disclosures made to him by the Austrian Ambassador, to the effect that not only official Servians, but also officers in Russian circles, were implicated in the murder. What was Russia to gain by this assassination? She had enjoyed a series of good harvests and had in this way fortified her financial condition, but in 1913 a great drop in her paying assets occurred, which increased in 1914 and caused fears that the Russian credit would be injured to such an extent that the carrying on of war would be an impossibility. By means of the assassination of the Archduke, Russia hoped to cause a revolution in Servia—a dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian governmental relations, and thereby render mobilization impossible in that country. Had this taken place, Germany would have cringed and Russia could have fallen upon Austria. But it all turned out differently. Austria did not collapse, her mobilization was a success and her confederate remained faithful to her. But the war had become unavoidable for Russia, for the punishment of Servia by Austria would have cost the Czar everything.

And now comes England's guilt. She could not participate in the war on account of the Servian assassins. But she believed her last opportunity had arrived to settle her account with Germany. The contemplation of this idea was too much for the makers of English politics. Not that they ever really hesitated to make war upon Germany, but because at first, the proper time did not seem to them to have arrived. Therefore they made every effort to prevent the war. England never prepared for a war as decently as she has for this one. She told us repeatedly we could not count upon her neutrality. That was a very plain hint to us. We can only explain England's attitude during the last weeks before the war in this way: that she desired to deter us from entering into war, not on account of political scruples, but because it was to her interest to postpone the day of decision. — From the "Hamburger Fremdenblatt," Hamburg, Germany.

German Ideals and Their Realization—Bismark

THE IRON CHANCELLOR.

Born April 1, 1815.

By George Sylvester Viereck.

Above the grave where Bismarck sleeps
The ravens screeched with strange alarms.
The Saxon Forest in its deeps
Shook with the distant clash of arms.

The Iron Chancellor stirred. "'Tis war!
Give me my sword to lay them low
Who touch my work. Unbar the door
I passed an hundred years ago."

The angel guardian of the tomb
Spake of the law that binds all clay,
That neither rose nor oak may bloom
Betwixt the night and judgment day.

"For no man twice may pass this gate,"
He said. But Bismarck flashed his eyes:
"Nay, at the trumpet call of fate,
Like Barbarossa, I shall rise.

"In sight of all God's Seraphim
I'll place this helmet on my brow,
For lo! We Germans fear but Him,
And He, I know, is with us now."

The dead man stood up in his might,
The startled angel said no word.
Thru endless spheres of day and night
God in his Seventh Heaven heard.

And answered thus: "Shall man forget
My laws? They were not lightly made,
Nor writ for thee to break. And yet
I love thee. Thou art not afraid.

"Bismarck, from now till morrow's sun
Walk as a wraith amid the strife,
And if thou find thy work undone
Come back, and I shall give thee—life."

With stern salute the specter strode
Out of the dark into the dawn.
From Hamburg to the Caspian road
He saw a wall of iron drawn.

He saw young men go forth to die
Singing the martial songs of yore.
Boldly athwart the Flemish sky
He saw the German airmen soar.

A thousand spears in battle line
Had pierced the wayward heart of France,
But still above the German Rhine
The Walkyrs held their august dance.

He saw the sliding submarine
Wrest the green trident from the hold
Of her whose craven tradesmen lean
On yellow men and yellow gold.

In labyrinths of blood and sand
He watched ten Russian legions drown.
Unseen he shook the doughty hand
Of Hindenburg near Warsaw town.

The living felt his presence when
Paternal, blessing, he drew nigh.
And all the dead and dying men
Saluted him in passing by.

But he rode back in silent thought,
And from his great heart burst a sigh
Of thanks. "The Master Craftsman wrought
This mighty edifice, not I.

"No hostile hoof shall ever fall
Upon my country's sacred sod;
Tho seven whirlwinds lash its wall,
It stands erect, a rock of God.

"I shall return unto my bed,
Nor ask of life a second lease.
My spirit lives, tho I be dead,
My aching bones may rest in peace."

Up to his chin he drew the shroud,
To wait God's judgment patiently,
While high above a blood-red cloud
Two eagles screamed of victory.

"Trust in God and keep your powder dry," is good, militant advice, but according to Hudson Maxim this country's supply of powder on hand is less than one-tenth that of any of the great powers now at war, and in case of need we could not get an additional supply for six months since it takes as long as that for cannon powder for our big guns dry.—From "The Boston G September 9, 1914.

BISMARCK

(By Courtesy of the "Chicago Abendpost")

FRENCH PRISONERS IN '71.

Bismarck may have objected to the of ing of prisoners, but his prejudice broug ously had no effect in the eight-foo-German war. According to that En. who wrote the official history of the campaign, the French prisoners reached the extraordinary total of 21,503 officers and 702,048 men. But of these nearly 250,000 were the Paris garrison, who were only nominally prisoners, and over 90,000 represented the French troops disarmed and interned in neutral Switzerland. Still, with these deductions, more than 380,000 officers and men were actually imprisoned in Germany, and were released only when peace was declared.—From the London Chronicle.

WHAT WOULD BISMARCK SAY?

The Chicago Tribune.

George L. Scherger, Ph. D.

Professor of History, Armour Institute of Technology.

Many have wondered what would be the view of the great Iron Chancellor regarding the present war if he were still alive. Would this war have occurred if Bismarck had been in charge of the administration of the German Empire? Would he support the Kaiser or would he regard the war as threatening to undo his own mighty achievements? Though Bismarck died sixteen years ago, many of his utterances throw a flood of light on the present imbroglio and show his wonderful understanding of European conditions as well as his almost prophetic insight into the future.

The following remarks, made as early as 1875, have been fulfilled literally:

"Mighty Germany has great tasks; above all, to keep peace in Europe. This is my chief consideration, also in the Oriental crisis. I do not intend to interfere if there is any way to avoid it, for such an interference might cause a European conflagration, especially if the interests of Austria and Russia should clash in the Balkans. If I should take the side of one of these powers France would immediately join with the other, and a European war would break out. I am trying to hold two mighty beasts by the collar, in order that they may not tear each other to pieces, and in order that they may not combine against Germany."

The fear of Bismarck regarding the Balkans is likewise expressed in this passage:

"What may happen in the Balkans does not concern Germany but only Russia, Italy, Austria and England. It has always been my aim to keep out of this. For this reason we put a stipulation into our treaty with Austria that we are not obligated in any way in Balkan affairs."

As regards Russia, Bismarck says again and again that Germany would not have the least interest in waging a war with her nor would Russia with Germany, because neither has any antagnostic interests.

Russia's Asiatic interests are not in any way dangerous to Germany, although they are to England. If Russia should defeat Germany she could only take from her a strip of territory along the Baltic which would really be a nuisance to her because its inhabitants are very democratic. Germany, on the other hand, could only hope to increase her undesirable Polish territory. He did not consider the real Russians to be the champions of the Panslavistic movement, but the Poles living in Russia, who wished to bring about a clash between Teuton and Slav in hopes of taking advantage of the fray to reconstitute an independent Polish kingdom.

He believed that the Russian could not get along without the German in Russian affairs, for while the Russian might have intelligence, imagination, manners, and social talents, no Russian would learn in all eternity to work eight hours per day for six days in the week.

Bismarck even stated that he would have no objection to Russia's taking Constantinople, and thought that with the possession of this gate to the Black Sea she would be even less dangerous to Germany than at present. Of course, he knows that this would endanger England's possession of Egypt and the Suez canal, both of which she needs "as much as her daily bread."

Not less striking are his observations concerning France.

"If the French are willing to keep peace with us until we attack them," he says, 'then peace is assured forever. What should we hope to get from France?' Shall we annex more French territory? I was not even strongly inclined in 1871 to take Metz because of its French population. I consulted our military authorities before I reached a final decision. It was Thiers who said to me: 'We will give you your choice between Belfort and Metz; if you insist upon both we cannot make peace.' I then asked our war department whether we could give up our demand for either of these and received the reply: 'Yes, as regards Belfort, but Metz is worth 100,000 troops;' the question is, whether we wish to be weaker by that many men in case we should ever have another war. Thereupon I said: 'We will take Metz.'"

Bismarck said that since 1870 the French realized that another war with Germany would not be like a sort of excursion to Berlin. He thought that the stronger Germany is the more unlikely would be an attack by France. France would strike only in case she felt certain of winning. She would always keep "the sacred fire of revenge burning," according to the advice of Gambetta:

"Do not speak of war, but think of it constantly."

If Germany became involved in war with France, it would not be necessary to expect Russia to strike Germany, but if Russia should strike first, France would be sure to join her in attacking Germany—a most remarkable forecast of what has now actually taken place.

As early as 1887 he said: "Russia and France will sooner or later attack Germany."

Concerning England, Bismarck says:

"As regards foreign countries, I have had sympathy only for England, and even now am not without this feeling; but those folks do not want to be loved by us." At another time he remarked:

"The English are full of anger and jealousy because we fought great battles—and won them. They do not like to see us prosper. We only exist in order to fight their battles for pay. That is the opinion of the entire English gentry. They have never wished us well, but have done all they could to injure us. This is also the position of the crown princess (the Empress Frederick, mother of Kaiser Wilhelm II.). She always thought that she had humiliated herself by marrying into this country. I remember how she remarked at one time that two or three Liverpool merchants possessed as much silver as the entire Prussian nobility. 'That may be true, your royal highness,' I answered, 'but we value other things much higher than we do silver.'"

Bismarck commented upon the traditional English policy of stirring up trouble on the continent, according the principle that when two quarrel the third may be glad. Especially desirous had she been to get Germany and Russia embroiled, so that she herself would not need to fight Russia. This is the very game England has succeeded in playing in the present war. Bismarck acknowledges that he would do the same thing if he could find some strong and foolish fellow who would fight for him.

Bismarck thought that England, having only a few thousand troops of the line, was, when standing alone, really a negligible power, which, by playing the part of a guardian aunt, had gained a certain artificial influence, but ought some day to be limited to its proper foundation. If England and France should combine against Germany, the English might destroy the German navy, which at the time was still in its infancy, but Germany would in that case make France pay the bill.

No statesman ever realized the seriousness and the horrors of war more than Bismarck. A war should be waged, he said, only for the honor and most vital interest of a nation and not merely for prestige. Any statesman who has looked into the breaking eye of a soldier on the battlefield will hesitate before beginning war.

"German rulers," he said, "are in the habit of leading their armies in war so that they may realize its horrors, which would haunt them if they should be able to say to themselves, this war I could have avoided with honor. Germany would never begin aggressive wars or wars of conquest, as France so often had done, nor would she bleed a conquered nation as Napoleon had bled Prussia in 1807.

"The Germans are like bears in this respect; they do not attack of their own accord, but they fight like mad when they are attacked in their own lairs. An appeal to fear will never find an echo in the German's heart. The German is easily betrayed by love and sympathy, but never by fear. The Germans will not start the fire. Some other nation may, but let any nation that provokes Germany beware of 'the furor teutonicus.'

"We Germans fear God, but nothing else in the world; and the fear of God induces us to love and seek peace. Whoever breaks the peace will soon realize that the same patriotism which called weak and down-

trodden little Prussia to the standards in 1813 has today become the common property of united Germany, and that whoever attacks the German nation will find her presenting a united front, every soldier having in his heart the firm faith: God will be with us."

The Germany of today is Bismarck's Germany, and no one understands her so well as he. The Europe of today is likewise unchanged.

BISMARCK'S VIEW AND THE WAR.

This is the eighth article of a series on THE EUROPEAN WAR, which appeared in the October Number of THE OPEN COURT, under the title "Bismarck's View," written by the Editor, Dr. Paul Carus.

Consult the INDEX for the complete series, and, in order to see where, in the various Chapters of the book, the different articles of this treatise may be found, look for EUROPEAN WAR (THE). In this way the reader may read the entire series of articles in their original order, if he chooses to do so, while the present arrangement still gives him the advantage of bringing the various articles under their proper, respective Chapter-headings of the book.

This is a series of exceptionally fine articles on the subject in question, and they bear a unique and important relation to each other. Be sure to read them also in their original order.—Editor, "War Echoes."

Bismarck foresaw the origin of the Triple Entente and feared the results of it. Would he have been able to prevent its evil results?

Here is a discussion of this topic by Dr. George L. Scherger, professor of History at the Armour Institute of Technology. He quotes some prophetic utterances of Bismarck:*

"The following remark, made as early as 1875, has been fulfilled literally:

" 'Mighty Germany has great tasks; above all, to keep peace in Europe. This is my chief consideration also in the oriental crisis. I do not intend to interfere if there is any way to avoid it, for such an interference might cause a European conflagration, especially if the interests of Austria and Russia should clash in the Balkans. If I should take the side of one of these powers France would immediately join with the other, and a European war would break out. I am trying to hold two mighty beasts by the collar, in order that they may not tear each other to pieces, and in order that they may not combine against Germany.'

"As regards Russia, Bismarck says again and again that Germany would not have the least interest in waging a war with her, nor would Russia with Germany, because neither has any antagonistic interests.

" 'Russia's Asiatic interests are not in any way dangerous to Germany, although they are to England. If Russia should defeat Germany she could only take from her a strip of territory along the Baltic which would really be a nuisance to her because its inhabitants are very democratic. Germany, on the other hand, could only hope to increase her undesirable Polish territory.'

"Bismarck even stated that he would have no objection to Russia's taking Constantinople, and thought that with the possession of this gate to the Black Sea she would be even less dangerous to Germany than at present. Of course he knows that this would endanger England's possession of Egypt and the Suez canal, both of which she needs as much as her daily bread.

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" 'If the French are willing to keep peace with us until we attack them,' he says, 'then peace is assured forever. What should we hope to get from France? Shall we annex more French territory? I was not even strongly inclined in 1871 to take Metz because of its French population. I consulted our military authorities before I reached a final decision. It was Thiers who said to me: "We will give you your choice between Belfort and Metz; if you insist upon both we cannot make peace." I then asked our war department whether we could give up our demand for either of these and received the reply: "Yes, as regards Belfort, but Metz is worth 100,000 troops; the question is whether we wish to be weaker by that many men in case we should ever have another war." Thereupon I said: "We will take Metz.' "

" 'If Germany became involved in war with France, it would not be necessary to expect Russia to strike Germany, but if Russia should strike first, France would be sure to join her in attacking Germany'—a most remarkable forecast of what has now actually taken place.

"As early as 1887 he said: 'Russia and France will sooner or later attack Germany.' He added that in this case the Germans could put 3,000,000 men into the field within ten days, 1,000,000 on the French border, another 1,000,000 on the Russian, and 1,000,000 reserves. There would be arms and clothes for 4,500,000. The next war would signify that either France or Germany would be wiped out of existence.

"Concerning England, Bismarck says: 'As regards foreign countries, I have had sympathy only for England, and even now am not without this feeling; but those folks do not want to be loved by us.' At another time he remarked: 'The English are full of anger and jealousy because we fought great battles—and won them. They do not like to see us prosper. We only exist in order to fight their battles for pay. That is the opinion of the entire English gentry. They have never wished us well, but have done all they could to injure us.'

"Bismarck commented upon the traditional English policy of stirring up trouble on the continent, according to the principle that when two quarrel the third may be glad. Especially desirous had she been to get Germany and Russia embroiled, so that she herself would not need to fight Russia. This is the very game England has succeeded in playing in the present war. Bismarck acknowledges that he would do the same thing if he could find some strong and foolish fellow who would fight for him.

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" 'Our soldiers are worth kissing; every one so fearless of death, so quiet, so obedient, so kindly with empty stomachs, wet clothes, little sleep, torn shoes; friendly to all; no plundering and wanton destruction, they pay for all they can and eat moldy bread. Our people must have a deep fund of religion, otherwise all this could not be as it is.' "

It almost seems that the war was unavoidable because the three great powers, Russia, France and England, were determined not to allow Germany to grow too big. Perhaps Bismarck would have been able to prevent the Triple Entente.

"The Germans, thrice beaten back, have taken refuge in Antwerp. The entire German army, utterly routed, is rapidly retreating to Paris." This is how the Chambermaid's Own on Herald Square, will no doubt chronicle the victory of the German army. —From "The Fatherland," New York, Aug. 20, 1914.

According to Paris, the German war party has corrupted Europe's morals. Should be pronounced Krupp-ted.

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* *What Would Bismarck Say.* See Dr. Scherger's entire article in this book, as well as one on recent German History.—Editor.

What this Conflict Means to Germany
Coming into its Highest National Life and International Importance

WHY I CHAMPION GERMANY.

The Boston Evening Transcript.

John W. Burgess, Ph. D., LL. D., J. U. D., Dean of the Faculties of Political Science and Philosophy, Pure Science and Fine Arts At Columbia University.

This is no time and no subject when, or upon which, one should speak lightly, ignorantly, or with prejudice. It is one of the world's most serious moments and the views and sympathies now formed will determine the course of the world's development for many years to come. Heavy indeed is the responsibility which he incurs who would assume the rôle of teacher at this juncture, and it is his first duty to present the credentials which warrant his temerity.

First of all, I am an Anglo-American of the earliest stock and the most pronounced type. I have existed here, potentially or actually, since the year 1638 and my European cousins of today are squires and curates in Dorsetshire. Moreover, I admire and revere England, not only because of what she has done for liberty and self-government at home, but because she has borne the white man's burden throughout the world and borne it true and well.

On the other hand, what I possess of higher learning has been won in Germany. I have studied in her famous universities and bear their degrees and in three of them have occupied the teacher's chair. I have lived ten years of my life among her people and enjoy a circle of valued friendships which extends from Koenigsberg to Strassburg, from Hamburg to Munich and from Osnabruck to Berchtesgarten, and which reaches through all classes of society from the occupant of the throne to the dweller in the humble cottage. I have known four generations of Hohenzollerns, and of the three generations now extant have been brought into rather close contact with the members of two of them. While as to the men of science, and letters, and politics who have made the Germany of the last half century, I have known them nearly all and have sat, as student, at the feet of many of them. I must concede that, of English descent though I am, still I feel somewhat less at home in the motherland than in the fatherland. Nevertheless, I am conscious of the impulse to treat each with fairness in any account I may attempt to give of their motives and purposes.

The Real Purpose of Germany.

It was in the year 1871, in the midst of the Franco-Prussian war, that I first trod the soil of Germania, and it was from and with those who fought that war on the German side that I first learned the politics and diplomacy of Europe. Almost from the first day that I took my seat in the lecture room of the university I imbibed the doctrine that the great national, international and world purpose of the newly created German Empire was to protect and defend the Teutonic civilization of Continental Europe against the Oriental Slavic quasi-civilization on one side, and the decaying Latin civilization on the other. After a little I began to hear of the "Pan-Slavic policy" of Russia and the "Revanche policy" of France. For a while the latter, the policy of France for retaking Alsace-Lorraine, occupied the chief attention. But in 1876, with the Russian attack upon the Turks, the Pan-Slavic policy of Russia—the policy of uniting the Slavs in the German Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and in the Turkish Empire, with and under the sway of Russia—was moved into the foreground. All Western Europe recognized the peril to modern civilization and the powers of Europe assembled at Berlin in 1878 to meet and master it. The astute British premier, Lord Beaconsfield, supported by the blunt and masterful Bismarck, directed the work of the congress, and the Pan-Slavic policy of Russia was given a severe setback. Russia was allowed to take a little almost worthless territory in Europe, and territory of greater value in Asia; Roumania, Servia and Montenegro were made independent States; Bulgaria was given an autonomous administration with a European Christian prince, but under the nominal suzerainty of the Turkish Sultan; and the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, then almost free zones infested by bandits, were placed under Austro-Hungarian administration, also subject to the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan.

The Slav Peril of the 70's.

With this the much-respected and dreaded activities of Russia were directed towards Asia, and Russia was now for more than twenty years, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire from 1880 to 1902, occupied chiefly with the extension of her empire in the Orient. The German Empire was delivered for the moment from this great peril and enabled to pursue the line of peaceable development and progress. The greater security to the eastern borders of these great States thus established also helped to reduce the force of the French spirit of revenge, as the prospect of its satisfaction became more distant.

It was during this period, however, that Germany developed from an agricultural to a manufacturing and commercial community—that is, became a competitor of Great Britain and France, especially of Great Britain, in world industry. Her marvelous growth in this direction excited soon the jealousy, the envy, and then the hostility of Great Britain. We in the United States, however, reaped great advantage from the industrial and commercial competition between the two great powers, and we were amused at the pettishness of Great Britain in representing it as something unfair and illegitimate.

King Edward as a "Peacemaker."

When Edward VII. came to the throne in the year 1901, he saw Great Britain's interests in the Orient threatened by Russia's policy of extension in Asia and her commercial interests throughout the world threatened by the active and intelligent competition of the Germans. He, as all rulers at the moment of accession, felt the ambition to do something to relieve the disadvantages, to say the least, under which in these respects his country was laboring. He began that course of diplomacy for which he won the title of peace-lover. The first element of it was the approach to Japan and the encouragement to Japan to resist the advance of Russia. This movement culminated in the war between Russia and Japan of the years 1904-1905, in which Russia was worsted and checked in the realization of her Asiatic policy and thrown back upon Europe. The next element in the diplomacy of the peace-loving king was the fanning into flame again of the "revanche" spirit of France by the arrangement of the quasi-alliance, called the Entente, between Great Britain, France and Russia, aimed distinctly and avowedly against what was known as the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy, which had for thirty years kept the peace of Europe. The third and last element of this pacific programme was the seduction of Italy from the Triple Alliance, by rousing the Irredentist hopes for winning from Austria the Trent district in South Tyrol, which Italy covets.

It is hardly necessary for me to call attention to the extreme peril involved in this so-called peaceful diplomacy to the German and Austro-Hungarian empires. I myself became first fully aware of it on the day of June 27, 1905. On that day I had an extended interview with a distinguished British statesman in the House of Commons in London. I was on my way to Wilhelmshoehe to meet his majesty, the German emperor, to arrange with his majesty, the cartel of exchange of educators between universities in the two countries. When I revealed this fact to my host the conversation immediately took a turn which made me distinctly feel that a grave crisis was impending in the relations of Great Britain to Germany. I was so firmly impressed by it, that I felt compelled to call my host's attention to the fact that the great number of American citizens of German extraction, the friendliness of the German States to the cause of the Union during our Civil War, and the virtual control of American universities by men educated at German universities, would all make for close and continuing friendship between Germany and the United States. When I arrived in Germany, I asked in high quarters for the explanation of my London experience and was told that it was the moment of greatest tension in the Morocco affair, when all feared that at Britain's instigation, France would grasp the sword.

The Slav Peril Now.

The larger part of the next two years I spent in Germany as exchange

professor in the three universities of Berlin, Bonn and Leipzig; also, as lecturer before the Bar Association at Vienna. Naturally I formed a really vast circle of acquaintances among the leading men of both empires, and the constant topic of conversation everywhere, at all times and among all classes, was the growing peril to Germany and Austro-Hungary of the revived Pan-Slavic policy and programme of Russia, the re-inflamed "Revanche" of France and Great Britain's intense commercial jealousy.

In the month of August, 1907, I was again at Wilhelmshoehe. The imperial family were at the Castle and somewhere about the tenth of the month it became known that King Edward would make the emperor a visit or rather a call, for it was nothing more cordial than that, on the fourteenth.

On the afternoon of the 13th, the day before the arrival of the king, I received a summons to go to the Castle and remain for dinner with the emperor. When I presented myself, I found the emperor surrounded by his highest officials, Prince Buelow, the chancellor of the empire, Prince Hohenlohe, the imperial governor of Alsace-Lorraine; Prince Radolin, the German ambassador to France, Excellency von Lucanus, the chief of the emperor's civil cabinet; General Count von Huelsen Haeseller, the chief of the emperor's military cabinet; Fieldmarshal von Plessen, chief court marshal, Count zu Eulenburg; lord high chamberlain, Baron von dem Knesebeck; and the Oberstallmeister, Baron von Reischach. The dinner was on the open terrace of the Castle looking toward the Hercules Heights. At its close the empress and the ladies withdrew into the Castle and the emperor with the gentlemen remained outside. His majesty rose from his seat in the middle of the table, and went to one end of it followed by Prince Buelow, Prince Hohenlohe, Prince Radolin and Excellency von Lucanus.

Roosevelt as Mediator.

His majesty directed me to join the group and, so soon as we were seated, the chief of the civil cabinet turned to me and said that he was afraid that our good friend, President Roosevelt, unwittingly did Europe an injury in mediating between Russia and Japan, since this had turned the whole force of the Pan-Slavic programme of Russia back upon Europe. All present spoke of the great peril to Middle Europe of this change. Then both the German ambassador to France and the governor of Alsace-Lorraine spoke discouragingly of the great increase of hostile feeling on the part of the French towards Germany, and, finally, the part that Great Britain had played and was playing in bringing about both of these movements was dwelt upon with great seriousness mingled with evidences of much uneasiness.

King Edward came the next morning at about ten o'clock and took his departure at about three in the afternoon. Whether any remonstrances were made to his majesty in regard to the great peril which he wittingly or unwittingly was hoping to bring upon Middle Europe, I have never known. It seemed to me, however, that after that date he modified considerably his diplomatic activity. But he had sown the seed in well prepared ground and the harvest was bound to come. The three great forces making for universal war in Europe, viz.: the Pan-Slavic programme of Russia, "the Revanche" of France and Great Britain's commercial jealousy of Germany had been by his efforts brought together. It could not fail to produce the catastrophe. It was only a question of time.

Turkey Brings a Torch to the Burning.

The following year, the year 1908, saw the revolt of the young Turkish party in Constantinople, which forced from the sultan the constitution of July, 1908. According to this constitution all the peoples under the sovereignty of the sultan were called upon to send representatives to the Turkish Parliament. Both Bulgaria and Bosnia-Herzegovina were nominally subject to that sovereignity, according to the provisions of the Berlin congress of the Powers of 1878. For thirty years Bulgaria had been practically an independent State, and during thirty years Austro-Hungary had poured millions upon millions into Bosnia-Herzegovina, building roads, railroads, hotels, hospitals and schools, establishing the reign of law and order, and changing the population from a swarm of loafers, beggars and bandits to a body of hard-working, frugal and prosperous citizens. What now were Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary to do? Were they to sit quiet and allow the restoration of the actual sovereignty and government of Turkey in and over Bulgaria and Bosnia-Herzegovina? Could any rational human being in the world have expected or desired that?

They simply, on the self-same day, viz.: Oct. 5, 1908, renounced the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan, Bulgaria becoming thereby an independent State, and Bosnia-Herzegovina remaining what it had actually been since 1878, only with no further nominal relation to the Turkish Government. Some American newspapers have called this the robbery of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austro-Hungary, and have made out Austro-Hungary to be an aggressor. I have not seen, however, the slightest indication that any of these have had the faintest conception of what actually took place. Europe acquiesced in it without much ado. It was said that Russia expressed dissatisfaction, but that Germany pacified her.

Four more years of peace rolled by, during which, in spite of the facts that Austro-Hungary gave a local constitution with representative institutions to Bosnia-Herzegovina and Alsace-Lorraine was admitted to representation in the Federal Council, as well as the Reichstag, of the German Empire, that is, was made substantially a State of the Empire, the Pan-Slavic schemes of Russia, the French spirit of revenge and the British commercial jealousy grew and developed and became welded together, until the Triple Entente became virtually a Triple Alliance directed against the two great States of Middle Europe.

Winding the Alarm-Clock.

Russia had now recovered from the losses of the Japanese War and the internal anarchy which followed it; France had perfected her military organization; Turkey was now driven by the allied Balkan States out of the calculation as an anti-Russian Power; Bulgaria, Austro-Hungary's ally, was now completely exhausted by the war with Turkey, and that with her Balkan allies, now become enemies; and Great Britain was in dire need of an opportunity to divert the mind of her people away from the internal questions which were threatening to disrupt her constitution. The practical ear could discern the buzz of the machinery lifting the hammer to strike the hour of Armageddon. And it struck. The foul murder of the heir of the Hapsburgers set the civilized world in horror and the Austro-Hungarian Empire in mourning. In tracing the ramifications of the treacherous plot, the lines were found to run to Belgrade. And when Austro-Hungary demanded inquiry and action by a tribunal in which representatives from Austro-Hungary should sit, Servia repelled the demand as inconsistent with her dignity. Believing that inquiry and action by Servia alone would be no inquiry and no action, Austro-Hungary felt obliged to take the chastisement of the criminals and their abettors into its own hands. Then Russia intervened to stay the hand of Austro-Hungary and asked the German Emperor to mediate between Austro-Hungary and Servia.

The Emperor undertook the task, but while in the midst of it he learned that Russia was mobilizing troops upon his own border. He immediately demanded of Russia that this should cease, but without avail or even reply. He protested again with like results. Finally, at midnight on the 31st of July, his ambassador at St. Petersburg laid the demand before the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs that the Russian mobilization must cease within twelve hours, otherwise Germany would be obliged to mobilize. At the same time the emperor directed his ambassador in Paris to inquire of the French Government whether, in case of war between Germany and Russia, France would remain neutral?

The Case of Belgium.

As France could move faster than Russia, the Germans turned the force of their arms upon her. They undertook to reach her by way of what they supposed to be the lines of least resistance. These lay through the neutral States of Belgium and Luxemburg. They claimed that France had already violated the neutrality of both by invasion and by the flying of their war air-ships over them, and they marched their columns into both.

Belgium resisted. The Germans offered to guarantee the independence and integrity of Belgium and indemnify her for all loss or injury if she would not further resist the passage of German troops over her soil. She still refused and turned to Great Britain. Great Britain now intervened and in the negotiations with Germany, demanded as the price of her neutrality that Germany should not use her navy against either France or Russia, and should desist from her military movements through Belgium, and when the Germans asked to be assured that Great Britain herself would respect the neutrality of Belgium throughout the entire war on the basis of the fulfilment of her requirements by Germany, the British Government made no reply, but declared war on Germany.

And so we have the alignment, Germany, Austria and probably Bulgaria on one side; Russia, Servia, Montenegro, Belgium, France and England on the other, and rivers of blood have already flowed. And we stand gaping at each other, and each is asking the others who did it. Whose is the responsibility, and what will be the outcome? Now if I have not already answered the former question, I shall not try to answer it. I shall leave each one in view of the account I have given, to settle that question with his own judgment and conscience. I will only say that, as Burns, the Man of Letters and the Man of Labor, that they have rent the veil of diplomatic hypocrisy and have washed their hands clean from the stain of this blunder-crime.

What Will Come of It?

Finally, as to the outcome, not much can yet be said. There is nothing so idle as prophecy and I do not like to indulge in it. Whether the giant of middle Europe will be able to break the bonds which in the last ten years have been wound about him and under whose smarting cut he is now writhing, or the fetters will be riveted tighter, cannot easily be foretold. But assuming the one or the other, we may speculate with something more of probable accuracy regarding the political situation which will result. The triumph of Germany-Austro-Hungary-Bulgaria can never be so complete as to make any changes in the present map of Europe. All that that could effect would be the momentary abandonment of the Russian Pan-Slavic programme, the relegation to dormancy of the French "Revanche," and the stay of Great Britain's hand from the destruction of German commerce. On the other hand, the triumph of Great Britain-Russia-France cannot fail to give Russia the mastery of the Continent of Europe and restore Great Britain to her sovereignty over the seas. These two great Powers, who now already between them possess almost the half of the whole world, would then, indeed, control the destinies of the earth.

Is More Militarism Coming?

Well may we draw back in dismay before such a consummation. The "rattle of the sabre" would then be music to our ears in comparison with the crack of the Cossack's knout and the clanking of Siberian chains, while the burden of taxation which we would be obliged to suffer in order to create and maintain the vast navy and army necessary for the defense of our territory and commerce throughout the world against these gigantic powers, with their Oriental ally, Japan, would sap our wealth, endanger our prosperity and threaten the very existence of republican institutions.

This is not time for shallow thought or flippant speech, in a public sense it is the most serious moment of our lives. Let us not be swayed in our judgment by prejudice or minor considerations. Men and women like ourselves are suffering and dying for what they believe to be the right and the world is in tears. Let us wait and watch patiently and hope sincerely that all this agony is a great labor-pain of history and that there shall be born through it a new era of prosperity, happiness, and righteousness for all mankind."*

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*"*The Fatherland*," *New York, which in its issues of September 7 and 14, also reprinted this article, makes the following comment in the number corresponding September 14, wherein it was concluded:*

"We publish herewith the concluding part of Prof. John Burgess's statesmanlike analysis of the great war against civilization waged by England and her allies. Like Ex-President Eliot, Prof. Burgess is an Anglo-American. Unlike Eliot, he has a clear grasp of the underlying factors of Germany's gigantic struggle against Pan Slavism."—Editor, *War Echoes.*

"BUT THIS WAS TO BE A WHITE MAN'S WAR."

On page 42, of chapter 4, of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's famous book "The Great Boer War" (Revised and enlarged edition printed in December, 1902), we read this:

" * * * From all the men of many hues, who make up the British Empire, from Hindoo Rajahs, from West African Houssas, from Malay police, from Western Indians, there came offers of service. **But this was to be a white man's war, and if the British could not work their own salvation then it were well that the empire should pass from such a race."**

"The magnificent Indian army of 150,000 soldiers, many of them seasoned veterans, was for the same reason left untouched. England has claimed no credit or consideration for such abstention, but an irresponsible writer may well ask how many of those foreign critics whose respect for our public morality appears to be as limited as their knowledge of our principles and history would have advocated with self-denial, had their own countries been placed in the same position."

It is estimated that 5,750,000 men are fighting in Europe, of whom to date only 7,456,678 have been killed, wounded or captured.—From the "Boston Evening Transcript," September 15, 1914.

GERMANY'S STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE.

H. C. G. Von Jagemann, Professor of German Philology at Harvard University.

The Outlook.

Popular imagination demands for every great historical event a hero or a villain. So it has tried to fix the responsibility for the present cruel war upon one man; and, in view of a particular sequence of events, the German Emperor has been singled out as the scapegoat. No student of history or of politics, however, believes that any one man nowadays could cause such a clashing of forces as is going on at present in Europe, or that such a war could be due to anything but deep underlying causes, altogether beyond the control of ordinary statesmanship. The real causes of the war are three: France's desire to win back her military prestige and the provinces lost to Germany in 1870; Russia's desire to eliminate Germany as the ally of Austria, her opponent on the way to Constantinople; England's jealousy of Germany's growth as a commercial and naval power. Let us consider these three causes in the order indicated.

France and Germany.

In 1870 France, in order to prevent further unification and internal strengthening of Germany, used a slight pretext to declare war against the North German Federation, hoping thereby to extend her own territory by the conquest of the left bank of the Rhine. France was defeated, the new German Empire established, and Alsace and a part of Lorraine annexed. France has never forgiven Germany for this defeat. American sympathy has generally been with Germany in this matter; only Germany's annexation of Alsace and Lorraine is often criticised in this country, and, in view of certain wrong impressions concerning it, requires explanation. These provinces belonged to Germany from the time of division of Charlemagne's Empire in 843 to 1648, when Germany, exhausted by the Thirty Years' War and torn by internal dissensions, was forced to cede the greater part of them to France; Strassburg and the surrounding territory was seized by Louis XIV in time of peace in 1681. The people of Alsace are almost entirely of German stock, belonging to the Alemannian tribe, from the name of which the French name for Germany, Allemagne, is derived. That their native speech is German will appear even to the uninitiated from such names as Mulhausen, Breisach, Strassburg, Weissenburg, Saarburg, etc. Similarly the population of Lorraine is for the most part closely related to that of the adjoining part of Prussia. For a hundred years after their forcible annexation to France, the population, especially of Alsace, remained essentially German in character, speech, customs, and intellectual sympathies. No proof of this is needed for any one who is familiar with the story of Goethe's student

time in Strassburg in 1770 to 1771, and of his love for Friederike, the parson's daughter, of Sesenheim near Strassburg, with whom he sang the old German folk-songs of the neighborhood. Politically the provinces then were under the rule of France; in every other respect they were a part of Germany. Political sense and national feeling, however, were insignificant among the population, as they then were all over Germany. Not until the French Revolution, more than a hundred years after their annexation to France, did Alsace and Lorraine become French in feeling to any considerable extent; then the great wave of national enthusiasm proceeding from Paris swept over the two provinces and separated them from Germany, where the national spirit was not aroused till much later.

Germany had not forgotten her just claims to these provinces; but even after the terrible effort to shaking off the Napoleonic dominion in 1813-15 she was still too disunited and weak to win them back. So they remained with France until 1870, and during this long period their political attachment to France became very strong, while nevertheless the great mass of the population retained its old German speech. France during this period looked upon the provinces with the superiority of the conqueror; the Alsatian speaking his German **patois** was regarded as far inferior to the genuine Frenchman.

After her victory in 1870 Germany exacted the return of the lost provinces. She did this partly for military reasons, in order to erect a bulwark between herself and France, which had for centuries taken every opportunity to interfere in German's affairs and to disrupt Germany's unity; partly for the sentimental reason that these provinces belonged originally to Germany, that their population was of German stock, and that, even though the sympathies of the people at the time were largely with the French, it was hoped to win them back to Germany, to which they naturally belonged. In this last, endeavor, it is admitted. Germany has only partially succeeded; but, if it be remembered that it took over a hundred years and the French Revolution to Gallicize the provinces, Germany has no reason to be ashamed of what she accomplished in forty-three years. The jingo press of Paris and London inveighs against the so-called German tyranny in Alsace-Lorraine; but what are the facts? The regrettable Zabern incident, greatly exaggerated as it was by a sensation-loving press, has been absolutely unique during an occupation of more than four decades; compared with what has occurred in Ireland in the way of murders, land riots, evictions, etc., during this period, all the clashes between the authorities and the people in Alsace-Lorraine fade into insignificance. Under a really tyrannical government the people generally emigrate as fast as they can, as they did from Ireland for many years; in Alsace Lorraine the annexation was immediately followed by an increase in emigration, but this increase ceased in a few years, when the rate of emigration fell below that of the neighboring states. It is true that a good many Alsatians might be found in Paris, but so there might be in Berlin, as everywhere in the world the population from agricultural and mountain districts has flocked to the large cities. Between 1875 and 1905 the population of the provinces increased from 1,531,000 to 1,814,000, or 18.4 per cent, while during the same period that of France increased by only 6.4 per cent; from 1885 to 1905 the population of the industrial city of Mulhausen increased from 69,759 to 94,488—that is 35 per cent. The growth in material wealth has been similar; and what the German Government has done in the provinces for education may be inferred from the fact that after the definite annexation of the provinces almost the first thing was the re-establishment of the famous old University of Strassburg, which has since taken its place among the prominent centers of learning in the world, and to which numerous American students have resorted. Furthermore, Germany has allowed the provinces an amount of autonomy which Ireland even now does not enjoy; for several years their affairs have been administered by a Governor-General appointed by the Emperor, and a Diet elected by universal suffrage; for years many of the civil offices, including some of the highest, have been filled by natives of the provinces, who thus showed their willingness to co-operate with the new government. A large part of the population was content to abide by the results of 1870, and the sentiment was overwhelmingly against another war over the possession of the provinces, from which these would naturally be the worst sufferers. If it had not been for the continuous agitation by the Paris jingo press we should probably have heard little about German tyranny in Alsace, for there was no substantial basis for the assertion.

But France was not content to abide by the decision of 1870, and not only the jingo press, but the most influential public men, with few exceptions, have more or less frankly encouraged the popular demand for another trial of strength with Germany. For this purpose the armaments were carried to an extent in proportion far beyond those of Germany, and in 1912 the time of active compulsory service was raised from two to three years, while at the same time the recruits of the following year were called to the colors, thus practically doubling the army at one stroke. For this same purpose the alliance with Russia was more and more firmly cemented, France lending Russia billions of money to reorganize and vastly increase her army after her defeat by Japan. It was only a question of time when France and Russia would find an opportunity to strike at Germany, and it was an open secret in military and diplomatic circles that such an opportunity would occur in 1914 or 1915, when both French and Russian armaments would be complete.

Russia and Germany.

Germany has long recognized Russia as a most powerful neighbor with whom she had to be on good terms for her own sake. The two nations have not seriously clashed for a hundred and fifty years, for Prussia's participation in Napoleon's campaign in 1812 was compulsory, and the very next year Prussia and Russia fought side by side against Napoleon at Leipzig. Since then Germany has made every effort, especially in recent years, by commercial sacrifices to retain Russia's good will, and the two nations might be at peace now if it were not for Russia's hostility to Germany's friend and ally, Austria. Russia's ambition for more than a century has been to extend her dominion over the Balkans and to win Constantinople. She might probably have done so long ago had this been in accordance with the designs of England and France. In order to win Constantinople, Russia must first dominate the southern Slavic states, Servia and Bulgaria, and she has for a long time arrogated to herself the part of their patron and protector. That Russia has a prior right to this position Austria does not admit, for she too is a great Slavic power, and her commercial interests demand an open route to the sea and to the Orient as much as Russia's. Indirectly Germany's commercial interests are at stake, for through Austria lies Germany's land route to the Orient, and it is an imperative necessity for her to keep this route open; neither Austria nor Germany can afford to have it blocked by an unfriendly Power. This is so clear that prominent Russian writers have stated in recent years that Russia's way to Constantinople lies through Germany. As it cannot be to England's or France's interest to have Russia in possession of Constantinople, except under conditions to which Russia would never submit, it seems as if the present alliance between these Powers could only serve the immediate purpose of eliminating Germany from European affairs.

England and Germany.

Until the Franco-German War the relations between Germany and England were generally friendly. The two nations had never seriously clashed, and on the field of Waterloo the English and Prussian armies fought side by side. The English view of the German people, as it crops out in the literature before 1870, is that of a people, given largely to sentimentalism, philosophy, music, and beer-drinking; beyond that, the Germans might be useful in keeping France in check, which England then still regarded as her chief enemy, but otherwise they were a negligible quantity. Germany's inferiority to England in engineering, manufacturing, and commercial enterprise was so great that as late as 1880 water works, gas works and street railways in many German cities were constructed and run by English engineering skill and English capital, while the steamships of the two feeble German transatlantic lines were built in England and Scotland. But now a rapid change took place. In 1876 the German Commissioner to the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia reported to his Government as his verdict concerning the products of German industries there exhibited, "Cheap and inferior;" twelve years later, **"Made in Germany"** had become a badge of excellence for a great variety of industrial products; a few years later again, Germany built ships which for size, swiftness, and comfort surpassed those of the great English transatlantic lines, and which carried German products to all parts of

the globe. Then England suddenly recognized Germany as a dangerous competitor for the world's trade, and her feeling toward her changed from friendly condescension to jealousy and hate.

The matter was aggravated when Germany began to strengthen her navy in order to protect her coasts, trade routes and outlying possessions. Other nations likewise greatly strengthened their navies—the United States, France, Russia, Italy, Japan—but only German's efforts in this direction were frowned down by England, although Germany never attempted to build a fleet anywhere near the size of the English fleet, while even if she had done so England's superior geographical position and her dominions and naval bases all over the globe would always have assured her an incomparable advantage over Germany. The reason for this was that England had begun to look upon Germany, of all countries, as her chief rival in trade; and her policy from the time of her own rise as a commercial and maritime power had always been to concentrate all her efforts on the elimination of her foremost commercial rival —a policy which had resulted successively in the destruction of the maritime power of Spain, Holland and France.

Germany had before her the example of these countries; she remembered the bombardment of Copenhagen, in which the British destroyed the Danish fleet; and she also remembered that when, in 1849, a single warship was built in Germany by popular subscription, Lord Palmerston, then Prime Minister of England, declared that if such a ship dared to show on the high seas the German flag he would order it to be treated as a pirate ship. Under these circumstances modern Germany had to choose between leaving its growing maritime trade to the tender mercies of England till the latter should take an opportunity to wipe it off the globe, and arming herself to protect it; and Germany chose the latter course. Since then England has taken every opportunity to thwart the efforts of Germany at legitimate growth and extension of her influence, and she has done this with an air as if she were fighting for a moral principle. She herself might conquer the Transvaal and sacrifice in the effort the lives of myriads of brave Boer farmers and of her own soldiers; she might enter into an arrangement with France according to which England retained Egypt and France took Morocco; she might enter into an arrangement with Russia, dividing Persia into spheres of English and Russian influence, to the utter disregard of the rights of Persia; Italy might grab Tripoli; Japan and Russia might quarrel about Manchuria, and settle the matter between them; all this was legitimate and in the interests of civilization. But let Germany say as much as that she too had commercial interests in Morocco, or that she would like to purchase a coaling station within a certain sphere where England and her allies had a dozen, then a howl went up about "intolerable German aggression" and "unwarrantable encroachment on English interests." Even such a strictly non-political commercial enterprise as the building by German capital of the Bagdad Railway was not permitted except after years of negotiations, and after English capital had been allowed to participate and the terminals arranged to suit English interests. Germany has submitted to this injustice for a number of years, but it is clear that a nation of 65,000,000 people needing employment and means of support could not forever endure such a thwarting of its legitimate aspirations.

Could the War Have Been Avoided?

So it appears that each one of these three great Powers now making war on Germany had her own reasons for wishing to crush her; Germany, on the other hand, had no corresponding designs against them. She wanted no French territory, knowing well that it could not be Germanized for a long period, and would only weaken her. Nor was she so foolish as to think that she could wrest anything from the Russian colossus. Her geographical position, the relative weakness of her navy, and her lack of naval bases and coaling stations made it inconceivable that she could inflict very serious damage upon England's fleet or her world-wide dominion. Nothing more absurd than the assertion that Germany aimed to rule Europe as France did in the time of Napoleon. The only thing Germany desired was to be treated by the other nations on an equal footing, and not to be constantly shut out by their combinations from newly arising opportunities for expansion and for the extension of her commercial influence —opportunities such as the other nations have seized in recent years time and again. This was not only her right, but a physical necessity in view of her rapidly growing population. She has submitted to many a slight and has suffered one setback after another. If she has struck now, it is because she felt sure that she could not later defend herself against the mighty combination of her opponents with the slightest chance of success. When the Kaiser, in order to preserve the peace of Europe, offered to mediate between Austria and Servia, and Russia nevertheless ordered the mobilization of her giant army, the whole German people realized what was in store for them. Germany was in the position of a man who sees a deadly enemy reach for his pistol, and whose only possible salvation lies in shooting first.

The war could have been avoided if France had foregone her desire for revenge and for the reconquest of Alsace-Lorraine, which she did not need in view of her almost stationary population and her own wealth and that of her extensive colonies. The war could have been avoided if Russia had been content with her vast and undeveloped empire, and had curbed her desire to strike down Austria as an obstacle on her route to Constantinople. The war could have been avoided if England had been more generous to Germany and had allowed her the same share as the other nations in new opportunities for colonization and for extension and protection of commerce. Finally, the war could have been avoided if Germany had been willing to sit back and let these three great Powers divide up Europe, Asia, and Africa between them, and content herself with the crumbs from their table.

A More Extensive Account of the Evolution of Germany since Luther Present Situation of the Empire

THE EVOLUTION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

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The German people are not of yesterday. Their authentic history covers a period of almost two thousand years. During this long interval of time they accomplished wonderful things. They overthrew the Roman Empire of the West, A. D. 476 and established Teutonic kingdoms throughout Western and Central Europe from the Desert of Sahara to Scotland, from the Atlantic to the Vistula River. They worked their way out of barbarism to the highest type of civilization. They evolved the Holy Roman Empire and the Reformation. They gave to the world Charlemagne and Otto the Great; Luther and Bismarck; Goethe and Schiller; Bach and Beethoven; Kant and Fichte; Leibnitz and Helmholtz. Why was such a people so slow in achieving unification? Why is the German Empire the youngest of the great nations of Europe? It shall be my purpose to show briefly what agencies hindered the Germans from forming a united empire, as well as to explain why this unification resulted in the end, after so long a delay.

The Holy Roman Empire.

Though the early Teutons were separated into many different tribes which could only with the greatest difficulty be induced to combine in a common undertaking, they were nevertheless held together loosely by the bond of a common language, religion, race, and customs. Charlemagne was the first to form a great Teutonic empire, having received the crown as Roman Emperor of the West from the Pope in 800 A. D. While this was supposed at the time to be merely a restoration of the old Roman Empire that had gone to pieces in 476 A. D., it was really a new creation which, after another century, came to be called the Holy Roman Empire and which lasted until 1806, covering a period of over a thousand years.

Louis the Pious, the son of Charlemagne, tried to keep the vast Empire together, but his sons, after a long quarrel, divided this territory among themselves in the famous Treaty of Verdun of 843. Charles the Bald received the western portion, soon after called France; Louis the German took the countries on the east of the Rhine which came to be known as Germany; while Lothair received the crown as Emperor together with Italy and the "Middle Kingdom," the latter consisting of the narrow strip between the kingdoms of his two brothers and extending from Italy to the North Sea. This treaty thus marks the beginning of the three nations: France, Germany, and Italy.

After the death of Lothair strife arose concerning his lands which became the bone of contention between the French and the Germans from that day to this. Lothair's name survives in the name Lorraine (German: Lothringen). Charles the Bald held Lorraine for a few years after Lothair's death, but Louis the German obtained Alsace, Trèves, Metz, Friesland, and Lorraine in the Treaty of Mersen, 870, and still more of Lothair's lands nine years later in the Treaty of Verdun-Ribemont. Alsace-Lorraine remained under German rule for seven hundred years, until France, taking advantage of Germany's weakness after the Thirty Years' war, between 1648 and 1681 appropriated this section. In 1871 the Germans recovered Alsace-Lorraine, maintaining that they simply took back what was rightfully theirs.

Not only the lands of Lorraine eventually passed under German control but also the imperial crown. King Otto I. of Germany conquered Italy and was crowned Emperor by the Pope at Rome, in the year 962, thus instituting the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. For the next few centuries Otto's successors regularly, after having been elected king of Germany by the nobles, made the trip across the Alps, to add to their German crown the crown of king of Italy and the imperial crown which latter could be conferred only by the Pope at Rome. This union of Germany and Italy proved detrimental to the interests of each country. It meant to the German King only an increase of glory rather than of power. It encouraged disorder in both countries and contributed much to their eventual disintegration. When the Emperor was in Italy his nobles in Germany would seize the occasion to rebel; when he was in Germany the Italian cities would start a revolt. Had the German rulers remained at home they might have kept their nobles under control and instituted a strong central government as did the kings of England and France. By attempting to hold together a vast realm with many diverse nationalities that could not be assimilated, the emperors eventually became rulers in name only. Many of them such as the three Ottos, Frederick Barbarossa, and Frederick II. were men of extraordinary ability, but the forces that made for disunion were too strong to be overcome even by them.

The strongest of the disintegrating forces with which the German rulers had to contend was the tribal division of the German people. The Bavarian felt that he was first a Bavarian and only secondarily a German. The same was true of the other tribes. Local patriotism militated against national patriotism in the same manner as among the Greek cities, among the various Indian tribes in America, and among the American colonies. This particularism has not been entirely overcome to this day and tended to prevent the unification of Germany more than any other influence. It was intensified by the spirit of Individualism which has always characterized the Germans, as well as by the separate political organization of each tribe. The kings of France and England found the task of consolidation so much easier, because their subjects were more homogeneous.

Disunion was likewise fostered in Germany by the feudal system, especially since the great fiefs came to coincide with the old tribal divisions. The German nobles had a golden opportunity of wresting privilege after privilege from the king, all the more so because they had the power to elect a new king and might condition their support of his candidacy upon his making concessions to them. The kings of France and England ruled by hereditary right and were therefore far less dependent upon the nobles. For all these reasons Germany became more and more hopelessly disintegrated, while in England and France strong centralized governments developed as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The Rule of the Hapsburgs.

During the Interregnum (1250-1273) foreign princes without influence contested the imperial title which now seemed almost worthless. The Interregnum was brought to an end by the election of Rudolph of Hapsburg who wisely refrained from mixing in Italian affairs and curbed the German nobles with an iron hand. Rudolph had been chosen king because he seemed the least formidable of all candidates, for his family at that time had only small possessions in Alsace and Switzerland. Rudolph's great energy and ability proved a surprise to the nobles who became uneasy at the growing power of the Hapsburgs and therefore preferred, after his death, to elect their rulers from the Luxemburg family. After the year 1437, however, the Hapsburgs once more came into power and remained in control from that time until the overthrow of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806.

Realizing that the imperial crown conferred but little actual power, since the German princes had now become almost independent of the emperor and regarded him merely as a sort of over-lord who was ruler in name only, the Hapsburg rulers now began to make conquests outside of the Empire in Hungary, Austria, Styria, and elsewhere, thus building up what they called their house-lands. Here they could do as

they pleased for these possessions were under their immediate rule. They conquered more and more territory from Slavs, Magyars, Chechs and other nationalities, until their authority and power in the house-lands far exceeded that within the Empire. Thus they became untrue to their trust as German rulers and Germany suffered from their neglect and became more and more hopelessly split up into petty principalities, secular and ecclestiastical, the heads of which did practically what they pleased.

The tragic effects of this condition manifested themselves especially during the period of the Reformation, in the early part of the sixteenth century. This movement was the greatest of all the products of the German spirit. It shook the German nation as that nation had never been shaken before. The eyes of the world were now centered upon Germany. The monk of Wittenberg became the greatest German of all times. Under proper leadership the Germans might then have become a united nation and might have accomplished what did not take place until 1871. But, unluckily, Germany was ruled at that time by a man who did not understand the German people, because he was more of a Spaniard than a German, and because Germany was only one of the many lands under his scepter. The Emperor Charles V. built up a great empire and became the most famous of all the Hapsburg rulers, but Germany lost an opportunity that was not to present itself again until over three hundred years later, simply because Charles failed to see this opportunity. He ruled over Spain, the Netherlands, most of Italy, as well as over Austria and Germany. Had he been a German ruler exclusively, he would have placed himself at the head of the nation, overthrown the princes and nobles, and successfully completed the union of the German principalities into one great state.

Unfortunately, the policy which Charles V. adopted, instead of unifying Germany, split her up still further by adding to the other forces of disunion that of religious division. Some of the states became Lutheran or Calvinist, while the rest remained Catholic. During the terrible Thirty Years' War Germany became the battling ground of all Europe. The disastrous effects of this long war were not overcome for one hundred and fifty years. After the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, the map of Germany looked like a crazy quilt made of hundreds of different patches. Some of these German principalities were almost microscopic in size. Yet in each one the power of the prince was practically absolute. The Empire had become a farce, although the name was kept up until 1806.

Napoleon rendered one undeniable service to Germany: he simplified her map. He rewarded his faithful vassals among the German princes by giving them every now and then additional patches of territory. The House of Hapsburg was either too powerless or too indifferent to prevent these changes. Whenever defeated by Napoleon, the Hapsburgs preferred to sacrifice German territory rather than their house-lands. The changes made in Germany by Napoleon were so numerous that the Holy Roman Empire was dissolved. In 1806 the Roman Emperor Francis II. dropped his old title and called himself Francis I., Emperor of Austria. Germany was now a conglomeration of many principalities, without a real head. Austria still maintained a certain leadership over the German states, but her own empire represented such a chaotic mixture of nationalities that her influence became more and more injurious and hindered any tendency toward unification in Germany. In the very nature of the case the diverse interests of Austria made her unfit to be the champion of German interests. If the German states were ever to be united some other leader must appear. Clearly this had to be a state whose interests were purely German. There was no other so fit to play this part as Prussia.

The Rise of Prussia.

The nucleus from which the Kingdom of Prussia developed was the Duchy of Brandenburg which, under House of Hohenzollern, had since the able rule of the princes of the the tenth century, through steady additions of territory and the husbanding of its limited resources, become more and more prominent. The duke of Brandenburg was one of the seven electors to whom since the twelfth century belonged the right of choosing the Emperor. Prussia was originally a small territory along the Baltic, conquered by the Teutonic Knights in the thirteenth century and by them won for Christianity and Germanic culture. The introduction of the Reformation into Prussia had led to the dissolution of the order of Teutonic Knights. In 1618 Prussia came under the rule of the House of Hohenzollern. It was at that time separated from Brandenburg by a broad expanse of territory. The Great Elector Frederick William, by securing Pomerania in the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, and by winning additional territory from the Swedes in 1675, rounded out his lands and made his territory continuous. Through great internal reforms and the perfection of his army, the Elector Frederick William laid the foundations of a great state and mapped out a policy which his successors followed with singular tenacity and success. In 1702 his son, Frederick I, took the title King of Prussia. When Frederick the Second, afterwards called "the Great," ascended the throne in 1740, he found himself at the head of a compact and prosperous state with a well-filled treasury and an army second to none in Europe.

Under the rule of Frederick the Great, Prussia became one of the five great powers of Europe and during the Seven Years' War, from 1756-63, was able to hold her own against the combined powers of Russia, France, Austria, and Saxony which had formed a conspiracy to dismember her. It was by her military strength alone that Prussia escaped the fate of Poland. Open on all sides to invasion and surrounded by jealous foes, she could save herself from destruction and work out her destiny only by the maintenance of a strong army.

Not only as a general but also as a statesman Frederick the Great ranks with the greatest men in history. The reforms he instituted were widely praised and imitated. He became the type of a benevolent despot. **His statement, "The King is the first servant of the State," shows his devotion to the welfare of Prussia.*** But while he did everything with an eye to the good of the people, his system was paternal. He did not give the people a share in the government. Though he believed in liberty of thought and in religious freedom, he did not believe in democracy. There was no other state, however, in which the people were so well cared for as in Prussia.

It was Napoleon who brought upon Prussia the greatest reverse she ever experienced. When his attempts to make her his ally were unsuccessful, he determined to cripple her so that he would not need to fear her. He goaded her into war, and after his great victories at Jena, Eylau, and Friedland imposed upon her in 1809 the crushing terms of the peace of Tilsit. He took from her half her territory, forced her to pay an enormous war contribution of 150,000,000 francs, but really pressed out of the people two billions, and would not permit her to have an army of more than 40,000 men. Indeed, Napoleon would have annexed Prussia entirely, had it not been for the intervention of Czar Alexander who had been the ally of Frederick William III and whom Napoleon was at that time anxious to please in order that he might form an alliance with him.

Prussia never forgot the bleeding which Napoleon administered to her. Certainly no conquered nation had ever suffered greater injury from the iron fist of the conqueror than she did from that of Napoleon.

Yet Prussia was never so great as in the days of her deepest humiliation. Phoenixlike, a regenerated Prussia emerged from the ashes of the Napoleonic conflagration.

The very greatness of Frederick the Great's system was the cause of Prussia's *débacle* after his death. Prussia was like a complicated machine that only the great engineer Frederick could operate. Benevolent despotism broke down under a mediocre king. It was necessary to call on the people to help regenerate Prussia. Momentous reforms were now instituted by Frederick William III in the interval between 1809 and 1813, the king being advised and assisted by such men as Baron vom Stein, Hardenberg, Boyen, Scharn-

*Emphasized by the Editor of *War Echoes*.

horst, Gneisenau and others. Serfdom was abolished. In the municipalities government was put in the hands of the people. Above all, the army was now reformed and made a thoroughly democratic institution by Boyen and Scharnhorst who became the fathers of the German military system of today. Compulsory military service made the army the nation in arms. The peasant's son now served alongside of the son of the prince. No one able to serve was exempt. Ability, knowledge, and bravery were made the only titles to advancement. All the able-bodied men were trained. While there could not be more than 40,000 men in the army at any one time, because Napoleon so ordered, each installment was drilled night and day and then dismissed to make room for new recruits. As in the days of the Great Elector, of Frederick William I, and of Frederick the Great, there was a deep conviction that Prussia's welfare depended upon her army. When the moment came to strike she was ready. A storm of patriotic enthusiasm swept through Prussia after Napoleon's defeat in Russia. The Prussia of 1813 seemed a radically different state from the Prussia of 1807. This transformation was due to the popularization of her institutions, especially of her army. This was the birth of Prussian militarism. It was the people of Prussia that backed the movement. It was Prussian militarism which in large measure brought about the overthrow of Napoleon and won the battle of Waterloo. In that great battle England furnished the general, but Prussia furnished the men.

Anti-Macchiavelliism and the New Civilization
How will the Historian Settle Accounts with the Nations at War

BY THE EDITOR OF WAR ECHOES

The remainder of Dr. Scherger's excellent sketch of the vital incidents in *Prussia and Germany in the Making*, follows immediately after this discussion on Diplomacy as adopted and practiced by the rising Prussia under Frederick the Great, bringing out more in detail some of the important events sketched by Dr. Scherger.

I am especially interested in a better understanding of this changed order of things in European politics as later exemplified by the notoriously infamous Macchiavelli and Talleyrand statecraft, dating very definitely all the way back to the ardent admirer of the reformers, especially Luther—the Election of Saxony, Frederick "The Wise"—who promised protection to Luther when he was threatened to be given to the flames, to meet the fate of his colleagues in France, England, Spain, Italy and elsewhere! That the greatest German and the one who has had more to do with a modern interpretation of Christianity than perhaps any other reformer, was not given to the flames as were his associates, we owe to the early Prussian principle of common sense and directness in diplomacy and universal, practical education! That these principles were cherished by the young Elector was not an accident, but was to be expected from the leaders of the German people, in view of their leadership and in new thought and progress long before the time of Luther. This also accounts for the magnificent record of the Teutonic peoples in regard to Anarchy, Rebellion, Religious and other Persecution, and Revolution. No European nation has such a record on this score as Germany and the other Germanic peoples. Take for illustration the Dutch at the hands of Spain! The "Heretics" that went up in flames in England, France and Italy!

I promise my good readers that I shall analyse in a future effort this most glaring parallel between the present European struggle, following the breaking down of autocracy and a pseudo-democracy in ignorance, of some of the nations at war, the masses sympathising with the wrong alignment, as usual, and as history proves to us from the time of the Reformation; well-meaning, but ignorant, and slavishly directed, they opposed the marvelous thought and work of the Reformers, at that time—and later, the results of their labors, by force; at that time it was a question of an understanding of Christianity in the light of a modern, a *New Civilization*, approximately from the years of 1450 to 1550, when the work of the Reformers began to bear fruit in some of the European countries, but it is very noteworthy that precious meagre was this harvest among non-Teutonic peoples, where the most courageous of the Reformers were generally given to the flames without mercy.

Now it is a question of fighting for stupid, inefficient, self-seeking pseudo-democracy and commerce, as against an intelligent, efficient, disinterested, centralized, socialistic government, of which Germany is unquestionably the leading exponent, an understanding and appreciation of which in behalf of Progress, the millions upon millions of her enemies are as innocent as the average Russian or Turco now fighting Germany is of Civilization!

Should it come to the worst for Germany, after all, which does not seem likely at present, I assure you that we shall see another *Gustavus Adolphus* coming to the rescue of the *New Principle* to be defended by force in the 20th Century, if need be, as was the *New Principle* of a *Modern Interpretation of the Great Christian Idealism* in the 16th Century finally defended by force by the same Teutonic Europe, leading to Victory on the field as well as at home, making for greater justice, equity, and speedier progress!—*The Editor of War Echoes.*

ANTI-MACCHIAVELLIISM AND THE WAR.

This is the seventh article of a series on THE EUROPEAN WAR, which appeared in the October number of THE OPEN COURT, under the title "Anti-Macchiavelli," written by the Editor, Dr. Paul Carus.

Consult the INDEX for the complete series, and, in order to see where, in the various Chapters of the book, the different articles of this treatise may be found, look for EUROPEAN WAR (THE). In this way the reader may read the entire series of articles in their original order, if he chooses to do so, while the present arrangement still gives him the advantage of bringing the various articles under their proper, respective Chapter-headings of the book.

This is a series of exceptionally fine articles on the subject in question, and they bear a unique and important relation to each other. Be sure to read them also in their original order.—Editor, "War Echoes."

Some centuries ago statecraft was deemed an intricate and profound science and was assumed to have an ethics of its own. The men in power were either voluptuaries by God's grace or crafty intriguers, and the principles which guided the latter, the successful princes, were presented by Macchiavelli (1469-1527) in a book entitled "Il Principe," which has been, and in certain circles is still regarded as the primer of statecraft, and every statesman was expected to follow its precepts.

According to Macchiavelli a prince should keep up quarrels between the factions of his own state in order to preserve his dominion, and he should also stir up war between other states in order to profit by the difficulties and perplexities thus caused; or as the Latin formula runs: *Divide et impera*, that is to say, Cause dissensions and keep the balance of power.

A piece of practical statecraft in perfect agreement with Macchiavelli's unscrupulous maxims, is preserved in the testament of Peter the Great* from which we will here reproduce a few specimens to show our readers what it means to support Russia and how little any one can rely on Rus-

* 1725.†

†See Jourdain in the Index for the complete Reference.—Editor.

sian faith. The clauses 9-11 read thus:

"Clause 9.—Russia must incessantly extend herself toward the north along the Baltic Sea, and toward the south along the Black Sea. Our kingdom must advance as far as possible toward Constantinople and the East Indies. Whoever shall reign here will be the true master of the world. Therefore we must excite continual wars, sometimes with Turkey; sometimes with Persia; create dockyards on the Black Sea; take possession, little by little, of that sea, as well as of the Baltic, which is a point doubly necessary for the success of the project; we must hasten the downfall of Persia; penetrate as far as the Persian Gulf; re-establish, if possible, the ancient commerce of the Levant through Syria; and advance as far as the Indies, which is the emporium of the world. When once there we can do without the gold of England.

"Clause 10.—Russia must carefully seek and keep up the alliance with Austria; apparently second her design for future domination over Germany; and we must excite underhand against her a jealousy of the princes. We must incite each and all of these to seek succor from Russia, and exercise a sort of protection over the country, which may prepare our future domination.

"Clause 11.—We must interest the House of Austra in the expulsion of the Turk from Europe, and neutralize her jealousy after the conquest of the conquest, to retake it from a war between her and the old states of Europe, or by giving up her part of the conquest, to retake it from her afterward."

The last will and testament of Peter the Great, proposing the plan to expand Russian influence, to Russify the whole world, and make the Czar supreme on earth, is Russia's sacred heirloom, but Russia accepted also the Triple Entente, not with an idea of benefiting England or France, but because she discovered a plan of thus using France and England for the enhancement of the grand Russian ideal. How shortsighted was Edward VII not to understand the situation, nor to suspect that he gave Russia a chance to further the Czar's ambitions!

Russian policy has been and will continue to be directed mainly against England, and the English know it; but the recent fear of growing Germany caused Edward VII to form the Triple Entente, a coalition based on Macchiavelli's principles of statecraft. English people are honest, but they do not seem to realize that the English government is guided by the policy of Macchiavelli, that they are befriending a dangerous enemy with which they will later have to reckon.

In the thirties of the eighteenth century, a new view of statecraft, first proclaimed anonymously under the title "Anti-Macchiavelli," proposed the principle that a prince would hold his own best if he performed his duty, if he made himself indispensable to his subjects by giving them the best possible service, and soon the secret leaked out that the author of the tract was Frederick, the brilliant young crown prince of Prussia. The news created a sensation in the European courts, for Prussia, a small upstart state of Germany, had just aroused wide-spread suspicion on account of its vigorous militarism. But now all fear was allayed; the world became convinced that the Prussian crown prince was a visionary; he loved art and science and manifested literary—especially French literary—interests; he believed in honesty in politics; he wished to be honest to other states and also to his own subjects, and indeed, in his later life as a king, he regarded himself as the first servant of the state, "*le premier domestique de l'état.* How silly that principle must have appeared to the admirers of the grand and pompous Louis XIV, who is reported to have *said "L'état c'est moi!"*

It is noteworthy, however, that Frederick's principle of honesty in statecraft included militarism in the proper sense of the term, i. e., the obligation to keep a country in a state of strong defense and to be prepared to fight enemies who might grudge its growth and attack it. The first act of his government consisted in maintaining his claim to Silesia in two wars against Austria.

In 1756 Austria, Russia, France and the German empire united to crush him and wipe Prussia from the face of the earth. The situation seemed absolutely hopeless for the young king. How could he defend himself against the whole world?

At that time Saxony was implicated in the alliance, and so Frederick broke the neutrality of Saxony because he saw the necessity of anticipating the crushing onslaught of his enemies. The result is known. He remained victor, and history honors him by calling him Frederick the Great. There is no need to tell the story of his life, his difficulties, his occasional defeats and his final triumph.

The spirit of Frederick the Great has not yet died out; on the contrary it has grown; it spread all over Germany; it founded the German empire and it animates the German people of to-day. It is Frederick's spirit which is now branded by the enemies of Germany as "militarism."

The Kaiser's idea that he is king of Prussia and emperor of Germany by God's grace may be based on an antiquated and superstitious notion of his divine dignity, but we must grant he interprets it in the sense that as king and emperor he is responsible to God for his government and even the Social Democrats do not doubt that he acts according to his conscience.

Anti-Macchiavelli.

And here is Mr. Jourdain's reply to the Editor's discussion of this subject.—Editor of ***War Echoes.***

The Editor quotes a few clauses from the testament of Peter the Great, who ruled from 1689 to 1725, "to show our readers what it means to support Russia and how little any one can rely on Russian faith."[3] The dates alone make this contention precarious; one could as soon attribute to M. Poincaré the ruling ideas of Louis XIV, or to King George V the methods and aims of James II. To counterbalance Peter the Great's "testament" the Editor draws attention to Frederick the Great's "Anti-Macchiavelli,"[4] issued by Voltaire at the Hague in 1740, and containing not Frederick's own ideas but a reflection of the generous French philosophy of the eighteenth century respecting the duty of sovereigns, which may be summed up in the sentence: "The prince is not the absolute master but only the first servant of the people." It is however worthy of note that the great Frederick who joined in the partition of Poland was no believer in honesty in politics. Of statecraft popularly called Macchiavellian I have found the most remarkable expressions in German authors such as Bernhardi, who in speaking of Germany's future[5] war with France, says "As soon as we are ready to fight, our statesmen must so shuffle the cards that France shall appear to be the aggressor,"[6]—a sentence that might have been written by the ingenious author of "Il Principe."

[3] "Ibid," p. 620.*
[4] "Ibid.," p. 621.
[5] "Germany and the Next War," published in 1911.
[6] "Ibid.," p. 280.
* See Jourdain in Index for complete Reference.—Editor.

The Evolution of the German Empire, Continued.

Germany and the Holy Alliance.

The government of Prussia did not keep faith with the people after the overthrow of Napoleon by granting constitutional government, but it joined Austria and Russia as a member of the infamous Holy Alliance and thereby entered upon a policy of reaction. Metternich, the Austrian minister of foreign affairs, was the moving spirit of the Holy Alliance and as such became the evil genius of Europe for the next thirty years. Especially baneful was his influence over the princes of the German states who readily adopted his system. The darkness of the Middle Ages seemed to have settled down upon Germany after 1815. The press was placed under the strictest censorship. Even the universities which had always prized their *Lehrfreiheit* and *Lernfreiheit* were supervised, because the liberal ideas had taken hold especially of the sudent organizations or Burschenschaften. Every manifestation of liberalism in Germany was at once crushed. Thus the people were cheated out of the promise which had been made by the Articles of Confederation of 1815, that constitutions should be granted as soon as practicable to the various German states which had in that year formed a loose union. Karl August of Weimar, the friend and patron of Goethe

CENTRAL EUROPE

(From "The Navy," Washington, September, 1914)

MONUMENT OF THE BATTLE OF LEIPSIC

(By Courtesy of the "Open Court")

and Schiller, had granted constitutional government to his people in 1816; Baden and Bavaria in 1818; Würtemberg in 1819; but Prussia would not imitate their example and thus failed to seize the opportunity of placing herself at the head of the reform movement. Only very slowly, as a result of the revolutionary movements of 1830 and 1848, did Prussia and the other German states gradually yield to the liberal movement. In 1851 the new Prussian constitution went into effect. That state was now prepared to take up its mission of bringing about a unification of the German states under her leadership.

Austria, however, blocked the way. Even after the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire, in 1806, the German princes looked to Austria as their leader.

The national uprising which had resulted in the overthrow of Napoleon had everywhere in Europe kindled a new patriotism and a new interest in the history of each nation. Nowhere was this growth of the historical spirit or the interest in the past stronger than in Germany. It is not to be wondered at that the people took up the unification idea with as much enthusiasm as they made the demand for liberal government. The leader in this movement for the formation of a strong and united Germany was the famous Baron vom Stein. However, nothing came of this save the formation of a loose Confederation of the German states, known as the *Deutsche Bund*, with an organization somewhat like that of the American Confederation before 1787. Each state retained its sovereignty. The Parliament meeting at Frankfort had little authority to enforce its decrees. There were 38 members of the union. Austria was the chairman. They were separated by tariff walls. The entire creation had feet of clay.

The revolutionary movement of 1848 took hold of the German states and led to the calling of a National Assembly the members of which were elected by the people and met in the Paulskirche at Frankfort, May 18, 1848. Archduke John of Austria was chosen imperial regent and appointed a ministry to carry on the administration. A declaration of rights and a constitution were discussed which gave the theorists a fine opportunity to waste much time discussing abstract principles. The new political structure was to have as its cornerstone the principle of the sovereignty of the people. Provision was made for the vesting of the executive in an hereditary emperor, and this office was tendered to King Frederick William IV. Though a great scholar, the Prussian king was weak and conservative. He distrusted popular movements and doubted whether the National Assembly really possessed the authority to confer power upon him. Moreover, he was averse to offending Austria, so he refused the offer and declared against the new constitution. The whole unification movement thus came to naught for the time being. Once more Austria had her way. The old diet was again instituted and the system of Metternich was re-established, though only for a moment. This much progress had, however, been made: Prussia had obtained a constitution in 1851 and she was from this time on regarded as the nucleus of all future hopes in the unification movement.

The Customs Union.

In the meantime Prussia had taken important steps in bringing about an economic union which did much to prepare the way for an ultimate political unification. In 1828 a customs union was entered into with Hessen-Darmstadt, also in 1829 with Bavaria and Würtemberg. January 1, 1834, the German Zollverein went into effect which secured free trade to all its members, so that there were no duties levied on goods passing from one state of the Union to another. The advantages of this arrangement were so apparent that state after state entered it. This gave a great impetus to the movement for political unification. Inasmuch as Prussia had taken the lead, the smaller states began more and more to look to her as their head.

Accession of William I.

A new era in Prussia began with the regency of Prince William who took charge of affairs when his brother, Frederick William IV, became insane in 1858, and who became king in 1861 at the death of his brother. The new king was not as brilliant a scholar as his predecessor but he was a practical statesman. He had spent many years in the army. He was not a doctrinaire but combined pliability and steadfastness of character. Never attempting the impossible, never chasing after phantoms, he knew how to adapt himself to a change of conditions. Besides, he possessed a deep insight into human nature and was very quick to detect ability in others and thus select the right men to help him carry out his plans.

Especially important was, in September, 1862, his selection of Bismarck as minister-president of Prussia. His choice was violently criticized at the time, for Bismarck was almost universally misjudged. Most people considered him a reactionary of the most pronounced type. Even the great historian Max Duncker called him a gambler who was staking the very existence of Prussia. Never did a man suffer greater criticism and opposition than Bismarck did throughout his career. The greatest statesman Germany ever produced could not have maintained himself for a moment had he been dependent upon the support of the people. It was only the unfaltering support of King William I that held him in power and enabled him to carry to completion his wonderful work. The friendship between the king and Bismarck was as beautiful as that of Damon and Pythias or of Epaminondas and Pelopidas.

Bismarck's Program.

Bismarck's political program was laid out from the beginning of his career as a statesman, and he never faltered in his undertaking or swerved from his course. He aimed at bringing about the unification of the German states under Prussian leadership. Austria had shown for centuries that she was unable to unify Germany; in fact, it was only too evident that she had tried to keep Germany weak and to subordinate her to her other dynastic interests. Austria must therefore be forced out of German affairs in order that Prussia's way might be clear. Bismarck knew that this question could not be settled by treaties or persuasion but only by "blood and iron." He deemed the blessings to be attained to be worth the cost. Just as the American republic could not come into existence without the War of the Revolution; and just as it could not be saved from disruption without the Civil War, Bismarck realized that the opposition against the formation of a German Empire under Prussian leadership necessitated war. And for this war Prussia must be ready.

Never did a statesman have a more complicated problem to solve than did Bismarck. With wonderful clearness of vision he was able to comprehend this problem in all its phases. He knew not only what should be done but also understood how to do it. His strength of will was as great as his insight. Only a man of titanic might could become the smith who was able to weld the many states into one great empire.

Prussian Militarism.

For the fourth time in Prussian history the necessity of military preparedness became evident, if the vital interests of the state were to be furthered. As the Great Elector knew that the *disjecta membra* of his dominions, scattered between the Rhine and the Vistula, could become a real state and thus be delivered from the misery of constant friction only by building up a strong army; as Frederick William I and Frederick the Great realized that Prussia, surrounded on all sides by jealous and rapacious neighbors waiting, like hungry wolves, for an opportunity to fall upon their prey, could save herself only by means of her army; as Frederick William III realized that Prussia could throw off the iron yoke of Napoleon only by regenerating her army; so now again, William I instinctively felt that the interests of Prussia were bound up with those of all Germany and that these interests could be furthered only by a reorganization of the army. Not only Austria but all Europe would sooner or later oppose the formation of a strong German Empire, for they had for centuries profited from her weakness and made her the battle ground of Europe. It may be said in this connection in the light of present occurrences that for a fifth time, if the Germans are to be saved, it will be because of their army. The foresight of William I and Bismarck not only pertained to the period from 1861 to 1871, but it has been justified by the occurrences of 1914. As the neighbors of Germany tried to keep her divided for ages, so today, realizing what an irresistible power has come to her through her unification, they have combined to crush her. Without her army she would have to beg for mercy. Today she is able to accept the challenge of the most formidable combination that has ever been entered into against any state. If ever military preparedness has been justified by its fruits it is in Germany. Anywhere else so-called "militarism" would have had no other purpose save that of aggression. For Germany it has constituted to this day the only possibility of existence.

Today every German realizes what his country owes to the army and is prepared to bring any sacrifice to maintain its efficiency. It is not a thing set against himself but something of which he is a part. When Bismarck in 1862 undertook to reorganize the Prussian army nobody but he and the king realized what a blessing this army was destined to be. Bismarck could strengthen the army only by opposing the Prussian Parliament and by making himself guilty of a breach of the constitution by raising a loan on his own initiative. The fury of the attack launched against him by his antagonists was unbounded. He was the most unpopular man in Prussia.

The Schleswig-Holstein Affair.

Bismarck had to wait only two years to see his policy bear fruit and to receive at least a small measure of praise for his foresight. In 1864 war was declared by the Confederation of German states against Denmark for trying to absorb the two German provinces of Schleswig and Holstein to which she had no right, having been bound to them only in a personal union as Hannover had been bound to England since the days of George I. Prussia joined hands with Austria in attacking Denmark. The war was short. The Prussian army distinguished itself at Düppel and Alsen. Denmark sued for peace by relinquishing Schleswig-Holstein.

The Seven Weeks' War With Austria.

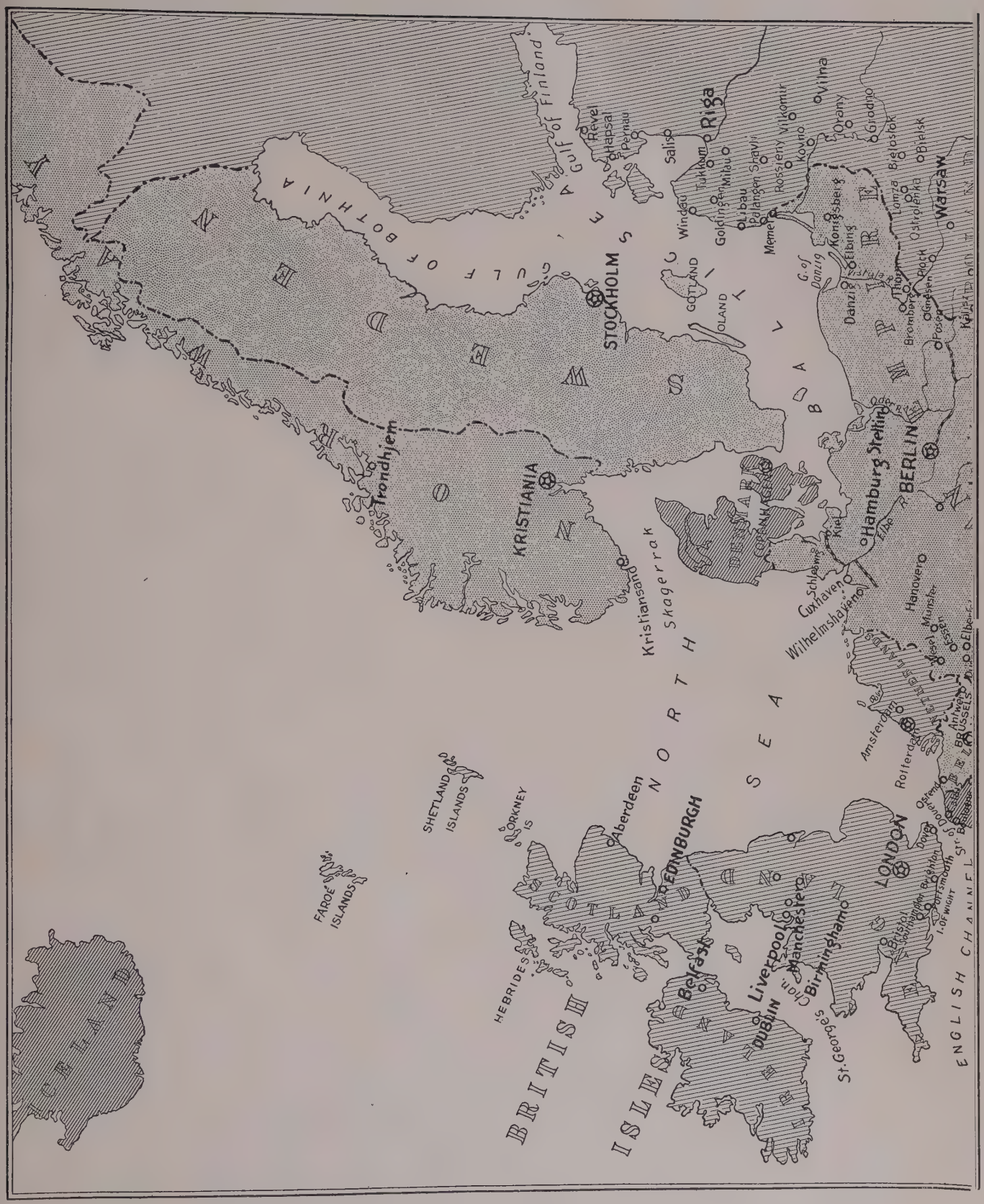
Bismarck's plan of getting Austria and Prussia to co-operate in the Schleswig-Holstein affair was a master-stroke of diplomacy. His hope that it would lead to difficulties and thereby necessitate a final understanding with Austria regarding Prussia's German policy was fully realized. In the Treaty of Gastein it was agreed that the newly liberated provinces should be jointly administered by both powers, Prussia taking charge of the affairs of Schleswig, while Austria took in hand the administration of Holstein. Discord was bound to come out of this arrangement. The two systems were so different that misunderstandings were inevitable. Austria began to work against Prussia. While Austria had no desire to annex any of this territory, she did not want Prussia to have it either and therefore began to think of turning over the provinces to the Prince of Augustenburg to whom Prussia was much opposed. Prussia insisted that, inasmuch as Schleswig-Holstein was contiguous to her own territory, she must safeguard her own interests since the Prince of Augustenburg was anti-Prussian in sentiment. Both sides now prepared for war.

The Emperor Napoleon III promised to permit Austria and Prussia to fight the matter out without the interference of France, intimating that France would expect Prussia to allow her to appropriate Belgium or some other territory on the left bank of the Rhine as a reward for his neutrality. No definite agreement, however, was made on this point and subsequently Bismarck was able to say truthfully that he had made no promise. Certainly Bismarck here outwitted Napoleon, who regarded himself as the greatest diplomat in Europe, and not only secured an open hand in the reckoning with Austria but also saved Belgium from being swallowed up by France.

At the same time Bismarck negotiated a treaty with Italy who was carrying out the unification of her territory. According to this treaty Italy was to win Venetia from Austria whilst Prussia was to attack Austria from the north. Italy was beaten but Bismarck was true to his ally and insisted that Austria cede Venetia to her.

The smaller German states all helped Austria. Prussia was therefore fighting against great odds, since the population of the states arrayed against her was three times as great as her own. So excellent, however, was the reorganized Prussian army that a brilliant campaign of only seven weeks brought the smaller German states and Austria to terms. The genius of von Moltke, who was chief of the Prussian general staff, proved itself in this war. The great battle of Sadowa or Königgrätz, fought on the third of July, 1866, opened the way to Vienna and was soon followed by the Treaty of Prague.

The terms imposed upon Austria were very moderate. Bismarck only wished to have Austria step out of


NORTHERN EUROPE
(From "The Navy," Washington, September, 1914)
ICELAND
FAROE ISLANDS
SHETLAND ISLANDS
ORKNEY IS
HEBRIDES
BRITISH ISLES
SCOTLAND
Aberdeen
EDINBURGH
Belfast
DUBLIN
Liverpool
Manchester
Birmingham
St. George's Ch.
LONDON
Bristol
Southampton
Brighton
Portsmouth
I. OF WIGHT
Dover
Ostend
Antwerp
BRUSSELS
Rotterdam
Amsterdam
Ijsel
Munster
Essen
Elberfeld
Hanover
Cuxhaven
Wilhelmshaven
Schleswig
Kiel
Hamburg
Stettin
BERLIN
Elbe
Oder
Posen
Gnesen
Plock
Kalisz
Thorn
Bromberg
Danzig
Elbing
Konigsberg
Memel
Tilsit
Gulf of Danzig
Warsaw
Bielsk
Bialystok
Lomza
Ostrolenka
Grodno
Orany
Vilna
Kovno
Rossieny
Vilkomir
Shavli
Palanger
Libau
Mitau
Goldingen
Tukkum
Windau
Riga
Salisburg
Pernau
Reval
Gulf of Finland
Baltic Sea
Gulf of Bothnia
Stockholm
Gotland
Oland
Kristiania
Kristiansand
Skagerrak
Copenhagen
Denmark
Trondhjem
Norway
Sweden
Finland

Germany and allow Prussia to have her way in carrying out her German program. He took none of her lands from her but simply made her pay the expenses of the war. She was also required to cede Venetia to Italy. Austria had every reason to be thankful for the self-restraint and generosity which Prussia had shown and after a few years had so far forgotten her animosity that she was ready to form an alliance with Germany.

The North-German Confederation.

Again Bismarck's policy had triumphed. A great stride was now taken in the direction of German unification. Prussia in 1867 gathered around her all the German states north of the Main River. This union, already bound together by the economic freedom of the Zollverein, included 21 states. It was called the North German Confederation and added a population of over five millions to that of Prussia. While each state was to retain control over its state affairs, there was instituted a Bundesrat or upper house, presided over by the Chancellor of the Confederation, and a second legislative chamber, the Reichstag, the members of which were elected by the people by universal and direct suffrage. The army of the Bund was under the supreme command of the King of Prussia. This union was compact and well organized. All that was needed to have it cover all Germany was the inclusion of the South German states, which still held aloof. It was only a question of time when they might also be expected to join in the unification movement. The advantages they would have, especially along economic lines, were too evident to escape them. The consolidation of all the German states was hastened by the Franco-Prussian war.

The Franco-Prussian War.

The Emperor Napoleon III. of France had viewed with alarm the rise of a great power on the east of France. He had been outwitted at every turn by the brilliant statesmanship of Bismarck. As a last resort he hoped that the south German states would form a confederation under his protectorate. He now began to seek a pretext for war with Prussia and counted on the support of the south German states as well as upon that of Austria and Italy. He expected to strike Prussia before she was ready and believed that the newly invented Chassepot gun and the mitrailleuse would prove superior to the Prussian needle gun. Never did a ruler rush so blindly to his own doom or force a war upon a more trivial excuse.

The issue Napoleon III. was seeking was found when the Spanish people, having driven out the vicious Queen Isabella, tendered the crown of Spain to Leopold of Hohenzollern, a distant relative of King William I. of Prussia, whose brother Karl had a few years before been chosen King of Roumania. Being a Catholic and related on his mother's side to the Bonapartists, one would have thought that Leopold would prove acceptable to Napoleon III. The latter, however, believed that this was a plan to increase the prestige of Prussia by enabling her to play a part in European affairs similar to that of the Hapsburgs and the Bourbons in a former age. He therefore instructed his ambassador Benedetti to call on King William I. at Ems and insist that he command Leopold to withdraw. The King replied that he had no authority to do this since Leopold was only his relative, not one of his subjects, and might act as he chose. When Leopold heard of the trouble his candidacy was causing, he withdrew of his own accord. Everybody thought this would end the matter. Even Napoleon had previously declared that nothing save the withdrawal of Leopold would prevent war. Now, however, he determined to push the matter still further and thereby either humiliate Prussia so that she would be disgraced before the world, especially before the south German states, or else to goad her into war. Gramont, his minister of foreign affairs, demanded of von Werther, the Prussian ambassador at Paris, that King William write a letter begging the pardon of the Emperor Napoleon, in which he would state that it had not been his intention to insult the emperor and France. Benedetti was also instructed to demand a second audience with King William and secure his promise that he fully agreed with the withdrawal of Prince Leopold and would not sanction a renewal of the candidacy of a Hohenzollern prince.

Benedetti presented this demand on the morning of July 13th when he met the King at the public promenade before the springs at Ems and received the firm but courteous reply, that the King had fully expressed himself in this matter and that any further information might be obtained from his ministry. Then came the demand for a written letter which had been sent from Paris through the Prussian ambassador. "Who ever heard of such insolence?" wrote King William to his wife. He refused Benedetti's request for a third audience. France thereupon considered this an insult and declared war on the 19th of July, 1870.

Napoleon urged on by the war party at Paris, had committed a fatal blunder. Retribution for this unwarranted attack on the honor of another state came with the greatest rapidity.

Bismarck had followed closely the machinations at Paris. Von Moltke and von Roon, who were in charge of the Prussian army, assured him that if France desired war at any price she would find Prussia ready. Bismarck and von Moltke were discussing matters in Berlin when a dispatch had been written by Abeken, one of Bismarck's subordinates, at the suggestion of King William and empowered Bismarck to give the news to the press in case he saw fit to do so. The Chancellor had full authority in this matter. The original dispatch was lengthly and poorly expressed. It reads as follows:

"His Majesty writes me: 'Count Benedetti stopped me at the promenade, and demanded in a very presumptuous manner, that I authorize him to telegraph immediately, that I obligate myself for all time, never again to give my consent if the Hohenzollern resumed their candidacy. I finally rather earnestly refused since one must not or can not ever enter into such obligations. Of course I told him that I had not yet received anything and that since he had been notified by way of Paris and Madrid sooner than I, my government was again not involved.' His majesty has since then obtained a letter from the prince. Inasmuch as His Majesty told Count Benedetti that he is expecting news from the prince, the King decided, in reference to the above demand and the report of Count Eulenburg and myself, not to receive Count Benedetti again, but to inform him through an adjutant, that His Majesty has now received from the Prince the confirmation of the news which Benedetti had already received from Paris and has nothing further to say to the ambassador. His Majesty leaves it to your excellency to decide whether or not you will inform the press of this new demand of Benedetti's and its refusal."

It will be seen from this that Bismarck alone had the power and right to put this information into the newspapers in any manner he chose. He decided to shorten the dispatch without changing its meaning, so that it was given to the papers in the following form:

"After the news concerning the withdrawal of the Prince of Hohenzollern was sent to the imperial French government by the royal Spanish government, the French ambassador demanded of His Majesty the King at Ems that he be authorized to telegraph to Paris that His Majesty the King obligate himself for the future never to consent to a renewal of the Hohenzollern candidacy. His Majesty the King thereupon refused to receive the French ambassador again and informed him through an adjutant of the service, that His Majesty had nothing further to say to the ambassador."

A storm of indignation at the insolence of France swept not only through Prussia but through all the German states, even those of south Germany, and all of them placed their armies at the disposal of the Prussian king. France had put herself in the wrong and had thereby hastened the unification of all the German states—the very thing Napoleon had been most anxious to prevent.

All of Napoleon's plans miscarried. France was wholly unprepared for war. Austria and Italy waited to see which side would win the first victories. When news came of the great German victories at Wörth, Gravelotte, Metz, and Sedan they determined to remain neutral. When the bombardment of Paris began the outcome of the war could no longer be doubtful.

Proclamation of the New German Empire.

January 18, 1871, while the bombardment of Paris was still in pro-

gress, an event of world importance took place at Versailles, when the princes of the various German states, headed by the King of Bavaria, offered to King William of Prussia the crown as German Emperor. The proclamation of the new German empire marks the consummation of the struggle for unification which had been the dream of centuries and which had now been realized by the combination of many favorable circumstances among which the most important were the brilliant statesmanship of Bismarck, the enthusiasm of the German people, and the wonderful efficiency of the German army.

CARLYLE'S ESTIMATE OF BISMARCK.

(From the "Questions and Answers" Column in the "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung" of October 21, 1914.)

D. O. M. Can you give me Carlyle's estimate of Bismarck?

In a letter to The Times, Carlyle wrote, under date of November 11th, 1870, the following words: "Considerable misconception as to Herr von Bismarck is still prevalent in England. The English newspapers, nearly all of them, seem to me to be getting towards a true knowledge of Bismarck, but not yet to it * * * Bismarck, as I read him, is not a person of 'Napoleonic' ideas, but of ideas quite superior to Napoleonic; shows no invincible 'lust of territory,' nor is tormented with 'vulgar ambitions,' etc.; but has aims very far beyond that sphere; and in fact seems to me to be striving with strong faculty, by patient, grand and successful steps, towards an object beneficial to Germans and to all other men. That noble, patient, deep, pious and solid Germany should be at length welded into a nation, and become Queen of the Continent, instead of vapouring, vainglorious, gesticulating, quarrelsome, restless and over-sensitive France, seems to me the hopefulest public fact that has occurred in my time."

The Great European Problem of the Twentieth Century—Pan-Slavism All Europe Concerned

THE EUROPEAN WAR.

PAN-SLAVISM AND THE WAR.

This is the first article of a series on THE EUROPEAN WAR, which appeared in the October Number of THE OPEN COURT, under the title "Pan-Slavism," written by the Editor, Dr. Paul Carus.

Consult the INDEX for the complete series, and, in order to see where, in the various Chapters of the book, the different articles of this treatise may be found, look for EUROPEAN WAR (THE). In this way the reader may read the entire series of articles in their original order, if he chooses to do so, while the present arrangement still gives him the advantage of bringing the various articles under their proper, respective Chapter-headings of the book.

This is a series of exceptionally fine articles on the subject in question, and they bear a unique and important relation to each other. Be sure to read them also in the original order.—Editor, "War Echoes."

War, a most terrible war, is now raging in Europe, and the most powerful nations have combined to break Germany's ascendency. Germany is threatened by Russia from the east, by France from the west, and her extended commerce on the seas in all parts of the world has become a prey to Great Britain and Japan.

And why? What is the cause of the war? Because a short time ago the heir apparent to the throne of Austria and his wife were assassinated by a Servian with arms from the Servian arsenal.

Germany had nothing to do with the incident that occasioned the war, but we must know that this particular occurrence is a symptom only of the real reason. The assassination of a prince and his wife might have passed by and be forgotten if there did not exist a condition which made the war an unavoidable necessity. Though the occasion is an incident of secondary importance, it throws light on the political situation of Europe.

Austria-Hungary is a dual state represented by a double headed eagle as its coat of arms, and the Austrian emperor, formerly a Roman emperor of German nationality, is the monarch. In addition to the German Austrians and the Hungarians, the Magyars, there are a number of other nationalities most of which are Slavic: the Czechs in Bohemia, the Slavonians south of Hungary, then the Bosnians, the inhabitants of Herzegovina, the Poles in Galicia, and also some Servians. The Saxons of Transylvania again are Teutons surrounded by Hungarians, Slavs and Rumanians. It would be easy enough to solve the problem of the races if they lived in separate communities, but the trouble is that they live in the same countries and cities, and there are for instance about as many German Bohemians as Czechs living in Bohemia, and the Saxon Transylvanian farmers employ as farm hands Slavs and other races, among them also Gypsies.

Austria is about as large as Germany and France, but it is weak on account of its lack of internal unity and the hatred among the different races. The Austrian army can not develop the efficiency which other armies possess where the same language is spoken by all the troops.

The race problem in Austria is a calamity but it becomes worse by the propaganda of Panslavism, which means that all the Slavs should be united under the most powerful Slavic state, Russia. Panslavism would ultimately lead to the ruin of Austria and to the suppression of the German elements now sprinkled over all the Austrian dominions. Panslavism has been advocated mainly by Russia, whose agents have been at work all over the world, also in non-Slavic countries, in Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet, India, China, and even in the United States. The rise of Slavism is proclaimed by them as the power to come; such is at least the intention of Russia, and Peter the Great, the founder of modern Russia, has sketched in his last will and testament a plan to expand Russia and make her the mistress of the world—a bequest holy to the patriotic Russian and a danger to European civilization.

The Slavs are upon the whole a hot-blooded and excitable race. They are good-natured but often thoughtless; they live in the present and trouble little about the future. Their money affairs are usually in great disorder; they do not save and are quite irresponsible. The most numerous of them are the Russians, and we may fairly well say that among the Slavs, the Poles are the most intelligent, while the Balkan Slavs are least civilized. The Russians are easy going and lack judgment. They are mostly extremists, either slavishly submissive to authority or nihilists and anarchists, unamenable to law and order. The leaders of Russia, that clique which runs the government of which the Czar is a helpless tool, are unscrupulous. They are descendants of Germanic invaders, but Russified, and their helpers mostly recruit themselves from German immigrants.

The Poles are not friends of the Russians. They know the government too well. The Poles live in those portions of Europe which were formerly inhabited by the Goths and it is more than probable that the common people are the remnant of the old Gothic population. We begin to understand the migratory movement of Europe better now than before and it seems that these expeditions of conquest were never what historians formerly thought them to be—emigrations of whole peoples. It appears that the emigrants sold the acres which they owned, and the others who remained were too weak in number to resist invaders. The aristocracy of Poland is a well-built brunette race, Slavic in temper and rather small in stature, like the French in character, also jolly, amiable and especially shiftless, while the common people are blue-eyed, blond, tall and often

EUROPE AND THE MEDITERRANEAN

(From "The Navy," Washington, September, 1914)

thrifty. Are we justified in drawing conclusions from these facts? Are the two classes of different descent?

When Poland became Russian, the Poles became acquainted with Russian rule; their treatment has been approximately the same as the Irish have received from the English. Though Slavs themselves, they could never become enthusiastic over the Panslavic ideal.

The Finlanders and Germans of the Baltic provinces, perhaps also the intellectual classes of the Russians proper, have plenty of experience with broken promises of the Russian government, and Russian intrigues have done much harm even in the countries of Russia's friends. Think, for instance, of the Dreyfus-Esterhazy imbroglio in France, which implicates Russia, not Germany, in the spy system, and also of the Russian attempts to alienate Asiatics from England.

If Austria breaks down, Germany will be surrounded by enemies on all sides. If the German portion of Austria together with Hungary should become a part of the Panslavic empire, the German race would have little chance of survival, especially as France has not forgotten her defeat of 1870-71, and is constantly clamoring for revenge. Under these conditions it is but a policy of self-preservation that the Germans are determined to support Austria against the Panslavism of Russia. The triumph of Panslavism implies the downfall of Germany.

The horrible death of the archduke and his wife was not due to the deed of a fanatic individual, it expresses the sentiment of the Servian nation which seems to have been supported by the Servian authorities. Yea, there are indications that these methods of procedure have been instigated by Russian agents and Austria insisted that investigations should bring out the truth. The conspiracy was well supplied with money and can not have been limited to a few private individuals. The report reads:

"So well laid was the plot that there was little chance of escape. Had the pistol shots failed to take effect, another bomb was ready to be thrown in the next block, while under the table at which the archduke was to lunch two others were discovered. In the chimney of the Duchess of Hohenberg's apartments still another bomb was found, while the railway over which it was expected the imperial party would leave Sarayevo was literally mined with dynamite."

The roots of the conspiracy spread into Servia, and Austria insisted that an investigation should bring out the truth.

Servia promised an investigation, but since Austria did not trust the Servians to be impartial, Austria issued an ultimatum demanding Austrian representatives in court. This, however, was indignantly refused, and the refusal strengthened the suspicion that both the Servian and Russian governments were co-guilty of the criminal conspiracy. While Germany recognized the justice of the Austrian demand, Russia supported the Servian cause and the result was war—a war of the Slav against the Teuton, the object being the Panslavic ideal of Russia, and in this war Russia was supported by France and England, according to the Triple Entente.

According to the British White Book, Sir Edward Grey sided with Servia in its refusal of Number Five of the Austrian ultimatum saying that it "would be hardly consistent with the maintenance of Servia's independent sovereignty if it (Austria's demand) were to mean that Austria-Hungary was to be invested with the right to appoint officials who would have authority within the frontiers of Servia."

That sounds very fair, but would Sir Edward use the same argument if the Prince of Wales had been assassinated and some little nationality on the moral level of Servia were for good reasons suspected of having helped in the deed and plotting renewals of the crime so as to endanger the British government and its royal family? That would have been different.

How can anyone defend Russia's protection of assassins, or who can glance over the history of these events without suspecting the leaders of Panslavism of having instigated the deed? But that England rushed at once to the support of the methods of Panslavism is incomprehensible except on the assumption that England favored the plan of a most stupendous war in which Germany's prosperity, her manhood, her civilization, would be buried under the armies of the invading Russ.

Panslavism and the Russian Czar are to be helped by the French, and both are to be supported by the British fleet. The ruinous march of the Gallic foe in the time of Napoleon the First, about one hundred and nine years ago, is to be repeated but is being made more effective by the Slavic ally. What reason have the English for joining such a war? They will rid themselves of an inconvenient competitor; and they feel safe in undertaking the war, for they believe success can be gained without much risk to Albion.

The Kaiser is a peaceful man. If any one deserves the Nobel peace prize, it is he. Since his ascent to the throne he has preserved the peace of Europe, often under the most difficult conditions. The bellicose party of Germany has often been disgusted with the Kaiser's policy and called him William the Pacific. If he declares war, war must be inevitable—and what a war! He has to face the most powerful nation, Russia, with its army of uncounted and almost uncountable numbers, of enormous resources, unexhausted and inexhaustible. In Russia human lives are not only plentiful but cheap, and Russia is supported as a matter of course by France with her well-drilled impetuous men, both in turn being encouraged by England, the undisputed mistress of the seas!

Germany is supported by Austria-Hungary whose weakness is well known. Who can believe that Germany wanted a war of such dimensions, that she has provoked it, or ventured into it for lust of fame or with an expectation of conquest? What can she gain and how can she be benefited even if she keeps her enemies out of the fatherland? And yet her enemies blame the emperor for being responsible for the war!

Germany has been cut off from the rest of the world. America has not received any news of the war except from London, Paris, Petrograd (the new name of St. Petersburg) and Rome. We are informed that the Germans are beaten, and yet they advance. There is some news from Berlin, via Copenhagen or Rotterdam, of recent date, which shows the progress of the war in a very different light.

The murder of the archduke is not the real or only reason of the war; it is the symptom of Panslavism, and Panslavism is the reason why Russia has gone to war. But there are two other reasons: one is the French lust for revenge, the other England's determination not to allow Germany to appear in the field of commerce as her rival, which from the English standpoint means that Germany is England's "first and immediate enemy."

Great Britain has declared war on the ground that Germany would not respect the neutrality of Belgium, but the real reason lies deeper and appears in the anti-German policy of the British government which has established the principle that for every keel the emperor lays down, England will lay down two, and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle says: "The first fruit of the new German fleet was the Entente Cordiale."

AN ANSWER TO THE "EUROPEAN WAR."[1]

By M. Jourdain.

And here is Mr. Jourdain's reply to the Editor's discussion of this subject.—Editor, *War Echoes.*

One of the leading characteristics of *The Open Court* is that it is really open to discussion, and it is in keeping with the very liberal views of Dr. Paul Carus, a German by birth and sympathies, that I am allowed to discuss and dissent from his views upon the European war published in the October number of *The Open Court* and with other articles in the same number. Dr. Carus's article (pp. 596-646) deals by sections with questions that have arisen in connection with the war; and following his arrangement, I propose to summarize his arguments and, so far as they seem to me misleading, to question them. The first section is:

PANSLAVISM.

References referring to points in this article may be found by consulting the Index for Jourdain, Carus, "Open Court." War, European War. This is Mr. Jourdain's reply to the Editor's discussion of the subject, Panslavism.—Editor of *War Echoes.*

[1] We publish this article from England as the most comprehensive reply to the editorial position that we have received.—Editor, The Open Court.

After a summary of the characteristics of the Slav races and the well-known disunion of the Austro-Hungarian empire, the Editor turns to the incident of the assassination of the heir-apparent to the throne of Austria and his wife at Sarajevo, on June 23, 1914. There was, he says, no public sympathy throughout Europe for the crime; and yet we read: "No crime has ever aroused deeper or more general horror throughout Europe; none has ever been less justified. Sympathy for Austria was universal. Both the governments and the public opinion of Europe were ready to support her in many measures, however severe, which she might think it necessary to take for the punishment of the murderer and his accomplices."[2]

The opinion of the Russian, French and German governments was that the Servian government was not to blame for the crime, but that Servia must investigate and put an end to the propaganda which had apparently led to it. Sir Edward Grey advised Servia to show herself moderate and conciliatory.[3] Unless it were proved that the Servian government had connived at or incited to the crime; or unless the Servian government were to conduct an investigation in such a way as to screen the conspiracy, there was no reason for declaration of war, or a punitive expedition against Servia. A declaration of war on Austria's part on the ground that she "did not trust the Servians to be impartial"[4] is absurd.

The first open step on Austria's part was an ultimatum delivered at Belgrade, requiring an answer in forty-eight hours. The ten demands involved the suppression of anti-Austrian newspapers, literature and propaganda, the suppression of nationalist societies such as the Narodna Odbrana; the dismissal of officers and functionaries "guilty of propaganda against the Austro-Hungarian monarchy whose names and deeds the Austro-Hungarian government reserve to themselves the right of communicating to the royal government" (of Servia), participation of Austrian officials in judicial proceedings in Servia, the arrest of two individuals compromised by the results of the magisterial inquiry at Sarajevo; the prevention of illicit traffic in arms across the frontier, an explanation of anti-Austrian utterances by high Servian officials, and finally the immediate notification of the enforcement of these measures. In addition, a prescribed statement was to be published by the Servian government in the official journal, condemning anti-Austrian propaganda and regretting the participation of Servian officers and functionaries therein.[5] A summary of the secret trial at Sarajevo was annexed to the ultimatum, giving the bare findings, with no corroborative evidence.

As Sir Edward Grey wrote to Sir Maurice de Bunsen,[6] he had "never before seen one state address to another independent state a document of so formidable a character." The demand for the participation of Austrian officials in judicial proceedings in Servia was "hardly consistent with the maintenance of Servia's independent sovereignty if it were to mean, as it seemed that it might, that Austria-Hungary was to be invested with the right to appoint officials who would have authority within the frontiers of Servia."

The Editor admits that this "sounds very fair."[7] It is, in fact, unanswerable; and no other line of action would be possible even in the imaginary case he adduces, "if the Prince of Wales had been assassinated and some little nationality on the moral level of Servia were for good reasons suspected of having helped in the deed, plotting renewals of the crime so as to endanger the British government and its royal family." I do not think that an Englishman would have his sense of justice warped by national considerations.

Before the expiration of the time-limit of the ultimatum, Servia returned to Austria a reply amounting to an acceptance of all the demands,[8] subject on certain points to the delays necessary for passing new laws and amending her constitution, and subject to Austria-Hungary's explanation as to her wishes with regard to the participation of Austro-Hungarian officials in Servian judicial proceedings. "The Royal Government must confess that they do not clearly grasp the meaning or the scope of the demand made by the Imperial and Royal Government that Servia shall undertake to accept the collaboration of the organs of the Imperial and Royal Government upon their territory, but they declare they will admit such collaboration as agrees with the principles of international law, with criminal procedure, and with good neighborly relations."[9]

This reply went beyond anything which any power—Germany not excepted—thought probable.[10] This was the more remarkable as the time-limit of the ultimatum was as unnecessary as insolent. The impression left upon the mind of Sir Maurice de Bunsen was that the note was "so drawn up as to make war inevitable." "This country," he writes, "has gone wild with joy at the prospect of war with Servia and its postponement or prevention would undoubtedly be a great disappointment."[1]

In this temporary blindness of a people, the Austrian ministers were borne along on a wave of violent enthusiasm, in which they said themselves that they would be dislodged from power if they did not accede to the popular demand for the punishment of Servia.[2]

As Servia consented to dismiss and prosecute those officers who could be clearly proved to be guilty and had already arrested the officer referred to in the Austro-Hungarian note, it is not correct to speak of "Russia's protection of assassins."[3]

Equally incorrect is the statement by the Editor: "That England rushed at once to the support of the methods of Panslavism is incomprehensible except on the assumption that England favored the plan of a most stupendous war in which Germany's prosperity, her manhood, her civilization, would be buried under the armies of the invading Russ."[4]

The British government's attitude was that she had no interest in the Balkans except the consolidation and progressive government of the Balkan states. Sir Edward Grey's concern in the Austro-Hungarian note and the reply of Servia was "simply and solely from the point of view of the peace of Europe. The merits of the dispute between Austria and Servia were not the concern of His Majesty's government."[5] Sir George Buchanan, British ambassador at St. Petersburg, telegraphed (on July 24) that "direct British interests in Servia were nil, and a war on behalf of that country would never be sanctioned by British public opinion."[6] British intervention in the European crisis only followed Germany's violation of Belgian neutrality on August 3. As the Austro-Hungarian note was presented to Servia on July 23, and war was declared by England on Germany on August 4, England's intervention cannot be described as hurried or determined by the action of Russia.

The Editor proceeds to praise the German emperor as the prince of peace. "The Kaiser," he writes, "is a peaceful man. If any one deserves the Nobel peace prize it is he. Since his ascent to the throne he has preserved the peace of Europe, often under the most difficult conditions. The bellicose party of Germany has often been disgusted with the Kaiser's policy and called him William the Pacific."[7] It is perhaps premature to assume that the German emperor is the sole cause of Germany's attitude;[8] but turning to his acts and utterances, *is* it peace that he proclaimed so loudly in the days before the war? Was the author of those wonderful Wardour Street phrases of "the mailed fist" and "shining armour" so pacific? In a speech of his delivered

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[2] Throughout this article I have used for convenience sake the cheap reprint of the English White Paper (which also includes Sir Edward Grey's speech of August 3, and other matter) entitled "Great Britain and the European Crisis," London, 1914. I shall refer to this as "G. B. and the E. C." Here the reference is to the introductory narrative of events, p. iii.*

[3] "Ibid," p. iv.

[4] "Open Court" for October, 1914, p. 599. In future the letters "O. C." will denote that issue of "The Open Court."

[5] "G. B. and the E. C.," pp. 3-9.

* See Jourdain in Index for complete Reference.—Editor.

[6] British ambassador at Vienna.

[7] "O. C.," p. 599.

[8] "G. B. and the E. C.," pp. 22-27.

[9] "G. B. and the E. C.," p. 25. Servia concluded by proposing, in case the Austro-Hungarian government were not satisfied with the reply, "to accept a pacific understanding, either by referring this question to the decision of the international tribunal of The Hague, or to the great powers which took part in the drawing up of the declaration made by the Servian government on March 31, 1909."

[10] "German secretary of state has himself said that there were some things in the Austrian note that Servia could hardly be expected to accept." "G. B. and the E. C.," p. 29.

[1] "G. B. and the E. C.," p. 27.

[2] "Ibid.," p. vii.

[3] "O. C.," p. 599.

[4] "Ibid."

[5] "G. B. and the E. C.," p. 9.

[6] "Ibid.," p. 10.

[7] "O. C.," p. 600.

[8] In December, 1910, he sent his portrait to the minister of education with the significant motto, *Si volo, sic jubeo.* The words of the minister completed the quotation. On May 4, 1891, at a Rhenish banquet, he said: "There is but one master in the country; it is I, and I will bear no other." In a speech at Königsberg, May 25, 1910, he wrote: "Considering myself as the instrument of the Lord, without heeding the views and opinions of the day I go my way"—an attitude which might lead to breaches of the peace.

on March 1, 1900, on the completion of a fort, he said: "I christen thee Fort Haeseler. Thou wilt be called upon to defend the *conquests* of Germany over the western foes." Seven months later, in celebrating Moltke's birthday, he expressed a desire that "thy staff may lead Germany to further victories." The man who could proclaim that "nothing must be settled in this world without the intervention of Germany and the German emperor," cannot be the most pacific of European sovereigns. That the English people had some just cause for uneasiness in the past may be seen from a very courageous and temperate article in the "Frankfurter Zeitung," December 29, 1911: "We shall be obliged to admit that the distrust on the other side of the English Channel is not altogether unfounded. If we had to listen to such utterances from the mouth of a foreign sovereign, we too would become restive and take thought for the strengthening of our line of defense. At present we can only ask England not to take so seriously the utterances in question, since we have long ago had the experience that great words are not followed by great deeds. We know that the Kruger telegram, the challenge to the yellow races, the speech at Damascus, the trip to Tangier, the sending of the "Panther," and so on, were only outward gestures which remained without any corresponding consequences. This is one of the weakest points of our foreign policy. We say to England again and again: 'The German nation is absolutely peaceably-minded, and wishes to live on terms of peace and friendship with England just as much as with all other nations.' This makes no impression on them, since they answer us: 'We are glad to believe that the German nation is peaceably-minded, but the German nation does not make German policy. Her policy is made in a quarter which is absolute, irresponsible, and incalculable; and for that reason we attach merely a Platonic, and never a practical, value to the national professions of peace.' What answer are we to make to that?"

"Who can believe," writes the Editor,[9] "that Germany wanted a war of such dimensions, that she provoked it or ventured into it for lust of fame or with an expectation of conquest? What can she gain?" The answer to this is twofold: Firstly, there has existed an aggressive war literature in Germany which has no parallel in any other country. Von Treitschke condemns perpetual peace as the "dream of weary, spiritless, and exhausted ages," while Bernhardi, echoing Treitschke, speaks of war as "an indispensable factor of culture, in which a truly civilized nation finds the highest experience." In the latter author's works war with France and Russia simultaneously is hopefully anticipated, for "in one way or another we must square our account with France. . . .This is the first and foremost condition of a sound German policy. . . . France must be so completely crushed that she can never again come across our path. A pacific agreement with England is, after all, a will-o'-the-wisp which no serious German statesman would trouble to follow. We must always keep the possibility of war with England before our eyes and arrange our political and military plans accordingly." As Bernhardi (who died in 1913) was a prominent German general, high up in the general staff, his aspirations have a certain degree of authority. And apart from militarist writers, every traveler in Germany has come face to face with what Sir Walter Raleigh aptly calls "the cheerful brutality of their political talk."[10] "I remember meeting," he adds, "with a Prussian nobleman, a well-bred and pleasant man, who was fond of expounding the Prussian creed. He was said to be a political agent, but he certainly learned nothing in conversation. . . .The error of the Germans, we were told, was always that they are too humane; their dislike of cruelty amounts to a weakness in them. They let France escape with a paltry fine; next time France must be beaten to the dust. Always with a pleasant outward courtesy, he passed on to England. England was decadent and powerless, her rule must pass to the Germans. 'But we shall treat England rather less severely than France,' said this bland apostle of Prussian culture. . . .The grossness of the whole thing was in curious contrast with the polite and quiet voice with which he uttered his insolences." It is possible not to draw the conclusion that war with Russia and France was expected, one might say desired, by an influential party in Germany. That she did not desire a "war of such dimensions" is quite evident from the bids for English neutrality.[1] Yet she inevitably drew England into the war by her violation of the neutrality of Belgium; and both Austria and Germany were quite aware of the fact that the note to Servia might lead to a European war. The German White Book informs us that the Austrian government informed the German government of their "conception" of the situation and asked their opinion. The White Book comments as follows:

"With all our heart we were able to agree with our ally's estimate of the situation, and assure him that any action considered necessary to end the movement in Servia directed against the conservation of monarchy would meet with our approval.

"We were perfectly aware that a possible warlike attitude of Austria-Hungary against Servia might bring Russia upon the field, and that it might, therefore, involve us in a war, in accordance with our duty as allies."[2]

In the second place, Germany showed no wish to work for peace when the key of the situation lay with Berlin. While Russia, France and England initiated and supported peaceful measures, the German chancellor claimed that none should intervene between Austria and Servia.[3]

The remaining arguments of the Editor that the causes of the war are "the French lust for revenge"[4] and "England's determination not to allow Germany to appear on the field of commerce as her rival,"[5] and "the anti-German policy of the British government"[6] are more conveniently treated of under the sections on the "Foes of Germany" and the "English Point of View." The statement that "Germany has been cut off from the rest of the world" is hardly correct, as the German official wireless is sent out and is published daily in the English newspapers, while German newspapers can be easily obtained.

[9] "O. C.," p. 600.*
* See Jourdain in Index for complete Reference.—Editor.

[10] "Might is Right." Oxford pamphlets, 1914, p. 12.

[1] "G. B. and the E. C.," p. 45.
[2] German White Book, p. 4.
[3] "G. B. and the E. C.," p. 12.
[4] "O. C.," p. 600.
[5] "Ibid."
[6] "Ibid."

Playing the Greatest Game of World Politics Ever Played
Great Britain and the Entente

ON WHOSE SIDE IS GOD?

From "The Fatherland," New York, November 11, 1914.

With bovine humor, the Anti-German editor of the Times* objects to the telegram sent by Emperor Francis Joseph to Emperor William: "God is with you." The Times,* as authoritative spokesman for God, says He could really not be on the side of Zeppelin airships, Krupp guns or Taube aëroplanes.

The Times* argues that God is on the side of:

The pagan Japanese, who massacred the Chinese at Port Arthur.

The British, whose General Kitchener massacred Boer women and children with English artillery at the battle of the Modder River.

The Indian Sikhs, whom the British shot from the mouths of cannon, because they massacred English women and children during the Indian mutiny.

*New York.—The Publisher of "War Echoes."

In permitting 70,000 of its troops to be captured perhaps it was the shrewd plan of the Russian General Staff to exhaust the German commissariat.—From the "Washington Post.

THE ENGLISH POINT OF VIEW AND THE WAR.

This is the third article of a series on THE EUROPEAN WAR, which appeared in the October Number of THE OPEN COURT, under the title "The English Point of View," written by the Editor, Dr. Paul Carus.

Consult the INDEX for the complete series, and in order to see where, in the various Chapters of the book, the different articles of this treatise may be found, look for EUROPEAN WAR (THE). In this way the reader may read the entire series of articles in their original order, if he chooses to do so, while the present arrangement still gives him the advantage of bringing the various articles under their proper, respective Chapter-headings of the book.

This is a series of exceptionally fine articles on the subject in question, and they bear a unique and important relation to each other. Be sure to read them also in their original order.—Editor, "War Echoes."

The English people remained strictly neutral during the war between the French and the Germans in 1870-71, and if there was any sympathy in Albion it was rather on the side of the Germans, not only because the English and the Germans are closely akin in blood, in civilization and in religion, but also because the two ruling houses are intimately related. The present Kaiser is the grandson of Queen Victoria. In the nineteenth century a war between the two nations would have seemed impossible, but the sentiment has changed in the twentieth century, not because either the English or the German people are much different from what they formerly were, but because a propaganda has been started to sow the seeds of hatred, of jealousy, of envy and discord in England and to denounce Germany's growing power as a menace to England. This propaganda had its origin and impetus in influential circles, and may have started in the government itself. One thing is certain: it took a firm hold on King Edward VII who favored the anti-German policy and prepared the way for a war of extermination to be carried out by Russia, France and England. The English propaganda found an echo in Germany, and old Bismarck after his discharge sounded the alarm.

The anti-German policy in England was first proposed in articles that appeared in the English "Saturday Review" in 1897, and it has made headway ever since. In order to represent the English tendency that has led to the war through the policy of the anti-German party of England we have republished the article "England and Germany" from the "Saturday Review" (London) of September 11, 1897. It is apparently inspired by the British government and its tendency has gradually become the guiding principle of English policy. Official representatives of the British government enunciated this plan again and again until the public became accustomed to it, and now it has brought on the war.

We need not mention that "the wise man of Europe," referred to in the mooted article is Bismarck in his advanced age. Bismarck foresaw the British danger and warned the Germans. On the other hand, we learn from the "Saturday Review" article that while in February, 1896, the idea of regarding Germany as "the first and immediate enemy of England" was considered "an eccentricity," the propaganda against the Germans spread quickly, so that a month later the German flag was hissed at in London. Afterwards the anti-German movement led to the Triple Entente, formulating the program for the present war.

True, Germany has become a competitor of England. German industry has gradually developed into a rival of English industry, yea, has even outdone it in many branches, and the Germans have built up a navy which is intended to protect their trade. The German navy is nearly half as strong as the English navy and if it continues to grow it may by and by be equal to it. The British government, backed by public opinion, decided that that must be prevented, for the British have so far lived up to their popular hymn, "Britannia, Rule the Waves," which is the indispensable condition of a dominion over the world. Now Germany comes in as a rival trying to gain her share of the world market. That is a sin and should not be tolerated. Therefore German progress must be checked in time in order to preserve Britannia's monopoly in commerce. England still rules the waves and England can fight Germany, as our English author trusts, "without tremendous risk, and without doubt of the issue."

This means in plain language that the English own the world of commerce and will not share its dominion with anybody. Our author declares that "If Germany were extinguished tomorrow, the day after tomorrow there is not an Englishman in the world who would not be the richer."

This policy is not only egotistical and barbarous, not only unfair and narrow, but it is also stupid. It is the logic of a villain and the error that so often props up the arguments of a criminal.

Public opinion in England today finds no fault with Germany as a center of art and science. The Germany of Goethe and Schiller in the days of her political weakness was harmless, but modern Germany in its political strength, Prussianism, militarism, imperialism, is most objectionable. Nor should Germany build up industries and increase her commerce. Germany would be quite delightful if it had no army, if it were without a navy, in short, if it were defenseless. But do not let us forget that Germany has learned by long and bitter experience that she needs Prussian leadership, she needs an army. Undoubtedly she would abolish her militarism if her neighbors, the French and the Russians, would disarm, and if the English would sell their navy as old iron. The English want their navy to be bigger than any two other navies together, but Germany should remain defenseless.

We grant that Germany's progress is a danger to England. So far England has enjoyed an undisputed dominance in the world of commerce, and she has gained her advantages by her progressive methods and by unrivaled energy; but in her safe control of the seas she has become self-sufficient and stagnant. England is at present conspicuously unprogressive. The proper method of combating rivals in the field of industry and commerce does not consist in the extermination of new competitors but by beating them with their own weapons. England should have raised herself from her lethargy, should have followed the example of Germany, should have built schools or reformed her antiquated system of education in order to fit her citizens to compete with German industry. That, however, would be too much to expect from the English. They want leisure and prefer their traditional stagnancy, still believing that the best policy is not to aspire to surpass a rival, not to excel him, but to call him an "enemy" and to conquer him by exterminating him.

Our English author knows that the issue between England and Germany is a commercial question. He says: "Nations have fought for years over a city or a right of succession; must they not fight for two hundred million pounds of commerce?"

According to Dr. Richet, statistician of the University of Paris, Germany has an annual export of $331,684,212, and an import of $188,963,071; Austria an export of $23,320,696, and an import of $19,192,414. All this is stopped and will remain stopped through the war so long as Great Britain has command of the seas. But British trade does not suffer any direct interference. That is a great advantage for England; but is it really so great as to involve the world in a most tremendous war and risk serious reverses?

The Italian senator, Count San Martino, was present at a dinner on July 22 where he met Sir Edward Grey and Sir William Edward Goschen and heard the remark made that a civil war could not be avoided except through a war with Germany. The statement was published recently in the "Giornale d'Italia" and similar contentions have been made in other papers. Did the Count let the cat out of the bag? Let us hope that even if there be an element of truth in the statement, the ministers merely noted a convenient coincidence, and did not follow a preconceived plan.

THE ENGLISH POINT OF VIEW.

Here follows Mr. Jourdain's reply to Dr. Carus.—Editor.

There has been a commercial conflict between England and Germany,* two great manufacturing countries; just as there has been a struggle for markets between England and America. But the latter struggle has not led to war, and the relations between the two countries have never been better. Commercial rivalry is not, therefore, the only cause

* "O. C.," p. 607.*

* See Jourdain in Index for complete Reference.—Editor.

of our recent alienation from Germany; but, as the Editor rightly points out, "propaganda." But while he draws attention to the anti-German propaganda in England (relatively small) he omits to refer to the enormous and influential anti-English propaganda in Germany. The Editor points to an article in the "Saturday Review," September 11, 1897,[7] as the first expression of anti-German policy in England, but the violently anti-English utterances of Treitschke date as early as 1874. Later, the German professor Karl Lamprecht seized upon the Boer war to demonstrate to Holland that England is the enemy; and Bernhardi is also anti-English. Now while in Germany the feeling against England has raised in the past a crop of aggressive professors, lectures and books, in England the feeling against Germany did not lead to dreams of conquest but to fear of invasion; of the "German peril." Instead of "Germany and the Next War," we had "The Englishman's Home." Even today, in the midst of war, the English press references to Germany are temperate when compared with German references to England.

A third factor in the creation of national hostility was the matter of armaments, especially the navy. The English case for a predominant navy is England's insular position, which renders her liable to starvation directly she loses command of the sea; the immensely larger size of her mercantile marine, which needs protection; her colonies, and the fact that she maintains but a small army. In the competition in armaments it is worth noting that on the eve of the Hague conference of 1888, Mr. Goschen announced that if the other naval powers should be prepared to diminish their programs of ship-building, we should be prepared on our side to meet such a procedure by modifying ours; the German government replied, by Colonel von Schwarzhoff, their delegate at the conference, with a scornful speech. At the second Hague conference in 1907, the British proposal to consider a concerted arrest of armaments was politely shelved, the German delegate, Baron Marschall von Bieberstein refusing to discuss it. The question of total disarmament has not been raised, and we cannot tell whether she would "abolish her militarism if her neighbors, the French and the Russians, would disarm, and if the English would sell their navy as old iron,"[8] but she has certainly refused on several occasions the invitation to slacken competition in armaments.

[7] Reprinted in "O. C.," pp. 577-579. There is, however, no reason to suppose with the Editor that the article was "inspired by the British government" ("O. C.," p. 607).

[8] "O. C.," p. 608.*

* See Jourdain in Index for complete Reference.—Editor.

DR. ELIOT'S LETTER.

A letter sent to the "New York Times," commented upon. New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, New York.

Herman Ridder.

Under recent date, Dr. Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University, in a letter to the Times, gives an able exposition of the point of view of those Americans whose sympathies are confined to the cause of the Allies and who are grieved by the misconduct of Germany and Austria. I say "grieved" because they all take great pains to emphasize their admiration for the achievements of the Germanic people and defend their present renunciation of sympathy with Germany on the ground that after forty years of unparalleled development in the arts and sciences the nation has, in an hour as it were, thrown away the ideals of the past and gone off after the false gods of bloodlust and conquest.

The claim of Dr. Eliot to an audience on almost any subject of abstract thought is recognized. In dealing with concrete facts, however, he has not shown, in the letter under reference, equal ability or openness of mind. As a foremost thinker of a neutral nation, writing for a neutral reading public, a greater distinction between "American sympathies" and his own sympathies might rightly be expected from Dr. Eliot's pen. A greater importance might equally well have been given to things as they are and not as the sentimentalist would have them.

Affirming the "immense obligations under which Germany has placed all the rest of the world," Dr. Eliot now feels "that the German nation has been going wrong in theoretical and practical politics for more than 100 years and is today reaping the consequences of her own wrong-thinking and wrong-doing."

It is very hard to take these conclusions of the eminent Doctor seriously. They are neither derived logically from his premises nor defensible by comparison with the political history of other countries in Europe during the last century. Only the great respect which I entertain for Dr. Eliot's accomplishments restrains me from dismissing them without comment.

The "political and social history of the American people and its governmental philosophy and practice" is the standard by which Dr. Eliot judges Germany. In this test Germany, from the point of view of Dr. Eliot, is found wanting. I do not question the propriety of such a comparison nor the justness of Dr. Eliot's judgment in the premises. The point I wish to make is this: Why should Germany alone, of the eight powers now engaged in this world war, be measured by this standard? Why should her departure from our methods of government and lines of thought alone be proclaimed to the American people and the inference given that her enemies are one with ourselves in these things? The same argument would condemn France and Russia, England, Servia, Belgium and Japan. They have all differed from our standards; four of them more than Germany, two of them not less. They have all "been going wrong" these hundred years and must now be "reaping the consequences," if we are to carry Dr. Eliot's reasoning to its logical conclusion. If I may presume for myself some right to an opinion on the world's history, I would not say that Germany has been "wrong-thinking and wrong-doing for over 100 years." I would not even allow my sympathy with German ideals and their concrete attainments to lead me into saying that any one of her present armed foes had been doing so. They have all differed from us, but they have all differed one from another; they have all made mistakes, and so have we; and they are all striving, each according to the light that has been given it, for the same end. It is ungenerous and unfair to single out Germany and attempt to make her support a blame which should attach to all Europe.

Dr. Eliot goes into great detail to show the "many important matters concerning which American sympathy is strongly with Germany," and his presentation of such points is masterly. The value of his tributes to German greatness is lessened, however, by the suspicion that he has advanced them only to safeguard his reputation for fairness, and to lend strength to his subsequent arraignment of the Germany of today. "The German practices which do not conform to American standards in the conduct of public affairs" are enumerated in seven paragraphs, and I will take them up seriatim.

A. The objection is to "Germany's permanent executive and secret diplomacy." As an American, I say: "Objection sustained." I would extend it, however, to cover England, Russia, Servia, Belgium, Japan and France, the executives of the first five of which are quite as permanent as that of Germany, unless we make allowance for Russian anarchy and Servian regicide the "secret diplomacy" of all of whom has shown itself far more dangerous to the peace of Europe than that of Berlin.

B. The objection is to Germany's mobilization by executive order. Again, as an American, I say: "Objection sustained." I would ask Dr. Eliot, however, what about Russia and Japan? Were their armies mobilized and their fleets assembled by order of Duma and Diet? What of England's "warlike preparations" five days before war was declared? Where were the Deputies when President Poincaré ordered the French mobilization on the strength of a Cabinet consultation?

C. The objection, in greater detail, is to the "secrecy of European diplomatic intercourse and of international understandings and terms of alliance in Europe." Again, as an American, I say: "Objection sustained." But is it not true that so far as we can judge from the facts that have been made public, England at the outbreak of the present war had more secret alliances than any other country in the world? And is it not equally true that so far as we know Germany and Austria were the only countries in Europe which had none? The terms of the Triple Alliance and of the Austro-German Alliance had been public property for years. On the other hand, Sir Edward Grey was compelled to acknowledge before Parliament that he had entered into undertakings with France unknown to that body. On more occasions than one in previous years he had made technical denial of the existence of the web of diplomatic intrigue which he had silently and secretly woven about the English people.

D. The objection is to "German reliance on military force as the foundation of true national greatness." If the implication could be defended, I would

say again, as an American: "Objection sustained." But it cannot be. Dr. Eliot has been reading too much of Conan Doyle, H. G. Wells and Anthony Hope, and the privilege had not been his at the time he wrote, to see Viscount Bryce's frank dismissal of Bernhardi as a spokesman for Germany. The German people have suffered from militarism, and no one realizes it more than they themselves, but they have suffered not from choice but from necessity. Surrounded by armed foes, what could Germany do but arm herself? And after all, who has suffered most? A large percentage of the male population of Germany have had to do from one to two years of army service, a large percentage of the males in Russia have to do from two to four years similar service, and in France the same percentage has been forced to three years of service. England alone has escaped from excessive armament on land—and has paid for it by maintaining a two-nation standard on the water. The "wooden walls" of England have been to her what the "ring of bayonets" has been to Germany—an unpleasant necessity, equally oppressive.

E. The objection is to "the extension of national territory by force contrary to the wishes of the population concerned." Again, as an American, I say: "Objection sustained"—but I cannot refrain from extending to those in the Courtroom the privilege of Homeric laughter. Will Dr. Eliot tell us, in a future letter wherein the allusion lies? Has Germany through forty years extended her territory one foot in Europe? Has she in the present conflict of nations given us reason to believe that she even desires to do so? On the other hand, is not the one reason for France's entrance into the war the "extension of national territory?" Is it not the spirit of the "revanche"—the desire to seize once more upon Alsace and Lorraine, that were Germany's until she was robbed of them by Louis XIV., that has moved France to her disastrous policy? The best minds of England told the world in 1870 that Germany was not only to be absolved from the charge of land theft, but was to be congratulated upon her decision to retain these reconquered provinces. I suggest for Dr. Eliot's Five Foot Shelf of Universal Learning the addition of a few volumes dealing in this connection with England in Africa, China and Venezuela, with Russia in China and Persia, with Servia in the Balkans and with Japan in Corea and Manchuria.

F. The objection is "to the violation of treaties for no reason whatsoever." Again, as an American, I say: "Objection sustained." Perhaps Dr. Eliot refers to the "scrap of paper." But to be fair and neutral he should have called attention to the Sand River Convention and to the Italian scissors which clipped large clauses from the Treaty of 1882, on which the Triple Alliance was based. He could also have added to his collection of paleolithic Treaties those conventions for the observance of the territorial integrity and neutrality of China to which both England and her Oriental Ally were parties and which both have now thrown to the winds of the East. I do not believe any nation tears up a treaty "for no reason whatsoever." Germany had the best reason in the world for violating Belgian soil and the world is coming to see it.

G. The objection is to the "German conduct of war." I shall not sustain this objection, in view of Dr. Eliot's subsequent remark that "all experienced readers on this side of the Atlantic are well aware that nine-tenths of all the reports they get about the war come from English and French sources, and this knowledge makes them careful not to form a judgment about details." When the London Times and writers of no less note than Jerome K. Jerome are warning England not to believe all they hear of German atrocities we need not on this side of the water give much heed to Belgian tales of German inhumanity and barbarism.

I regret that the times have called forth conditions which require me to cross pens occasionally with many an old friend. But neither Dr. Eliot nor myself nor anyone of the other Americans who have been called upon to discuss the events now taking place in Europe ,was given a voice in their making. We are, equally with the victims of the war on the Continent, innocent sacrifices on an altar erected by others. I would not say one word in disparagement of the doyen of Harvard. I am compelled, however, by a desire not to see Germany painted in misconceived colors, to ask if all he has said of Germany could not have been said with truth of the aggregate of the allies now combined against her? If, in other words, what is sauce for the goose is not equally good enough to be sauce for the gander?

THE UNDERLYING CAUSE THAT FORCED THE KAISER'S HAND.

The Boston Herald.

Professor Kuno Francke, Harvard University.

It is easy to see why American public opinion should have condemned by an overwhelming majority the diplomatic acts of Austria and Germany which have been the immediate occasion of the terrific explosion which now shakes the foundations of the whole civilized world. Austria's break with Servia and Germany's violation of Belgian neutrality—the one leading to war between Russia and Germany, the other bringing England into the fray—must appear to the uninitiated as reckless and indefensible provocations and as wanton attacks upon the laws of nations.

The thoughtful observer, however, should look beyond the immediate occasion of this world conflict and try to understand its underlying causes. By doing so he will, I believe, come to the conclusion that fundamental justice is to be found on the German side and that Germany has been forced to fight for her life.

It is an unquestionable fact that the unification of Germany and the establishment of a strong German empire half a century ago were brought about against the bitter opposition of France, and that the defeat incurred by France in 1870, in her attempt to prevent German unification, is at the bottom of the constant irritation that has agitated Europe during the last 43 years. Germany's policy toward France during these 43 years has been one of utmost restraint and forbearance, and has been dictated by the one desire of making her forget the loss of the two provinces, German until the 17th century and inhabited largely by German stock, which were won back from France in 1870. Whether the acquisition of these provinces was a fortunate thing for Germany may be doubted. The possession of Alsace-Lorraine has certainly robbed Germany of the undivided sympathy of the world, which she otherwise would have had. But it is probably true that, from the military point of view, Alsace-Lorraine was needed by Germany as a bulwark against the repetition of the many wanton French invasions from which Germany has had to suffer since the time of the Thirty Years' War and the age of Louis XIV.

However this may be, Germany has done her best during the last four decades to heal the wounds struck by her to French national pride. She abetted French colonial expansion in Cochin-China, Madagascar, Tunis. She yielded to France her own well-founded claims to political influence in Morocco. In Alsace-Lorraine itself she introduced an amount of local self-government and home rule such as England has not accorded even now to Ireland. While Ireland still is waiting for a Parliament at Dublin, Strassburg has been for several years the seat of the Alsace-Lorraine Diet, a provincial Parliament based on universal suffrage. And even in spite of the incessant and inflammatory French propaganda which last year led to such unhappy counterstrokes as the deplorable Zabern affair, there can be no reasonable doubt that the people of Alsace-Lorraine have been gradually settling down to willing co-operation with the German administration which insures them order, justice and prosperity. Nothing is a clearer indication of the peaceable trend which affairs have lately taken in Alsace-Lorraine than the fact that Nationalists, that is, the French party in the Strassburg Diet has never been able to rise above insignificance; and that, on the other hand, a considerable number of responsible offices in the civil administration, including the highest government positions, have been occupied by native Alsatians.

While Germany has thus repeatedly shown her willingness and desire to end the ancient feud, France has remained irreconcilable; and particularly the intellectual class of France cannot escape the charge that they have persistently and willingly kept alive the flame of discord. It surely cannot be said that the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine is a vital necessity to France. Without Alsace-Lorraine, France during the last generation has recovered her prosperity and her prestige in a manner that has been the admiration of the world. It is a mere illusion to think that the reconquest of Alsace-Lorraine would add to her glory. It would have been a demand of patriotism for the intellectual class to combat this illusion.

Instead of this, every French writer, every French scholar, every French orator, except the Socialists, year in and year out has been dinning into the popular ear the one word revenge. And there can be little doubt that Prof. Gustave Lanson, the distinguished literary historian, voiced the sentiments of the vast majority of his countrymen when in a lecture delivered some years ago at Harvard he stated that France could not and would not recognize the peace of Frankfort as a final settlement, and that the one aim of the French policy of the last 40 years had been to force Germany to reopen the Alsace-Lorraine question.

If there were people in Germany inclined to overlook or to minimize this constantly growing menace from France, their eyes must have been opened when, in 1912, the French government, having previously abolished the one-year volunteers, raised the duration of active military service for every Frenchman from two years to three and in addition to this called out in the autumn of 1913 the recruits, not only of the year whose turn had come, namely, the recruits born in 1892, but also those born in 1893. This was a measure nearly identical with mobilization; it was a measure which clearly showed that France would not delay much longer striking the deadly blow. For no nation could possibly stand for any length of time this terrific strain of holding under the colors its entire male population from the 20th to the 23d year. No wonder that the Paris papers were speaking as long ago as the summer of 1912 of the regiments stationed in the eastern departments as the "vanguard of our glorious army" and were advocating double pay for them as being practically in contact with the enemy.

The second foe now threatening the destruction of Germany is England. Can it truly be said that England's hostility has been brought about by German aggression? True, Germany has built a powerful navy; but so have Japan, the United States, France and even Italy. Has England felt any menace from these? Why, then, is the German navy singled out as a specially sinister threat to England? Has German diplomacy during the last generation been particularly menacing to England? Germany has acquired some colonies in Africa and in the far east. But what are Kamerun and Dar-es-Salaam and Kiaochau compared with the colonies of the other great powers? Where has Germany pursued a colonial aggressiveness that could in any way be compared with the British subjugation of the South African republics or the Italian conquest of Tripoli or the French expansion in Algiers, Tunis and Morocco? Wherever Germany has made her influence felt on the globe she has stood for the principle of the open door. Wherever she has engaged in colonial enterprises she has been willing to make compromises with other nations and to accept their co-operation, notably so in the Bagdad railway undertaking. And yet the colonial expansion of every other nation is hailed by England as "beneficial to mankind," as "work for civilization"; the slightest attempt of Germany to take part in this expansion is denounced as "intolerable aggression," as evidence of the "bullying tendencies of the War Lord."

What is the reason for this singular unfairness of England toward Germany; of this incessant attempt to check her and hem her in? Not so much the existence of a large German navy as the encroachment upon English commerce by the rapidly growing commerce of Germany has made Germany hateful to England. The navy has simply added to this hate of Germany, the dread of Germany. But if there had been no German navy, and consequently no dread of Germany, this hate of Germany might have come to an explosion before now. For the history of the last 300 years proves that England has habitually considered as her mortal enemy any nation which dared to contest her commercial and industrial supremacy—first Spain, then Holland, then France, and now Germany. As long as German firms, by the manufacture of artificial indigo, keep on ruining the English importation of indigo from India, and as long as the Hamburg-American Line and the North German Lloyd keep on outstripping the prestige of the Cunard and White Star, there can be no real friendship between England and Germany. Although England has repeatedly proposed to Germany naval agreements, these agreements were avowedly meant to perpetuate the overwhelming preponderance of England's fighting power, so that she would at any moment be in a position to crush German commercial rivalry for all time. She apparently thinks that this moment has now come.

That Germany's third implacable enemy, Russia, is clearly the aggressor, and not the defender of her own national existence, need hardly be demonstrated. She poses as the guardian of the Balkan States. But is there any case on record where Russia has really protected the independence of smaller neighboring countries? Has she not crushed out provincial and racial individuality wherever she has extended her power? Is it not the sole aim of her national policy to Russianize forcibly every nationality under her sway? In Finland she has gone back on her solemnly pledged word to maintain the Finnish constitution, and is ruthlessly reducing one of her most highly developed provinces to the dead level of autocratic rule. In her Baltic provinces she is trying to destroy root and branch whatever there is left of German culture. Wherever the Russian church holds dominion, intellectual blight is sure to follow. To think, therefore, that Russia would promote the free development of a number of independent Balkan States under her protectorate, is to shut one's eyes to the whole history of Russian expansion. No, Russian expansion in the Balkans means nothing less than the extinction of all local independence and the establishment of Russian despotism from the Black Sea to the Adriatic.

Not Russia, but Austria, is the natural protector of the equilibrium between the existing states on the Balkan peninsula, and their natural guardian against Russian domination. Austria is their nearest neighbor; indeed, the possession of Bosnia and Herzogovina makes her a Balkan State herself. Being herself more than half of Slavic stock, she has every reason for living on good terms with the various Slav kingdoms south of her. Being herself forced, through the conglomerateness of her population, to constant compromises in her internal affairs between conflicting nationalities within her borders, she would not possibly absorb a large additional amount of foreign territory. She is bound to respect the existing lines of political demarcation in the Balkans, and her sole object can be through commercial treaties and tariff legislation, to open up what used to be European Turkey to her trade and her civilizing influence. In this she must clearly be supported by Germany. For only if Austria is left free to exercise her natural protectorate over the Balkan States can there be passage between Germany and the near Orient, one of the most important routes of German commerce. Russia's unwillingness, then, to allow Austria a free hand in her dealings with Servia was an open menace to Germany, a challenge which had to be accepted, unless Germany was prepared to abdicate all her influence in the near Orient and to allow Russia to override the legitimate claims and aspirations of her only firm and faithful ally.

This formidable coalition of the three greatest European powers, threatening the very existence of Germany, has now been joined by Japan, openly and boldly for the purpose of snatching from Germany her one Asiatic possession. If any additional proof has been needed to make it clear that if Germany wanted to retain the slightest chance of extricating herself from this world-wide conspiracy against her, she had to strike the first blow, even at the risk of offending against international good manners; this stab in the back by Japan would furnish such proof.

ANOTHER STORY.

From "The Fatherland," New York, October 14, 1914.

Cleveland, O., Sept. 12, 1914.

To the Editors of "The Fatherland:"

We hear a great deal of unreasoning criticism of the actions of the German army. Let "The Fatherland," through its editorial columns, challenge the American press to defend the barbarism of the Colorado State Militia in shooting down helpless women and children in the recent strikes in that state. When they have done this, but not until they have done it, are they qualified to speak on "cruelty" perpetrated by German soldiers.

Very truly yours,

Roger B. Buettell.

To the amateur strategist the war looks like a race to see whether the Germans can get to Paris before the Russians get to Berlin.

GERMANY'S "INFAMOUS PROPOSAL."

On July 31, 1914, Sir Edward Grey told the German Ambassador at London (see English White Paper, Document No. 119) that Great Britain should be drawn into it if Germany and France became involved in war.

Why?

Why should it follow as a necessity that Great Britain should be drawn into it if Germany and France became involved in war? Nothing in the nature of things demanded such an action on Great Britain's part, for she had remained neutral in a former war between these two countries (1870-71) and in the present case France was supposed to be in a better position than in the struggle forty-three years ago.

As a matter of fact there existed no necessity for the British people to go to war because Germany and France had fallen out and gone to war, for Germany was willing to promise to Great Britain—

(1) Not to take one foot of French soil, (a) neither on the European Continent, (b) nor in the French colonies.

(2) Not to violate the neutrality of Belgium at all, if Great Britain would obligate herself to remain neutral. (This was called by Asquith, the British Prime Minister, in open Parliament, *"an infamous proposal by Germany!"*)

(3) Any reasonable conditions which Great Britain might formulate (British White Paper, Document No. 123).

To any reasonable being it would seem that there was not one excuse left for Great Britain to enter into war, for to (1) secure the neutrality of Belgium *absolutely*, (2) to secure the *status quo* of France and her colonies, (3) and thus to secure herself against obtaining Germany as a neighbor across the channel, she had only to declare her own neutrality.

Think of it, think of the awful amount of misery which Great Britain could have saved Belgium alone, and herself also, by simply giving to an honest question an honest answer, by saying to Germany in a straightforward manner: "We shall remain neutral as long as you uphold the letter and the spirit of your promises."

Why did not Great Britain through the mouth of her servant (or had we better say, master) Sir Edward Grey give such a straightforward reply, who instead rejected all overtures of Germany to come to a peaceful understanding, and insisted on keeping everybody in the dark with regard to Great Britain's attitude and her intentions, by saying: "Our hands are still free and we are considering what our attitude shall be."

Does not that sound very queer, in fact insincere? Was it worthy of a great nation to prevaricate like did Sir Edward Grey in this case, and to pretend to be undecided as to what to do in case of war between Germany and France, *after* he had assured France *positively* (British White Paper, Document No. 119) that in case of war between Germany and France Great Britain would join France against Germany?

After promising France Great Britain's help in case of war with Germany, Sir Edward Grey told this cold-blooded, ghastly untruth to the German Ambassador: "Our hands are still free and we are considering what our attitude shall be." (British White Paper, Document No. 123.) Was there ever told by the foreign minister of a great nation a more criminal untruth than was told by Sir Edward Grey on that occasion? An untruth, which cost Great Britain untold treasure in gold and in lives, which caused tens of thousands of widows and orphans to weep in Great Britain and Germany!

An untruth so atrocious that the Prime Minister dared not lay the whole of it before Parliament, because the House of Commons, as MacDonald, a member of Parliament said, otherwise never could have been persuaded to declare war against Germany, who was willing to fulfill all reasonable conditions which England might ask. Arthur Ponsonby, another Member of Parliament, in an open letter dated August 18th, published in the London "Nation" of August 22, 1914, says, that behind the backs of the people secret but binding engagements had been made by the British Foreign Office, but that later on during the negotiations with Germany Sir Edward Grey declared in the most explicit way, that Great Britain was unfettered in the event of war!

You see, gentle reader, it is not necessary for Germany to assert that Sir Edward Grey, the representative of Great Britain, prevaricated and thereby involved his fatherland in a gruesome and indefensible war, for Englishmen have arisen and told him so to his face, among others, MacDonald and Ponsonby, Members of the British Parliament, who spoke in sorrow and shame, and Bernard Shaw, England's greatest playwright, who spoke in disgust and contempt.

Have any Germans in Germany arisen and accused the Kaiser or Bethmann-Hollweg of bad faith, of willful perversion of facts, of the telling of falsehoods? Has there been a dozen, or six, or two, or even one? No, *not one*—of all the sixty-seven millions of Germans in the fatherland not one had to hide his head in shame, had to turn away in disgust, because he had to acknowledge that the man who represented Germany had been 'unfaithful to the country which had called him to his high place, had failed in putting the welfare of his country above his personal ambition.

A career not of statesmanship but of political adventure had so perverted Sir Edward Grey's ideas of right and wrong, that Germany's honest endeavor to keep England out of the war by granting all her reasonable conditions, was characterized by him, or the Prime Minister, as *"an infamous proposal"* and the negotiations between the two countries were presented by them to Parliament in such a garbled and untrue manner, that war resulted, while peace would have been assured if they had given a truthful and complete account of the negotiations with Germany.—The Crucible.

Let us pray for peace, but let us also insure it by building battleships.

A Reply to Jacob H. Schiff.

In the New York "Times" of November 22, 1914, there appeared an interview granted by Jacob S. Schiff to that paper's representative. As Mr. Schiff is occupying quite a prominent position and this interview has been widely discussed, it seems to us that Mr. Schiff's attention should be called to two points, concerning which, by reason of "Mehr Licht," he might change his opinion.

We know nothing about Mr. Schiff personally, but it stands to reason that certainly with regard to high finance, he must be of an originating, independent mind, to have attained the high place which he now occupies. He does not, however, show any independence of mind in his view of the question of the so-called Belgian neutrality, but is satisfied with a most superficial consideration of the subject. It has been proved by unimpeachable evidence that Belgium had entered, long before the war, into an alliance with France and England, and that hers was therefore a fradulent neutrality, in other words null and void—non-existing. But even if, for argument's sake, we say that Belgium's neutrality was genuine, still Germany did not commit, as Mr. Schiff asserts, a most unjustifiable action, for the Supreme Court of the United States has decided, "That while it would always be a matter of the utmost gravity and delicacy to refuse to execute a treaty, the power to do so was a prerogative of which no nation could be deprived without deeply affecting its independence."

This decision is to be found on page 600, vol. 130 of the United States Reports, and appeals so strongly to common sense that to read it is to be convinced. For a nation to be able to make a treaty but not to have the power to terminate it, even abruptly in case of sudden demand, would simply mean that that nation had ceased to be independent. A treaty between nations is equivalent to a contract between individuals and is subject to the same general laws.

The second point on which we disagree with Mr. Schiff, and on which he disagrees with himself, is when he declares that Germany, if victorious, would become at once a serious menace to the United States, and would before long challenge the Monroe Doctrine.

A little further on Mr. Schiff says himself that the destruction of the victor would be nearly as complete as the disaster of the vanquished, and how anybody can think that in case of such utter exhaustion Germany should find the strength and feel the desire to challenge the United States passes our understanding. It will take Germany fifty years to repair the damage, and heal the wounds of this war, and by the time she will have recovered, her present enemies will have recovered likewise. This alone would keep Germany from antagonizing Uncle Sam, aside from the fact that Germany's main object in acquiring colonies was to open to Germans lands where they could stay Germans—would not have to amalgamate with other nations. Germany does not covet any lands already colonized by the white race, as her past history has

shown, but she wants her share of the waste places of the earth, where she can show, and has already shown, England how her colonies can and should be improved.

Certainly for the next fifty years Germany will be unable to make war on Uncle Sam, and after that—less than ever.

We trust that Mr. Schiff will be convinced by our arguments and should be glad to hear from him.

ENGLAND IS FRANK IN ONE THING—ITS WAR IS A COMMERCIAL ONE.

British Tradesman-Policy Is Admitted by Those Who Speak for the Navalism Nation to the World at Large.

By Edmund von Mach.

From "The Fatherland," New York.

The British government has established in London a sample depot of German wares, with a list of the places where they used to be sold, at what prices and in what quantities. Suggestions are also made how this trade may be diverted to England.

This is natural because England looks upon the economic profits to be derived from this war as the most important. A London magazine, therefore, The Financier, spoke in a recent number (Boston Evening Transcript, March 3, 1915), substantially as follows:

"Germany is on the point of losing, for ten years or longer, not only the big markets of Russia, France and Belgium, but also those of the whole English-speaking race. The German foreign trade has suddenly ceased, and it is our duty to see that it will never start again. What Germany has achieved by years of painstaking labor has suddenly been given into our hands. So long as we control the routes of the great oceans—and if we improve our opportunity—the complaint of German commercial competition will not again be heard, at least in our lifetime."

Self-Sufficient Confession.

This unblushing confession of what England is fighting for, made only a few months after the beginning of the war, is a worthy counterpart to the famous trumpet call to arms of 1897 when England first realized her inability to win by fair means our German competition. "A million petty disputes," the Saturday Review said, "build up the greatest cause of war the world has ever seen. If Germany were extinguished tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, there is not an Englishman in the world who would not be richer. Nations have fought for years over a city or a right of succession. Must they not fight for two hundred million pounds of commerce?"

From the English point of view they must, of course, fight for it, for Englishmen hate nothing worse than free competition in the open markets of the world.

English wars are commercial wars. The English government, to be sure, has generally looked for moral sources under which to disguise its real purposes. This procedure, however, has at times been very annoying to her blunt fighting men, for the latter openly prefer the attitude of their famous Admiral Monck, who said during the English-Dutch struggle for commercial superiority: "What does this or that reason matter? What we need is a slice of the commerce which the Dutch now have."

Britons Write Neutral News.

If the press of our English-American friends, who in spite of their hyphen are often not void of American patriotic feelings—this statement has, of course, no reference to the British subjects who are engaged in writing "neutral" war news in our metropolitan papers—would recognize the emphasis which England has always laid on the economic side of her wars, two recent occurrences would have been less puzzling to them.

England's objection to President Wilson's Ship Purchase bill was voiced by those American business men who cannot conceive of a flourishing American industry independent of England. Even if President Wilson should have wished to purchase every German merchantman lying idle in an American port—and this has been denied—the material benefit which would have accrued to the German companies would have amounted to only a few million dollars, and even if this money could have found its way from the private owners to the exchequer of the German government, it would have been but a drop in the bucket. England's real objection was due to her fear lest America cut loose from her walking strings.

Independent of the British carrying trade, America and not England might be the real gainer of the war. But the very thought of England having instigated a world war without being able to reap the glorious reward of two hundred and fifty million dollars' worth of annual trade, was enough to break every honest English heart! And this would not have been the whole calamity, for if America could have her own ships, England might find at the end of the war that she had not one, but two capable rivals—Germany and America! She has been unable to hold her own against one rival; against two she would be utterly helpless!

Must Set His House in Order.

And she knows this, for there is not a living English business man who is not convinced in the bottom of his heart that he must set his house in order first, before he can hope to compete on even terms with anybody. England, however, hates progress. She does not wish to renounce her oligarchical government or abolish her privileged classes. She regrets the destitution of her laboring classes—perhaps, but she would rather pay billions to crush a rival than millions to improve the conditions of her own people. This is the real cause of the present war.

The second incident mentioned above as showing what England is aiming at, would have opened the eyes of everybody, if there had not been so many Americans who believe that they must admire the political England, because the literary and scientific England has meant so much to them. They were, therefore, willing to excuse Sir Edward Grey's announcement last week that England would seize in the future all German goods purchased by and shipped to neutral countries. Officially this was a measure of retaliation against Germany's submarine war. Actually it was England's attempt to procure for herself the German dyestuffs without which her textile industry is dying.

Since America could get these dyestuffs, there was danger that the United States might forge ahead. Why not, therefore, take all neutral steamers carrying goods which both England and America need into an English port, keep the goods, exchange polite notes with Mr. Bryan, offer perhaps arbitration, and years hence pay the present market prices of the captured goods? In the meanwhile, England would have revived her own industries and have starved the American factories. Unfortunately for her plans, not all Americans are hyphenated English, and most Americans, of whatever descent, may be trusted to rally to the support of their country whenever her natural welfare is at stake.

ISOLATED GERMANY.

Editorial from "The Chicago Tribune," August 6, 1914.

Merely as a piece of military confidence, Germany's challenge of Europe is wonderful. The triple alliance has broken down. Italy has declared its neutrality. There remains the dual alliance. Austria-Hungary has its hands full with the veteran army of Servia, trained in two wars. It cannot give a full measure of aid to Germany. The two Teutonic empires are almost entirely surrounded by foes.

Military necessity has made belligerents of the Belgians. It may make belligerents of the Dutch. It might even make belligerents of the Danes. Except for such aid as Austria, hampered by an active foe, can give, Germany is isolated.

Frederick the Great never faced such odds as Wilhelm II now meets. The new element of speed in warfare is in the equation. Distance is not the same protection. Armies are raised and moved so swiftly that the tactics of Frederick in selecting his enemies and dealing with them singly may not have time or opportunity.

This eruption of armed men has been in the dreams of military strategists for a decade or more. The assumption has been that Germany must meet and destroy France. * * *

Fairness and Impartiality
The Plain Duty of all Intelligent Neutrals During the War

AN APPEAL FOR A FAIR JUDGMENT.

New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, New York.

Judge Peter S. Grosscup, Chicago.

Mr. Herman Ridder, President of the "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung," introduces Judge Grosscup's article as follows:

"Judge Peter S. Grosscup, of Chicago, to whom I am indebted for the following excellent analysis of the question of responsibility for the war in Europe, needs no introduction to the American people. As a District Court Judge for the Northern District of Illinois and later as judge both of the United States Circuit Court and Circuit Court of Appeals, he established a reputation, equalled by few of his contemporaries, for clear-cut logic and fearless expression of views.

"The application of sound judicial sense to the points involved in the present war has been avoided by England and by her ardent admirers in America for obvious reasons. I believe, and to some extent because this has been the case, that Judge Grosscup's presentation and elucidation of these points will be welcomed by all open-minded Americans."

An Appeal For a Fair Judgment.

The other day I saw a group of men in a lane some distance from the road who seemed to be in earnest conversation. Suddenly one of the men struck one of the others. Instinctively I felt that he was the aggressor—that he wished a fight. But the facts, had I been near enough to see and hear, might have been different. That first blow as I saw it may have been in self-defense; I was not near enough to see the other's clenched fist. It may have been deserved; I was not near enough to hear the provocation. What is the only thing visible to one at a distance may not have been the fact at all as seen by those upon the spot.

American public opinion means to be fair. But we in America saw the beginnings of this war only from a distance. It looked to us as if Germany struck first. Was that the act of an aggressor wishing for a fight, or the act of one who believes he was justified in what he did? At first I thought Germany the aggressor, wishing for war. The reading of the English White Paper—getting the facts from those near the scene—convinces me that the Kaiser and his councillors did not do what they have done out of desire for war. And while it does not convince me that war was unavoidable, it reveals that responsibility for it, whether it was avoidable or not, is on Russia primarily, and as much, at least, on England and France secondarily as on the Kaiser and his councillors. Before going to that, however, a couple of collateral considerations must be noticed.

The first of these is: How came it about that Germany was so ready for war at the moment she declared war, if she did not desire war? Is not "readiness" an evidence of "desire"? Yes and No. That depends on other facts—for instance, how long has that readiness existed? One ready and wishing for war would strike quickly—would not wait forty years. Germany has been "ready" for forty-three years. Her situation, both on the west and east, has compelled her to be always ready. But while within the last sixteen years of that forty-three England has made war on the Transvaal, the United States on Spain, Japan on Russia, and Italy on Turkey, Germany, always ready, has remained at peace. Does that count for nothing in the enquiry of whether "readiness" is evidence of "desire"? The Kaiser came to the throne in his twenties; he is now in his fifties; during that period, usually the fighting period in a man's life, he has not sent a German soldier against an enemy; of the million soldiers in the field today the German army alone is without a private soldier who has ever before seen actual service in battle. Does that count for nothing? Who can believe, satisfactorily, to himself, that readiness of that kind is evidence of desire?

The second of these collateral matters is: How came it about that Germany invaded Belgium if she did not desire war? The White Paper shows that Germany told England she would not mobilize against France if England would assure the neutrality of France in Germany's affair with Russia. That shows she was not seeking war even with France, her old enemy, much less with little Belgium that lay between them. The White Paper shows also that Germany asked England if she (England) would remain neutral if Germany, in the event of war with France, would stay out of Belgium. England professed to treat this as the offer of a bribe and declined to commit herself. The White Paper shows also that when Germany could get none of these assurances she asked for peaceful transit across the Belgian territory, offering to compensate for any losses that might follow. This Belgium refused. One other fact in this connection—the geography of the country. A look at that will show that for Germany to swing her forces solely on the southerly bend through Alsace and Lorraine would leave her northern flank at the mercy of a northern army, from either England or France. To keep out of Belgium, therefore, with England a possible enemy, would have been military madness. Now, with all these facts in mind, what was, not the technical, but the moral obligation of Germany to Belgium? By going across Belgium she was not forcing war on Belgium; for although Belgium was under no duty to Germany to grant her transit, she was under no duty to England or France to resist it by force. She could have remained neutral by remaining passive, as China is remaining passive, while Japan, called out by England, is going across her territory toward Germany's Chinese port. China has not given permission; she protests; but no one believes, much less anyone in England, that as a neutral she is obliged to take up arms against the country whose army is crossing. Indeed, Belgium's right not to be molested, even by troops in transit, was not that of "guaranteed neutrality" at all, resting on treaty, but of territorial inviolability, resting on the fact that she was an independent nation—the same right that I have to exclude you from my house, not because you have

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S. A. S. What right has any British Consular Officer to vise manifests of American vessels sailing to neutral countries?

They have no such right under international law. It would seem, however, from the "Philadelphia Inquirer" of the 23rd instant, that such right has either been extended to them or has been suggested by Washington. The American people should protest most vigorously against this infringement of their right.

M. O. D. Has India come wholeheartedly to the support of England in this war?

She has not. The people of India have put themselves upon record as being opposed to the use of "Indian" troops in this war. We should not be deluded by what England tells us. The Sikhs, the Gurkhas, and the Pathans, the troops which England has called to her assistance against Germany, are not Indians in any sense of the word. They are mercenary hill tribes whom England enlists against her Indian subjects. They serve to keep the intelligent Indians from revolt. There is a common saying in India, kept up by the English, that once the English are withdrawn, the Pathans will come down upon India, and then "there will not be a rupee or a virgin left in all India." The truth about India in this war is this: England has brought thence certain of her mercenary troops to fight the Germans. When England raises the cry of "a loyal India," we may ask England how many artillery units there are in the Indian army. There is not one. Since the insurrection of 1857 the Indians have not been entrusted with the great guns of Britain's modern artillery. England has been afraid to entrust them with artillery, because in the Sepoy Rebellion the artillery units which went over to the Indians were the hardest which she had to handle. England is today turning against Germany not India, but the wild troops which raped the women of Canton in 1912.—From the "Questions and Answers" column in the "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung," October 28, 1914.—The Publisher of "War Echoes."

agreed with someone else, to let me alone, but because the law gives me the right, on my own account, to be let alone.

But suppose, in pursuit of one who has attacked you or is about to attack you, you go through my house, that being the only way you can effectually overtake him. However technically it may be a trespass, will the law look upon it as a moral wrong? Some abstract rights have to yield, on occasion, to greater concrete needs. Whether Germany was morally right in attacking France is one question; her military necessities, in case she was morally right in the attack, is another and a different question. And that public opinion lacks all sense of proportion which holds, that however morally right the attack on France may have been, and whatever the necessity of going across Belgium, there is a moral wrong in trespassing on Belgium's abstract right of territorial inviolability—compensation being guaranteed.† At least, except as an excuse, no nation yet has made it a cause for war. As for France, assuming again that Germany was right in striking her, her mouth is closed against complaining of the violation of the treaty by the fact that she provoked it. And England, in declining to say whether she would be a belligerent or not, is in the same posture. As pretended guardians of Belgium they cannot provoke an attack and then fend it off by holding up their ward between them and the blows that follow; so that as a moral question, this occupation by Germany of Belgium soil for the purpose of transit, is merged in the larger moral question: Was Germany right in her attack on France—did she honestly believe that her security and honor required that that attack should be made?

Though the White Paper covers five pages of the American newspaper in which I found it, the essential facts pertinent to this larger question are few and can be compactly stated. The first of these—trite enough but never to be lost sight of—is that the Austro-Hungarian monarchy contains a very large Slav population—the race of the Servians also—some of it added in recent years. This constituted, to say the least, a highly inflammable anti-Austrian ma-

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†"The Belgian nation preferred ruin and death to the shameful perjury proposed to her by Germany."

—We have reprinted this quotation from the statement made public by the Belgian legation on October 21, wherein it quoted extracts from the Belgian Gray Book, extracts which were published by "The Chicago Tribune" in its issue of October 22.

After reading Judge Grosscup's article and also his supplement, which we reprint in full on the following pages, each man will be his own judge as to whether Germany, in requesting Belgium to permit her to march her troops through Belgian territory, for which privilege she guaranteed full compensation, can be rightfully accused of having proposed a "shameful perjury" to the Belgian nation.

The truth of the matter is, the Belgian king and government had allied themselves with the enemies of Germany. Both France and England had promised help to Belgium.

It is a lie to say that "the Belgian nation preferred ruin and death to the shameful perjury proposed to her by Germany." The Belgian king and government committed an awful crime in preferring to throw in their lot with England and France and thus trusting to the fortunes of war to defeat Germany instead of remaining strictly neutral. The fortunes of war have gone against the Allies. For the "ruin and death" brought over the Belgian nation, the latter should hold its own king and government responsible, and blame its allies, the French and especially the English, for not having fulfilled their promises for efficient help.

Of course the Belgian nation is finding out that England wanted to use it only as a cats-paw, the same as England is using her French and Russian allies.

In this connection we reproduce in the following, part of an article entitled "The Present Situation of the War" by the Military Expert of "The Fatherland," New York, October 28, 1914, which says:

After the fall of Antwerp our (the German) position was uncommonly favorable, great forces were now free for service elsewhere.

In the meantime at the other end of our lines, the bombardment of Verdun had to be made more forceful, in order to ensure more rapid progress.

We have reached this point today, while the left wing of the French army was opposing a strong German position at Armentieres, northwest of Lille, and in no position to make any progress, they had another—a new group—apparently French marines sent up to the coast in order to intercept the Germans at the Yser River, between Nieuport and Dixmude, hoping to meet with the remnant of the Belgian army. Thus preventing the German army from reaching the coast.

This German advance sets all England by the ears—especially many of their erstwhile phlegmatic golf and tennis heroes. Why?

The English Channel Coast of France in the possession of the Germans? Yea, that is certainly a turn we did not foresee on August 4. From this point the war could be carried over to the sacred soil of proud Albion, where throughout centuries of war upon war the rough-shod boot of a foe never committed the sacrilege to tread. English soil a battlefield for European squabbles? Ridiculous!

Hear the London "Times":

"And, should the war last ten years; should the last French garcon of Bordeaux; the last Cossack from the Caucasus find his grave upon the battlefield—England's soil will always remain unmolested and untouched."*

Whoever has failed to understand by this late day, the facts so plainly written upon the pages of current history, will soon realize the important result of events now occurring.

What a monument to England's perfidy; to Albion's broken pledges to suffering Belgium: Liege, Namur, Antwerp crowned by delusive hopes.

A similar movement is now in the hands of the great sculptor "Justice" for ceremonious unveiling in France.

All this is perfectly clear to a military expert, however prone a layman may be to misinterpret the portend of the shadows of coming events.

Ostend, Dunkirk, Calais, Havre in the possession of Germany is of minor importance to France, whose main object should be the annihilation of the German armies—not the defense of her unmolested channel coast line. Her marines who by command of her treacherous ally are wasting their efforts in the defense of Dunkirk, should fight around Lille, or Arras, or Roye. Dunkirk is not a factor in the final result of this war. In the coming events at the front only—will the decision be reached.

The iron ring around Dunkirk; the forts at Bruges—Francais, Louis and Des Dunes, originally erected against false Albion and which are so closely connected with English history, will now, in the possession of Germany, become the starting point of a new era in world history.*

Even while writing these words, this historic spot may have succumbed to German conquest.

The present position of the Germans in Russia promise a final decision in their favor at an early date.

Austria-Hungary, having succored Przemysl, has once again a free hand, as the Russians have been driven out of Hungary across the Carpathian Hills.

The German - Austria - Hungarian left seems to be carrying out established plans between Ivangorod and Warsaw, as they have again taken the offensive in their endeavor to cross the Vistula.

England and France are exceedingly worried over the slow progress of their barbaric friend Russia. They are really angry that the Russians, after promising to be in Berlin by October, are now further away from the "Brandenburger Thor" than they were last August. There is no change in the position in East Prussia. General Rennen-Kampf seems to be disinclined to entertain new adventures just at present.

To the satisfaction of Brother Churchill a few more "rats" came out of their holes. Too bad that these German rats are obliged to go all the way to the coast of Scotland to find offal to feed on. Note: Great Britain may thank Churchill that her navy is designated as "offal," a favorite food for rats.*

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*Emphasized in bold type by the Editor.

terial to anyone disposed to start a fire within the Austro-Hungarian boundaries. Another fact—not so trite, but equally important—is that Servia has been systematically distributing firebrands throughout this inflammable matter. "It was a subversive movement," says the Austrian foreign minister in one of the dispatches constituting the White Paper, "intended to detach from Austria a part of her empire, carried on by organized societies in Servia, to which Servian high officials, including ministers, generals and judges, belonged, and resulting in the assassination of the heir to the throne and his wife," not as the individual mad deed of a Guiteau or a Czolgosz, we might add, but of "an organized propaganda and conspiracy" that developed itself in several attempts, at unconnected points, by several persons, on the same day; a statement of the Servian attitude nowhere denied in this English White Paper, either in the London foreign office or the embassies at Paris or St. Petersburg. On the contrary, Sir Edward Grey says he cannot help but look with sympathy on the basis of the Austro-Hungarian complaint. And Servia herself practically admits the truth of it, in her reply to the Austrian ultimatum, for though she calls whatever agitation took place "political"—that is to say, something whose object is the change of government and not private murder—she offers to dissolve the Narodna Odbrana, a revolutionary society, and every society which may be "directing its efforts against Austria-Hungary;" to introduce a law providing for the most severe punishment of "publications calculated to incite hatred against the territorial integrity of Austria;" to remove from the "public educational establishments" in Servia everything calculated to foment propaganda against Austria; to publish in the official gazette and read to the army this promised new attitude of Servia to Austria; and to remove from military service all such persons as judicial inquiry may have proved to be guilty of acts directed against the integrity of the territory of Austria-Hungary—promises no people would make unless there was a basis of fact for the complaint.

But though Servia thus acknowledged the basis of the complaint, and promised to take measures to remedy it, she refused the "collaboration" of Austrian representatives, or the participation of Austrian "delegates," in the investigations relating thereto. She made no straight out denial of the subversive movements alleged. The most that can be made of her answer is that she neither admits nor denies, but simply calls for the proofs. But she refused the presence of Austria at the taking of the proofs. In a word, as Austria viewed it, should the promised investigation be a whitewash, or should it be a sincere effort to locate responsibility? Austria wanted a sincere investigation—the attitude of Servia looks as if she wanted a whitewash. And it was on that that the two countries broke.

Now was Austria-Hungary right in making the demand and Servia wrong in refusing the demand, that Austrian delegates sit in at the investigation? That is the crux of the matter as a question between Austria and Servia. The conduct of nations, like that of individuals, must stand the test of common sense. And like individuals, nations have the right to have their word taken in matters of this kind until their word is no longer good, by being repeatedly broken; so that had this been the first complaint by Austria against Servia on this matter, and this Servia's first promise to live hereafter on friendly relations, there would have been no justification for Austria's demand, or for her refusal to take Servia's word that a fair investigation would be made and the guilty punished. But this White Paper shows that this was not Servia's first promise—that she had made former promises—that this new offer of her word was the offer of an already broken word. This is the third fact in the enquiry—the turning fact in the question of who was wrong and who was right—a fact entirely ignored in the views pressed upon American public opinion. Five years before, March 18, 1909, Servia gave her word, not to Austria alone, but to the great powers, that this scattering of firebrands should cease—that thereafter she would live as a friendly neighbor. That shows that five years before the offense was already in existence. Did it cease? Was the word kept? In the note communicated to Sir Edward Grey by the German ambassador July 24, 1914—a note that called out from Sir Edward, not a denial, but an expression of sympathy—the German ambassador, referring to that earlier promise says, "It was only owing to the far-reaching self-restraint and moderation of the Austro-Hungarian government, and to the energetic interference of the great powers, that the Servian provocation to which Austria-Hungary was then (March, 1909) exposed did not lead to a conflict. The assurance of good conduct in the future which was then given by the Servian government has not been kept. Under the eyes, at least with the tacit permission of official Servia, the great Servian propaganda has continuously increased in extension and intensity; to its account must be set the recent crime the threads of which lead to Belgrade;" an indictment that none of the powers so much as question—neither the foreign offices nor embassies of Russia, England, or France—and to which Servia practically pleads guilty in her answer to the Austrian ultimatum already stated.

Now, in view of this, what was Austria-Hungary to do? Accept the word of Servia again? We must look at it not from the standpoint of those who think the Austro-Hungarian government ought to be destroyed, but from the standpoint of Austria-Hungary herself. What would we of America do, if despite a solemn promise to desist, some neighboring nation continued to stir up racial revolution among our people—say Spain among the Porto Ricans or Philippines? Would we accept that nation's word again? It is a just and generous nature that accepts the offender's word on the first offense, but a foolish or craven nature that continues to accept it through repetitions of the offense. Let us not lose sight of the practical side of the problem as presented to Austria. The spirit behind these attacks on Austria-Hungary was not the spirit of the Servian government only, but the spirit of the Servian people, also. A government may be reached sometimes by protest. But there are cases in which a people can only be reached by some tangible military demonstration. History is replete with demonstrations of that kind; so that the problem of Austria, now that the government's word could no longer be taken, was to impress the people of Servia with Austria-Hungary's purpose not to be silent longer under these flying firebrands. We went to war with Spain for less than Austria was suffering at the hands of Servia. England declared war on the republic of Paul Kruger for less.

Have Slandered the Irish.

"The same press which is now slandering the Germans, has always in the past slandered the Irish, but now, every day, inspired articles tell of the loyalty of the Irish people to England in this war. We are told English officers are to be sent to Ireland to drill the Irish volunteers, and that the guns and uniforms will be given to them by the English government.

"I think I know the character of my race, and I am free to say that guns and military instruction will be gladly received by them from any source whatever, but the English red coat will never be worn by an Irish volunteer and the oath of allegiance to King George will never be taken by an Irish national volunteer soldier. I believe that the majority of the Irish race in America are opposed to England in this unnecessary war of aggression which she is now waging against Germany. The Irish have always been for the under dog every time, and Germany is the under dog in this war, a war forced upon her by England's hatred and intrigue.

"May the Germans continue to grow and thrive. We know them as God-fearing, law-abiding and self-respecting citizens, who bring credit to any community they live in."

Alfred Williams made a five-minute speech in which he protested against the patriotic stand taken by John Redmond in the present crisis. He said it is time to sing the old song, "Germany, Oh, Germany, When Will You Set Old Ireland Free?"

The members appointed to the relief committee were: Ed. Ruhl, Dr. Huetz, Prof. Rosenau, Fraeulein Dierckes, Jacob Milch, Mrs. Walter Wesselhoeft, Mrs. Kuno Francke, Mrs. H. L. Carstein, F. Stoltmann, Charles Eberhardt, C. W. Holtzer, F. W. Kalkmann, Max Schubert, B. J. Arntz, Max Otto von Kluck.

And Italy declared war on Turkey for less. And in each case the war closed with territory detached from the vanquished and taken by the victor. Were we wrong? More than that: Did any great outside power even say Nay? On the contrary, we were left to deal with the problem as we thought right. Why, then, should any outside power say Nay to Austria, especially if no territory was to be taken? Morally right in her demand on Servia, to sit in at the investigation, why was not Austria left alone to enforce that right, as England, the United States, and Italy had been left to enforce their rights?

The answer is—Russia. And that too, not because Austria was without just cause for what she proposed, but because any movement against the Slavs of Servia would not be tolerated by "home opinion" in Russia. That is the fourth salient fact contained in the White Paper. Had Russia stood aside as England was willing to stand aside, except to see that the demonstration against Servia was not carried too far, the flame would not have spread to Europe. England had no interest in it, as an "Austro-Servian question;" so Sir Edward Grey expressly declared. France's interest was merely that of ally of Russia—it was put on that ground at the time by the French foreign office; so it was Russia's interference, and Russia's interference alone, that blew the flame from a matter concerning Austria and Servia only, to a matter involving Europe. And upon the sole reason (at least such is the purport of the White Paper) that there was a condition of opinion "at home" that would not permit her to be tolerant, or even just, in such a dispute as this abroad. Group together, in your mind, these three facts—the presence of the Slav in large numbers in Austro-Hungarian population; the systematic stirring of these Slavs by Servia against Austria-Hungary; and the persistence of Servia in that, even after solemn promises to stop it, both to Austria and the great powers—and you have staked out the cause of the war as an immediate matter between Austria and Servia. Add the fourth fact —the determination of Russia, for reasons of her own, that no military demonstration should be made to stop Servia—and you will have the lever that lifted it from an Austro-Servian question to a European question. Russia is the great Slav country of the world. It is not impossible that that great race demanded of its government that no Slav anywhere should be punished, even if he were stirring up the Slavs of a neighboring nation. It is not impossible that Russia, pressed at home by her own Slavs for a greater measure of civil liberty, saw in the Servian situation a vent for that feeling, by becoming the champion of the race abroad. It is not impossible that Russia has designs of her own on the Balkan peninsula, and feared that a demonstration by Austria might take the form of acquiring territory. Whatever the reason, the spark that ignited Europe was this alleged public opinion in Russia. What subsequently transpired was simply the development of that spark. Germany tried to drown it out, even in Russia; the White Paper shows that on a sharp note from her to Austria, Austria stipulated not to take any of Servia's territory. Germany tried to prevent its spreading to France; did not want war with France; the White Paper shows, as already stated, that she said she would not mobilize against France if England would stipulate for France's neutrality. And it is certain Germany did not want war with England. Even after England announced she would not permit Germany to attack from the sea the northern coast of France, and asked about the purposes of Germany respecting Belgium, Germany suggested that if England would remain neutral she would stay out of Belgium. But Russia was immovable; she would not accept the offered stipulation of Austria that territory would not be taken from Servia. England would make no assurances for France; and with respect to Belgium, professed to look upon the suggestion as the offer of a bribe.

War is hideous. The Kaiser and his father always ready, as their situation made it essential they should be ready, had for forty-three years averted it. But if put in his place, the head of a nation, what could you have done? What could Austria and Germany do? Let the Servian government and the Servian people go free, on her own word again? That would be to invite continued attacks. Servia would have ascribed this indulgence to fear of stirring up trouble in Europe. Let Russia's interference change this? Servia would have known then that their indulgence was due to fear—the fear of Russia. Besides there is a national self-respect that must be maintained. Germany and Austria bowing to the yoke of Russia, on a matter in which Germany and Austria were right and Russia wrong, would have been Germany and Austria already morally vanquished. Even though France and England has come at once, and openly, to the side of Russia, could Germany and Austria have let the matter go on Servia's word? Not unless they were willing to bow their necks to the yoke of Europe. The fact that England and France joined Russia in putting on the yoke would not have alleviated the servility of bearing it.

But was there no way to escape that yoke without war? That is the question history will ask. Without war with Russia, no—unless Austria accepted the Russian veto on any demonstration against Servia, Russia's mind was made up. Austria stipulated not to annex Servian territory; that was not enough; Russia remained immovable. England suggested a conference, and pending such conference that Austria be allowed to occupy Belgrade. Russia refused. Russia was willing that England, Italy, France and Germany should go into conference, but made it clear that pending the outcome of such a conference, Austria's hands must be tied even from making a military demonstration of her determination that the incendiarism should cease. Russia's will in the matter must be accepted by Europe as well as by Germany and Austria. That was Russia's attitude. And it meant to Austria and Germany either to bow to that will, or war—with Russia, at least.

Russia undoubtedly believed she had the backing of France in this, and possibly of England also. The White Paper contains a dispatch showing that the French ambassador at St. Petersburg was urging the "solidarity" of Russia, France and England, on the English ambassador there. Now, why did France back Russia? Why has England come finally to back her, for the Belgian matter is only an excuse? On this matter between Austria and Russia, Austria was right and Russia was wrong. For Austria to have surrendered to the veto of Russia would have meant the surrender of her independence as a great power. Why did France (and England finally) virtually insist on that surrender? Because of the Triple Entente? No ally is bound to support another ally in a wrong. It is on that ground that American public opinion is excusing Italy from her obligation to Germany. Why, then, did not England and France let Germany, right, have it out alone with Russia, wrong?

There was something else than the Triple Entente. Europe, the chief seat of civilization, is the chief seat of the world-old struggle of the races also, especially eastern and southeastern Europe; the drawing of the races together by the concentric chords of modern life has only intensified that struggle. Europe is the seat of the modern struggle of economic ambitions; industry in our day has become the affair not of individuals but of nations. But as colors released from their anchorage run together, the races drawn out of their isolations are merging, and industry no longer a matter of small spheres is concentrating into larger spheres; neither races nor economic spheres can be kept separate longer by national boundaries. Within the thirty years between my first and last visits to Europe this process of things becoming alike (including people) has transformed Europe from a land of picturesque differences to a land resembling America in identity of dress, of mental attitudes, and of the internal spirit as well as external appearances of live affairs. That means that the day of a larger political concentration is at hand also. What led France and England to back Russia, wrong, in this Austria-Hungary matter against Germany, right, was, undoubtedly, their apprehension that Germany successful over Russia would be Germany not simply preëminent, but preponderant, both politically and economically, among the nations of the continent.

That apprehension may have been justified by the probable fact. The spread of the war to the whole of Europe, in consequence, history may justify; I am only stating what I believe to be the basic cause. But this thing every honest mind must admit: If this was the Big Cause, underneath the smaller causes, that brought France and England into the strug-

gle, Germany, by every law that entitles a nation to honestly grow, was entitled to resist them. And if war on one side of this apprehension was something not to be denominated as monstrous, war on the other side is equally above that common epithet. It is not impossible of course that Germany made a mistake in believing war with Russia, or surrender to Russia, was unavoidable, through conference. Only Omniscience and the Russian Cabinet knew. It is not impossible that Germany made a tactical mistake—that the participation of England on the side of Russia might have been avoided by that conference. Only Omniscience and the English Cabinet knew. And it is not impossible that Germany made a mistake as to her own strength, even when ready, against her enemies' unreadiness. The event will prove. But the duty and the responsibility of balancing these, as to whether he would wait for such conference or not, was with the Kaiser and his counselors. He knew that Germany was ready. And who has the right to say, that if war either now or later was inevitable—if the attitude of France and England supporting Russia, wrong, against Germany, right, in the Austro-Servian matter, revealed their true attitude toward the natural growth of Germany in the family of nations—who has the right to say in that event that William was bound to wait until his own preparations had been matched by theirs. I am not unreservedly for Germany, nor for France or England in this war. There is much I do not know that might turn the scale either way. But I am for an open mind. The question is not: Who struck the first blow? The question is: Why was any blow made necessary?

PETER S. GROSSCUP.

I cannot refrain from the observation that Judge Grosscup has not only struck, in the article concluded above, the true note of that higher neutrality enunciated by President Wilson, but that he has also given a sound, logical and workable interpretation of it. If in the beginning all Americans and all American organs of publicity had approached the situation in Europe with "an open mind" we might have been spared the war of words which it has brought down about our ears. Attack inspires defense, and as in Europe, Germany and Austria were not the aggressors, so in the American press, it was not those who sympathized with Germany and Austria who opened hostilities but those who insisted upon vilifying them. It is high time that "cease firing" was sounded.

HERMAN RIDDER.

A Continuance of article:

AN APPEAL FOR A FAIR JUDGMENT.

By Judge Peter S. Grosscup, of Chicago, in Herman Ridder's Column, "The War Situation from Day to Day," in the "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung," October 25, 1914.

I published in this column some days ago Judge Grosscup's article on the war. A certain phase of his argument was taken exception to by "The Times." I now have pleasure in printing Judge Grosscup's counter-reply thereto.

HERMAN RIDDER.

An editorial just seen by me in the "New York Times" comments on some views the Belgian neutrality expressed by me in an article in the "Staats-Zeitung." This comment was no doubt meant to be fair and was without temper—something rather unusual these days in European war talk. But it left an incorrect impression of what I had written. Will you let me briefly state what my view is?

The Congress of Vienna of 1815, sitting after the fall of Napoleon, took Holland and Belgium away from Austria and made of them a single kingdom, guaranteeing its neutrality. The parties to that stipulation included England and Prussia, the party feared being France. In 1831 Belgium obtained her independence and again had her neutrality guaranteed by the great powers, including England and Prussia. The effect of this stipulation was that of international "contract" between the powers signing, that in case of war between them, and especially in case of war between other powers, the neutrality of Belgium, a small state comparatively, should be observed and protected by the larger states. Unquestionably the decision of Germany to cross Belgium was in contravention of that contract, and, in consequence, an international wrong, unless countervailing circumstances had arisen that made compliance with that contract a greater wrong. The point I wish to bring out is that the relation of Germany and England with respect to the Belgian matter, so far as England was concerned, was a matter of contract only.

On the other hand Belgium as an independent neutral state was entitled, not by this contract, mainly, but by the law of nations, to possess her territory inviolate from the trespass of other nations. Until early in the 19th century this right included the right to grant leave to belligerents to cross her territory on the way to the enemy. This, says the German authority quoted in your editorial—the nations of the continent being small and largely separated from each other by the territory of other nations—was a matter of "necessity." Since the early part of the century, however, the opinion has become pretty near unanimous that a neutral nation may not grant such leave, but on the contrary must "prohibit" the use of its territory for the transit of troops. "It is nevertheless conceivable," says Sir Thomas Barclay, an English authority writing since 1907 for the Encyclopedia Britannica, "that under pressure of military necessity, or on account of an overwhelming interest, a powerful belligerent state would cross the territory of a weak neutral state and leave the consequences to diplomacy;" as an illustration of which he cites the act of England in crossing Portugese territory, on its way to the South African republics in 1901, over the protest of Portugal. Those who succeed him in writing may also cite as an illustration Japan's crossing China in this war of 1914 on her way to the German Chinese port, and over the protest of China also—Japan, according to her premier's statement, having been called out by England. In a word, neither the law of international trespass, nor treaty, abolishes "necessity" as an element in international warfare.

Now let us look at the facts as a matter of "contract" between England and Germany—assuming of course that Germany was morally right in an attack of any kind on France. To march into France by any way other than through Belgium is to go by a southerly bend through Alsace and Lorraine. That would leave the whole of the northern half of France free from attack except from the south. Bismarck could afford to do this in 1870 because England had announced her neutrality. On August 2, 1914, six days before the German armies touched Belgium, and when the question of German neutrality was still under discussion between the English and German foreign offices, England not only had not announced her neutrality but gave her engagement to France that she would prevent, with her fleet, the Germans from attacking or blockading with their fleet the northern ports of France. England could not do this and remain a neutral. To say she would block with her fleet impending operations of the German fleet in the war that was opening in France was, in itself, an act of war; this, too, in connection with the fact that, when England asked Germany her intentions respecting Belgium, Germany asked England if she (Germany) remained out of Belgium, would England remain neutral—a question England refused to answer except to say she would not tie her hands. Here, then, was England already enough at war with Germany to block any attack on the northern ports of France; ready, too, to come through those ports with her armies to the help of the French armies, in case she became a full belligerent which her attitude clearly foreshadowed; and not above coming through Belgium also, in case of stress, upon the flank of Germany, as her conduct in South Africa showed. Now what under such circumstances was Germany to do with that "contract" with England? Keep it, as a sportsman, you say, would keep his side of a stipulation however onerous, and thereby increase by one-half Germany's chances of defeat, certainly prolong the war, and with equal certainty give up a much larger toll of lives to bring the war to an end? War is not a sport; and defeat in war and its bruises are not the defeated sportsman going home with a sore pride or sores on his arms and legs. Defeat in such a war as this is the loss of everything for which a capable and gallant people have struggled since 1870, and the bruises are the families left at home without husbands, sons and brothers. To say that a "stipulation" thus misused by England—the England that has since palmed it off, as the "cause" of war although she had already entered the arena before as a partial belligerent at least—should prevail over these larger circumstances both military and humane, is not the essence of morality; it is quixotic, contrary to the common sense of one's

obligations, inhuman as well as unhuman, and would have marked the German Kaiser as a faithless servant of his people.

But what about the consequences to Belgium? The sympathies of the world naturally go out to her—not less the sympathies of those who believe she was beguiled into unnecessary fighting on her part than of those who think it was her duty to fight. As a neutral nation Belgium could not have granted leave to Germany to cross her territory. I will go as far as the authority quoted and say it was her duty to "prohibit" Germany from crossing her territory. But she was under obligation to England or the other nations to use herself up and her army in that prohibition. Belgium is to Germany in military strength about what Switzerland would be to Austria. Switzerland is also a country whose neutrality is guaranteed. Now suppose Austria, in a time of peace, had put some great dishonor on France—had seized her President and his ministers when on a visit to Vienna and held them as prisoners—how could France reach Austria by land except through Germany, Italy or Switzerland? Suppose further that Germany refused transit and Italy as a member of the Triple Alliance not only refused transit but with her navy barred the sea as England barred the sea to Germany, would Switzerland be obliged to let France eat up her army on its way to the enemy? Along with the balance of the world Switzerland's sense of justice and feelings might be all on the side of France—must she in spite of that on "a point of law" become practically the fighting ally of Austria? The conclusion is absurd. It puts a "point of law" above humanity and ordinary common sense. Who thinks that in case Switzerland would not thus immolate her army, Austria or the world would hold her accountable afterwards? Who thinks China will be held accountable by Germany after the war, even if Germany is successful? Who feels that England would hold Belgium accountable? And why not? Because down in his heart every man knows that to hold a power like Belgium or Switzerland to such an accountability would shock the moral sense of the world. In any wide vision of the situation, therefore, Belgium was not required to resist Germany "by force." She had the right to, but was not morally required to. Even as a "point of law" in international jurisprudence, her obligation did not go that far. International law is not unreasonable. It recognizes "necessity" as a force in affairs. It does not demand more blood than is necessary to reach conclusions—demands no fruitless blood of the innocent bystander to fulfill a technicality or keep the record straight. If Germany is morally wrong in this war on France and Russia, my pro-English friend does not need this side issue to justify his sympathies. On the other hand if Germany is morally right as between her and France and Russia, he is forgetting the duty not to sacrifice to a "word" the wider and substantial "thing," the increased danger of defeat and increased cost of life involved in shutting one's eyes to what may be the overshadowing military necessity of the situation. And if you reply that such doctrine is immoral, my answer is that in this case you are making a fetish of something that it would be, in the highest sense of humanity, immoral not to disregard; for it is the letter of the law that killeth, only the spirit that maketh alive. England professing still to be not at war, holding back Germany on the neutral sea—itself a flagrant violation of neutrality—will cut a poor figure in her pretense that what brought her into the conflict was this subsequent violation of Belgian neutrality by Germany.

In a word, the position of England toward Germany was this: You shall not use the neutral seas to attack with your navy the northern ports of France or open them up to your armies. I will use my navy to prevent you from the use of such neutral seas. Nor shall you reach northern France with your armies through Belgium. I will use this "contract" of neutrality to block that. My obligation toward neutrality amounts to nothing on the seas; but your obligation of neutrality is everything on the land. And because Germany did not submit to this double cross on her right to attack France from the north, England professes to have gone into the war as the champion of the cause of the inviolability of treaties and of neutrality.

PETER H. GROSSCUP.

NEWS THE NEW YORK TIMES WOULD LIKE TO SUPPRESS.

(From "The Fatherland," New York, September 23, 1914.)

The New York Times chides the British censor for not suppressing the story of the Turco soldier who protested vehemently when from his scanty baggage there was removed the head of a German soldier which he proposed carrying back with him to Africa as a souvenir. Evidently the old hypocrite on Times Square was taken off its guard. For we now know just what news the editor of the Times regards as "fit to print." Whatever helps England or hurts Germany is fit to print, whatever unmasks the true nature of the barbarous war waged against Germany by the savages of Africa, the Mongols of Asia and the Cossacks, under the direction of London is not fit to print. Meanwhile the Times, more English than the English censor, continues its criminal campaign for the suppression of truth.

If I may be permitted a word to the American press, I should say, discard your bias, forget your sympathies, overlook your prejudice and mine, and enter upon the campaign of peace with the energy, the determination and the grit so characteristic of America. When Barrie lectures in the United States tell him we want peace. Make that sentiment so strong and so universal that the nations of the world will hear our cry.

Should Germany refuse an honorable and lasting peace, then and then only will the time have come to heap abuse on its ruler and odium on its government.—Herman Ridder.

THE RUSSIAN "ORANGE PAPER."

The publication of the Russian "Orange Paper" throws important, and what may be regarded as practically definite light on the question of immediate responsibility for the present war of the nations. The British and German "White Papers" already given to the reading world have contained nothing that approaches in definitiveness the confession of the Russian Foreign Office of the fatherly interest taken by Russia in the affairs of Servia, and of the filial obedience with which Belgrade responded thereto. I have had occasion previously to draw attention to the well-defined policies of Russia and Servia. It remained, however, for the Russian government to show how closely interlocked they were and with what complete accord both were working, or being worked, toward their fulfilment.

The ambitions of Servia may be described as the extension of her territory and the increase of her population by the detachment from the Austro-Hungarian Empire of those adjacent provinces in which the Slavic element predominates. These ambitions in themselves may be regarded as laudable or otherwise, according to the political and ethical frame of mind of the observer. It is perhaps possible that Mexico would like to see returned to her all that southwestern portion of the United States which once was hers. As long as such feelings remain within bounds they do not constitute a casus belli with Mexico. But should the Mexican people attempt by a campaign of education, backed by secret murder and open assassination, to secure the restitution of this territory to Mexico, and should it be discovered that this campaign had the support of the authorities in Mexico City, I do not believe we should hesitate long in demanding of Mexico an understanding quite as vigorous as that which Austria-Hungary asked of Servia. Were such a campaign to culminate in the assassination of the President of the United States or of his Secretary of State, as in Servia it ended in the murder of the Austrian Archduke, I am sure our act of retribution would be swifter. That Austria should have taken the stand which she eventually took, is not surprising. It is cause for marvel only that she did not assume it months before.

The frame of mind of the Servian people upon the conclusion of the Balkan war may be compared with that of the Japanese after their successful war with Russia. They had beaten the enemy, and, consequently, could lick the world. If we carry the comparison further, however, we must admit that the Servian government, like the Japanese, held a more conservative estimate of its powers. And it is, and all along has been, impossible of conception that Servia would have maintained herself in the position of defending the anti-Austrian propaganda unless she had been able to depend implicitly upon the support of a strong ally. The ambitions of the Servian people could not be realized without the aid of

Russia, and in return for that aid Servia was willing to act as a cat's paw to draw Austria-Hungary into a conflict in which Russia would come to her support, and at the same time find an excuse for annexing, if possible, the Galician provinces.

All this has been known by those who have followed the course of events in the Balkans in recent years. It is confirmed now by the Russian Foreign Office.

If Servia had depended impartially upon the powers signatory to the several Balkan conventions, why was it that the Austrian note of July 23 reached St. Petersburg the same day from Belgrade, and was not communicated to the Foreign Office of the other interested powers? It reached them apparently only through the diplomatic channels of Austria-Hungary. If Russia and Servia were not playing a concerted game of political intrigue, what excuse can be offered for this oversight on the part of the government in Belgrade? If Servia wanted peace, why did she refer her troubles only to Russia, who, she knew, wanted war?

The oft-repeated assertion that the Czar did his best to preserve the peace of Europe is contradicted by the published documents of his own foreign office. It develops from a reading of the telegram of July 24, the day before the time limit set in the Austrian ultimatum elapsed, from the Prince Regent of Servia to His Majesty the Emperor in St. Petersburg, that Servia was "ready to accept the Austro-Hungarian conditions which are compatible with the situation of an independent State, as well as those whose acceptance shall be advised us by your Majesty." In other words, Belgrade was ready to submit to the just and natural demands of Vienna, if only His Majesty gave the word. Had the Czar counseled Servia as every consideration of propriety demanded, he should counsel her, there would have been no conflict between Austria and Servia. In this hour of opportunity, however, the Czar chose to be consistent rather than correct. Having encouraged the Servian propaganda for his own purposes and by the promise of support, it was perhaps too late for him to retrace his steps. It was easier, apparently, to go ahead and attempt to see the thing through, and that is what he did.. With the long-sought pretext at hand, it would have been bad management from the Russian point of view to pass it up. The Russian and French armies had been whipped into shape and the British fleet was being held in leash. It was now or perhaps never for Russia to strike for the accomplishment of her aims.

But even when war had become inevitable between Austria and Servia, the impossibility of Russia not coming to the aid of Servia can be explained only on the grounds of consistency. There could have been no possible outcome of such a conflict which called upon Russia to intervene on one side or the other, except that she had backed Servia against Austria to a point from which she could not retreat without "losing face." It is clear now what Russia stands and has stood for—intrigue against neighboring states, murder and assassination. The pretense that she sought peace by asking delay on the part of Austria is too shallow to hold much water. To her, and to her alone, was it given to counsel Servia in the right direction and she refused to do so. Even then it was given her to allow Austria and Servia to settle their dispute without her interference. When she failed in this, she failed to preserve the peace of Europe.

It is idle to talk now of what the German Emperor might have done. As an ally of the Austrian Emperor, he could not be expected to counsel Austria against demanding of Servia the righting of wrongs which had come to be intolerable. He did what he could to localize the war, did more than any other sovereign of Europe, and his efforts to this end ceased only when it became unmistakably apparent that Russia could not be swerved from her purpose of attacking Austria.

The then position of Germany was sufficiently explained in the note handed to the British Government, on July 24, by the German Ambassador at the Court of St. James.

"The Imperial Government want to emphasize their position that in the present case there is only the question of a matter to be settled exclusively between Austria-Hungary and Servia, and that the great powers ought seriously to endeavor to reserve it to those two immediately concerned. The Imperial Government desire urgently the localization of the conflict, because every interference of another power would, owing to the different treaty obligations, be followed by incalculable consequences."

It was not the entrance of Germany into the war that started the conflagration, but the unwarranted interference of Russia in a quarrel which was not hers, and when history writes the story of 1914, the name that will stand out pre-eminently before all others, written in letters of blood, will be Nicholas II.

"* * * In England the opponents of the war, and I understand that they are represented in the House of Commons, maintain that the Foreign Office failed to do everything possible to avoid the war. It is certain that England knew of the agreements, the plans and the purposes of France and Russia. England knew on July first of this year what all the world knows now, namely, that Germany and Austria had been isolated by diplomatic intrigues of the Triple Entente. The dream of Edward VII to crush his hated nephew was about to be realized. The fact that England, Russia and France join in the chorus shouting "The Kaiser did it, the Kaiser did it' will not blind history when it places the responsibility for this war."—Herman Ridder, in the "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung."

AN UNFAIR COMPARISON.

Editorial from the "Milwaukee Free Press," September 21, 1914.

We have not had presented a sufficient reason for the almost complete destruction of Louvain. It does not seem to reach the spot to say that Belgians fired on German troops. Mexicans did the same on Americans at Vera Cruz, but Vera Cruz is now a better organized, healthier and happier city than it was before the Americans entered. American military justice upon citizens found shooting was as severe as the Germans' upon Belgians caught in the act. The non-combatant sacrifices his standing when he does this, but it does not warrant such wholesale destruction as was the punishment given by the Germans.

This paragraph from an editorial in "The Chicago Tribune" is a typical specimen of the kind of argument, speciously fair upon its face, by means of which certain American newspapers create sentiment against Germany.

There does not exist even the vestige of a parallel between the German occupation of Louvain and the American occupation of Vera Cruz.

The United States was not at war with anyone. Her troops were landed without declaration, and to this day no precedent or warranty has been adduced for this strange violation of the territory of a friendly nation. In the anomalous position which our troops occupied at Vera Cruz, the meting out of "American military justice upon citizens found shooting" is in itself a strange commentary on the event.

Had this arbitrary act on the part of our Government led to national armed resistance on the part of Mexico, such as met the German army when it entered upon its pacific march through Belgium, what would then have been the policy of the American generals?

Had Mexico declared war upon us, would we have paused to make Vera Cruz a healthier, better organized city? Would we have continued to tolerate the guerilla warfare of non-combatants to the extent of making it an individual and not a community matter?

The smouldering ruins of Filipino villages, the "water cure" inflicted upon tight-tongued insurrectos, which engaged the press some fifteen years ago, may testify to the contrary.

Let us not be hypocrites. War is one thing, and a police move—such as we assume the occupation of Vera Cruz to have been—is another.

It was for us to avoid any act that might antagonize the Mexican people to convince them of our pacific intent. It was for the Germans harrassed from the start by civilian attack, to teach a lesson that would once and for all stop the guerilla warfare of Belgian non-combatants.

We are not in a position to pass upon the necessity of the destruction of Louvain, as "The Tribune" seems to be. Its correspondent, Mr. Bennett, believes that it was merited. It is hard to think in terms of war in a land peace, and the thought of this fair city in ruins is a tragic one.

IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE WAR

From the Time of the Assassination of the Archduke and Duchess of Austria

The Real Immediate Cause of the War

The Russian Mobilization

The Philosopher of History on Modern Ultra-pragmatism in this World Politics

GERMAN "WAR-MAKERS"—A CRITICAL STUDY.

Germanistic Society of Chicago.

By Noel Sargent, of the University of Washington.

The great European war has been ascribed to many causes, but the one of which we hear the most is beyond doubt German militarism. "Germany," we are told, "had a chip on its shoulder and was ready and willing, even anxious, to fight any or all comers." "Germany was the most formidable military power on the Continent and took no pains to avoid the conflict." "The people of Germany are a war-like race and believe that in might is right." "Ever since 1870 the feeling of militarism has been predominant in the Teuton empire." These are serious charges to make, and appeal strongly to every American when they are constantly reiterated. The United States is, and always has been, opposed to militarism in any form. As a result appeals to our natural prejudice have a great effect. But while we can never approve of militarism, for its own sake, yet it is possible to understand, by reviewing actual facts, the reasons for Germany's strength, and to disprove the allegation that Germany is a warlike nation.

The Historical Record.

History demonstrates to us that Germany is not an aggressive country. The war of 1870 was the result of French desire to engage in a struggle with Prussia. Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer stated in the Commons February 17, 1871, that Germany had been exposed to a war which was unjustly brought upon her. Mr. Washburne, American Minister to France in 1870, writes in his "Recollections of a Minister to France," (v. 1, ch. 2): "It really appeared that the government of France had determined to have war with Germany, *coute que coute.* The alleged causes growing out of the talk that Germany was to put a German prince on the throne of Spain were but a mere pretext."

Mr. Horsman in the House of Commons said on Feb. 17, 1871: "I insist that if you take the whole history of Germany you must say that she has not been an aggressive power." Viscount Royston added: "Prussia has never been aggressive outside what she considered her own sphere."

Again, take the German record since 1870. What do we find? Over forty years of unbroken peace. What other nation can point to such a record? Not England, with her bitter struggle with the Boers. Nor Italy with her defeat in Abyssinia and the war with Turkey. Neither Japan nor Russia with their war of 1904. Nor can the United States and Spain lay claim to a better record. Surely, this record must speak for itself. If Germany had really desired war what magnificent opportunities she has had. At the time of the Boer war it would have been an easy matter to start a conflict with England. Or after the Russo-Jap war of 1904, when the Russian arms were demoralized by defeat. Or during the Algeciras or Agadir incidents. If Germany had wished for war what better chances could she have possessed? Germany's record does not prove her a warlike power.

Prof. Arthur McDonald, in an address at the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology in Washington in October, 1914, showed the years the countries of Europe remained at peace from 1800 to 1895, a period of 96 years. Germany was at war 11 years; Spain 13 years; Austria-Hungary 14; Italy 16; Turkey 16; England 19; Russia 20; France 21.

German "militarism" has kept the peace for over forty years. Not another great nation can show us a record to compare with this. Facts are the truth and the truth is mighty and must prevail.

The Kaiser's War.

"William II, the 'war lord' of Europe, the war-mad ruler, the supreme autocrat of Germany, personally started the conflict. This is the Kaiser's War," Such is the charge. Let us see.

These two words—"war lord"—have done more to influence the belief of the Americans that German militarism is a menace to world peace than any one thing. Yet the term "*der oberste Kriegsherr,*" from which they are derived, means merely "chief commander of the forces." Every sovereign country has an "*oberster Kriegsherr,*" as George V in England, Nicholas II in Russia, or Woodrow Wilson in our own land. Twenty years ago some one took the phrase, highly elaborated it, and flung it out to the world as "supreme war lord," which has been a powerful ally for all those who feared or disliked "Prussian militarism."

The constitutional powers of the Emperor are not exceptional. He has the power, just as our own President, to declare defensive war. For offensive war he must obtain the consent of the Bundesrat. All funds, in both offensive and defensive wars, are voted by the Reichstag, as by the House in this country. The military power of the executive everywhere includes the supreme command of all the military forces of the nation. In some monarchical countries, as Great Britain, it embraces also the right to declare war. In France the assent of both chambers is necessary. In both France and Germany it is admitted that the executive can declare defensive war without the necessity of obtaining the legislative consent. Even where the executive may initiate hostilities, extensive war cannot be waged for any length of time without the approval of the legislature, since it and not the executive controls the source of supply. When compared with other rulers the power of the Kaiser is not excessive.

Now let us consider William II. Is he, as a man, warlike and militant? Is he an enemy of peace? It is difficult to believe this. The Kaiser has always acted in the interests of peace. And he has had, as Emperor, many chances to embroil his country in foreign relations which must inevitably have led to war. After the settlement of Agadir the Kaiser was severely arraigned by

the jingoistic members of the Berlin press (Germany, like every other nation, including our own, has a jingoistic press) on the ground that he had exhibited weakness in the councils of Europe. French journalists have called him "*Guillaume le timide.*"

On the first page of the magazine section of the "New York Times" for June 8, 1913, there are some interesting letters. Here are some extracts:

"The one man outside this country from whom I obtained help in bringing about the Peace of Portsmouth (ending the Russo-Jap war) was His Majesty William II. From no other nation did I receive any assistance, but the Emperor personally, and through his Ambassador at St. Petersburg, was of real aid in helping induce Russia to face the accomplished fact and come to an agreement with Japan. * * * This was a real help to the cause of international peace, a contribution that far outweighed any amount of mere talk about it in the abstract, for in this as in all other matters an ounce of performance is worth a ton of promise."

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

"The highest praise that I can offer concerning the Emperor William II is that he would have made as good a King of England as our history has provided, and as good a President of the United States as any since George Washington.

"It was said of the Emperor William that he was medieval in his war spirit, but he has proved himself a modern keeper of the peace * * * The world owes to Emperor William a debt of gratitude. He might have found cause to reap advantage from European embroilment of his own making, but he has proved himself among the most civilized internationally patriotic of rulers."

SIR GILBERT PARKER.

"The truth of history requires the verdict that, considering the critically important part that has been his among the nations, he (the German Emperor) has been for the last quarter of a century, the greatest single individual force in the practical maintenance of peace in the world."

W. H. TAFT.

England's greatest daily, the "London Times" (see Literary Digest of July 12, 1913) said: "His homage to peace is no mere lip-service. It comes from a deep and real sense of the awful responsibility to Heaven and to man which weighs upon the author of an unjust war." Yet we are now asked to believe that a man with these high-minded ideals and principles has wilfully started an unjust war.

M. Charles Bonnefon in the "Paris Figaro" remarked: "On two occasions of initial significance has the Emperor courageously plied his oars in stemming the current of popular fury * * * He has braved universal unpopularity in order to maintain the peace of Europe. The "Berlin Vorwärts" refused to join in the Kaiser's anniversary celebration, but had to admit: "We are ready to believe that William II honestly wishes for peace."

The record of William II is open to the world. The truth may be caught up by the winds of calumny; it may be distorted and turned aside, but it shall not be lost—its influence shall be lasting.

Statements by men who know are surely worth far more than the vaporings of war-mad journalists or politicians.

Is it probable or possible that the Kaiser was for a quarter of a century deliberately deceiving the world, and that now, at the age of 55, he has determined to unmask and strike for the mastery of Europe? Even less likely is it that the Emperor suddenly changed overnight like a chameleon changing its color. It is an insult to our intelligence to ask us to believe such things. For one, I prefer to take my stand with the ideas expressed by Roosevelt and Taft, who, in supreme office for twelve years, surely had ample opportunity to become acquainted with the real aims and purposes of the rulers of foreign nations. The "New Statesman" (English weekly) said editorially in its issue of October 24, 1914: "Those who may be expected to know most about the point are almost unanimous in declaring their conviction that the Kaiser did not want war."

The truth is that this is a war of the German people. Critics who otherwise oppose the Germans admit this point. Dr. Gibbons, former Professor of History at Rogers College, Constantinople, in his late book, "The New Map of Europe," says that this war is "the war of the people, intelligently and deliberately willed by them." Sidney Low, former editor of the "St. James Gazette," in the "Edinburgh Review" of October says that this war has the unanimous support of the German people. Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania, tells us: "Whether rightly or wrongly, the feeling throughout Germany and among all classes was that the war was forced upon them." Andrew Bonar Law, leader of the Opposition in the Commons, said ("New York Sun" of Nov. 11): "I have never cherished the delusion that this is a war of the German ruler's army. It is a war of the German nation."

The German people are unanimous in their support of the present war. Not since history began has the world witnessed such a spectacle of a unified and courageous people resisting forces whose success they believe would be inimical to their future as a people and as a nation. Without exception they believe themselves to be obeying the command: "Fight the good fight of faith."

The "Euro-Nietzschian War."

The works of Nietzsche, Treitschke, and von Bernhardi are said to have inculcated in the German people a love of war and of force, and a feeling of disregard for the rights of others. Learned professors at Oxford have published a very interesting book with the title the "Euro-Nietzschian War."

Let us first take up the question of Nietzsche and his influence. We find in him a writer who vacillated from one policy to another. Starting as an admirer of Wagner and Schopenhauer, as one imbued with religious principles, he became embittered; he denounced German culture, German ideals, and everything else German; he denounced militarism and nationalism; he opposed all moral Christian laws and in a sort of hyper-Darwinism preached the "survival of the fittest." At last he became insane. This is the man whose writings are held responsible for the great struggle.

But Nietzsche's writings lead us to no such conclusion. He was the bitter opponent of German culture, "upon which," he said, "I looked down even in 1873 with unmitigated contempt." He denounced Wagner as a musician of decadent emotionalism. Schopenhauer he rejected. He termed D. F. Strauss (the theological and philosophical writer) the "Philistine of Culture." Why credit this individual with unlimited power over a people whose culture he derided and whom he deplored for a race, ordinary, even cowardly in thought, and weak? But, did he not say that "a good war justifies any cause?" Did he not preach the doctrine of the Superman, the being who was to establish his own code of morality? These things are quite true, but their significance fades when we consider the real attitude of Nietzsche.

The war that he preached and the force that he urged were to be *by* and *of* the *individual*, and not the race or nation. Nationalism he detested. In this respect he is diametrically opposed to Treitschke and von Bernhardi. Of Rome, the great empire, he asked: "Who venerates this colossus?" He doubted if large empires were not inimical to art and beauty. He ridiculed the "bovine spirit of nationality" and denounced Prussian militarism. Since the war started the University of Oxford has published many pamphlets, one of them entitled "Nietzsche and Treitschke," by Ernest Barker, M. A. Mr. Barker is forced to admit (p. 12): "Passages such as these (which he has just quoted) would seem to indicate an aggressive and militant nationalism. But Nietzsche is not consistent; and nationalism is one of his many '*bête noires.*' His constructive idea is not national, and the war he would preach is not an ordinary battle of the nations." Mr. Barker adds: "Nietzsche loved neither nationalism nor militarism." He emphasized European culture, and the coming unity of European economics. He termed the State "that coldest of monsters and most frigid of liars" which pretends to be the People, and by the People is detested. "Talk not of 'land of my fathers'; our bark must steer for the land of our children." Nationalism, says Nietzsche, is "that national

heart-itch and blood-poisoning." Nietzsche, while he despised English culture, was a great admirer of the Russian and the Slavic culture.

To sum up: Nietzsche despised the German culture and the German people; he was the foe of militarism; he was the bitter enemy of nationalism; his doctrine of force, of war, and his standard of master and slave morality (cf. teachings of Callicles in Plato's Gorgias) was for the Individual and not for the State. On the very face of it, therefore, it does not seem a reasonable proposition to assert that Nietzsche can be held responsible for the war, which he would have been the first to mourn.

Regard the matter without prejudice for a moment. The German people are alleged to be imbued with Nietzsche's doctrine of the Superman. How ridiculous! It cannot be said that the Social Democrats believe in the idea of supreme force. The Catholics vote as a party in Germany and are very strong. But the Catholics are not Nietzschians. They do not believe in the idea of master and slave morality or in the idea of a Superman. Nietzsche denounced Christianity and would not be in favor with the Catholic voters. These two parties represent a large majority of all Germans.

Economically Nietzsche's doctrines are but the policy of "*laisser faire*" taught by Jean-Baptiste Say, Adam Smith, and Ricardo. T. W. Rolleston, former Taylorian Lecturer at Oxford, writes in the "Hibbert Journal" of October, 1914: "No ideal could be more unlike Nietzsche's than that which the Germans have followed for forty years. * * * Nietzsche's social philosophy was that of a violent individualism—the subordination of the individual to the interests of a vast political machine was one of the many things he detested in his native country." Yet the German economy of the past quarter of a century and over has been the exact opposite of this policy. With the possible exceptions of New Zealand, Switzerland, and Belgium, Germany has passed more measures of social reform than any other country. The workers are protected in every imaginable way. Agitators for measures of social and industrial relief in our own land have for many years pointed to Germany as a model. A nation imbued with the idea of force, of every man for himself, of the survival of the fittest—imbued with Nietzscheism—would never have adopted such a program. Theoretically inconceivable we can state that practically Nietzsche has no great influence in the German Empire of today.

Treitschke.

Our next war-maker is Heinrich von Treitschke, the great historian. Lord Acton pronounced Treitschke to be "the one writer of history who is more brilliant and powerful than Droysen." He continues: "He writes with the force and fire of Mommsen. He accounts for the motives that stir a nation, as well as for the councils that govern it." He was the personal enemy of Nietzsche, "this madman, who tells us so much about his inactual thought, and who has nevertheless been bitten to the marrow by the most actual of all vices, the *folie des grandeurs*." The cause of this outburst, which is but a sample of the conflict of words between the two men, was an attack by Nietzsche on Prussian professordom.

Nationalism, condemned by Nietzsche, is the starting point and goal of Treitschke. "The State is Power." "This truth remains: the essence of the state consists in this, that it can suffer no higher power than itself." Dr. Munroe Smith, Professor of Jurisprudence at Columbia since 1891, writes in the "Bookman" for December (1914): "Although the state is might, Treitschke does not admit that might is right. The state is unquestionably subject to the moral law * * * Power which tramples all right under foot must perish in the end." Thus in his history of the Thirty Years' War Treitschke asserts that the humiliation of Germany was a just retribution for the attempt of German kings to rule Italy and re-establish world empire. Those are in the wrong who maintain that Treitschke advocated world dominion and the rule of force without consideration of the right of the question at issue.

Treitschke's Germanistic preachings of twenty years ago have not formed a school. His great works on history, which include the remarks that have been translated into English since the war started, are found in ponderous two and four-volume sets. Even in Germany people do not pore through such works of history as a matter of pleasure. In all the present author's reading on the subject, covering such periodicals as "Blackwood's," the "Edinburgh Review," the "Fortnightly," "Contemporary," and other English periodicals for the last few years, including all the jingoistic articles, he did not find until this war broke out a single reference to Treitschke as being responsible for any militaristic spirit in Germany. Not a single reference. He did, however, find a few references to Bernhardi.

Sidney Whitman, F. R. G. S., prominent English political writer, says in the "Fortnightly Review" for October, 1914: "Prof. Cramb (author of 'Germany and England,' published 1914) tells us that it takes at least half a century for any German thought to cross the North Sea, and proves it to be so in his own case. He credits Treitschke with an influence over the German mind of today—which he no longer possesses—to the same extent as he did about forty years ago. I am in a position to cite Professor Hans Delbrück as my authority for the statement that Treitschke's influence has been on the wane for some time; that he is no longer actual in the present; that he is old-fashioned (*veraltet*)."

Prof. Smith, previously quoted, says: "It seems to me improbable that Treitschke's theories of the state and of war have appreciably affected the conduct of Germany. When we survey a list of the great historians of Treitschke's time we can see that it is foolish to assert that his doctrines could have dominated Germany. A few of them are: von Ranke (1795-1886); Mommsen; Giesebrecht (1814-1889); Häusser (1818-1867, born in Alsace); von Sybel (1817-1895); Burckhardt; and Droysen. Yet, none of these, all as great as Treitschke, has been declared responsible for the war. Though a great historian, Treitschke has never exercised a great influence on the German people nor have his doctrines ever been widely disseminated throughout Germany. Three of our warmakers have been thus disposed of.

Bernhardi.

Now for Bernhardi, the terrible man who represents the best thought and ideals of modern Germany, the man who preaches militarism and force, force and militarism, the man who glories in the greatness of war for war's sake, and would humble the other nations of the world. Rather a terrifying picture, isn't it? Yet, not half as rabid as some of the statements that have been made during the past few months. It is not too much to say that not one in every ten thousand Americans had heard of Gen. Bernhardi until this war. Since then he has become one of the best sellers. Bernhardi's book, "Germany and the Next War," is said to represent the true German ideal. The English have exploited it for its full value. The Lord Bishop of Carlisle ("Nineteenth Century" for October) solemnly assures us that "this is the book which has deeply penetrated the minds of the German people, poisoning their hearts with jealousy, confusing their thoughts with plausibilities and prejudices, etc." Now, what are the facts as to this most interesting book? We are told by leading Germans that Germany repudiates Bernhardi. But German assurances will not be sufficient for the doubters. According to the German literary publications (before the war started) seven thousand copies of Bernhardi's book had been sold in Germany. We can safely place the maximum at 10,000 copies. According to Brockhaus' "Deutscher Literatur Katalog" for 1913-1914, the book consisted of 333 pages and sold for $1.50 to $2.10, according to the binding. The price is not one which would lead to a wide sale. It would seem, then, reasonable to assert that the book's circulation was confined almost entirely to military circles.

Professor Kühnemann, when in Seattle, assured his hearers that he had never heard of the book until he came to America, and Professor Kuno Meyer relates that upon an enquiry among the professors of Berlin University only two were found to have read the book before the beginning of the present war. We do not need, however, to rely on German opinion, which would be discounted by American readers. Dr. Dillon, prominent member of Parliament, has just published a work antagonistic to Germany, entitled "A Scrap of Paper," which is published

by Doran's. Dr. Dillon was for many years the foreign and diplomatic editor of several of the best English periodicals. In the "Contemporary Review" for March, 1914, Dr. Dillon says: "Gen. Bernhardi is not Germany, nor do his demands embody the intentions or the wishes of the Kaiser's Government." Consider an American opinion. The "Boston Transcript" of Feb. 1, 1913, said: "General Bernhardi's book is at this distance a piece of academic thunder, whatever it may mean to the timorous in England." The "Nation" (American) of Feb. 6, 1913, writes in its book review column: "There is nothing very surprising in all this talk, with which the Blatchfords in England, the Bourgets and Déroulèdes in France, and the Homer Leas in our own country have made us familiar." Bearing out the same thought is the "New Statesman" (English) of Sept. 5, 1914, which said: "General Bernhardi's doctrines are now pretty well known. For that matter they were well known before ever he wrote his book, as they have been the commonplaces of militarists the world over." Why is it that we have been constantly reminded of von Bernhardi and that the writings of "militarists the world over," who expressed the same "commonplaces" have been neglected? Can it be that Germany's enemies wish to point out the German vulnerabilities, but would have us forget those of their own countries? Is there a skeleton in the closet or a nigger in the woodpile?

Bernhardi is a jingoist. He opposes the peace movement. He would fight any reduction in armaments. He is a patriot and a nationalist. But to assert that Bernhardi dominates Germany savors of the ridiculous. Germany is censured because—simply because the writings of Bernhardi have been cleverly used and manipulated by the English and by English sympathizers to make the British and Americans believe that Germany is Bernhardi and that Bernhardi is Germany—one and inseparable.

Every country has its jingoists. France has Senator Humbert, M. Delcassé, M. Clemenceau, and others who favored strong military forces. Can we not accept as true Bernard Shaw's statement that jingoists are as prevalent and as powerful in England as in Prussia or France? Many Englishmen, however, do not take anything Shaw says seriously. Perhaps a few quotations and examples will serve to convince. England has its Prof. Cramb. The reviewer in the Dublin Review of last October said that the Professor "proclaims himself, as enthusiastically as Gen. Bernhardi, a disciple of the Religion of Valour, announcing, apparently with satisfaction, that Corsica has, in this twentieth century, conquered Gallilee * * * The glamour of war possesses him * * * A peace policy is, in his eyes, a mere expression of weakness, a symptom of demoralization."

In the "Nineteenth Century" for April, 1911, there is an article entitled "God's Test by War," written by Harold F. Wyatt. There is nothing in Gen. Bernhardi's work which can compare with this article. Here are a few passages:

"Efficiency for war is God's test of a nation's soul. This is the ethical content of competition."

"If war could suddenly be rendered henceforth impossible upon earth, the machinery by which national corruption is punished and national virtue rewarded would be ungeared. The higher would cease to supersede the lower."

"While human nature remains what it is at present, war must retain its place beside death as a vital and essential part of the economy of God."

"A spurious and bastard humanitarianism masquerading as religion declares war to be an anachronism and a barbaric sin."

Perhaps since Bernhardi is a military man, military authorities would appeal better. For years Lord Beresford, Captain Faber and Lord Roberts have been urging England to gain an overwhelming superiority over all other nations. Take, if you will, this statement setting forth the advantages of an offensive warfare. "The heart of a nation has gone out of it, which bases its security on defense alone. As Raleigh urged upon Cecil, 'If we be once driven to the defensive, farewell might.' To talk about 'National Defense Committee' is a selfish idea and an insult to our world Empire." This statement may be found in the "Nineteenth Century" for June, 1900. Its author is Major-General Sir W. G. Knox, K. C. B., C. B.

The United States is not free from jingoists. One great American press association is entirely militaristic and jingoistic. Hobsonism is not unknown. Roosevelt, Gardner, Weeks and Lodge are but a few of the great men who urge this country to arm itself. We have our "Army and Navy League" and other organizations of a similar nature. In the "Independent" of July 6, 1905, Paul Morton, Secretary of the Navy, writes:

"The United States will in time logically and inevitably become the most powerful nation in the world * * * The fulfillment of such a destiny as this will be advanced or retarded in direct ratio to the expansion of the naval power of the country." Congressman Britten of Illinois, in the House on Sept. 13, 1913, said: "No policy of disarmament can penetrate the peace we now enjoy. The millennial peace is yet below the horizon of our vision * * * It is the man behind the punch that goes by unmolested. Preparedness for war is the best promoter of peace * * * Power is the climax to all argument." Gen. Homer Lea's "The Valor of Ignorance" can be compared to the works of Gen. Bernhardi and Prof. Cramb.

The truth is apparent. All countries possess their jingoists. As we have seen, also, von Bernhardi's teachings are not the thoughts of the German nation. It is absolutely impossible to trace this war, from the German side, to any one, two, or three men; it is a war of and by the German people.

National Expenditures.

From the standpoint of expenditures, both absolute and relative, Germany compares very favorably with other nations. According to official figures furnished by the British Admiralty and War Offices (see "Living Age," June 14, 1914), the five warring nations pay for their armies and navies:

Russia, $455,000,000; Germany, $350,000,000; France, $280,000,000; England, $375,000,000; and Austria-Hungary only $145,000,000.

The real question, however, is not the absolute amount spent by each government, but the burden to the tax-payers. On this basis the per capita expenditures are as follows: Russia $3.70; Germany $5.38; France $7.00; England $8.33; Austria-Hungary $3.00. Russia's expenditure per capita is, of course, less because of the countless millions of Russian subjects. In the per capita statistics the population of only European Russia has been used. Figures could be quoted which would favor more the German side, but it seems best to use these figures, furnished by the British government, which eliminate all non-corresponding expenditures.

The National Burden.

Consider the sizes of the various armies in their peace strength. I Times" of Nov. 8, 1914. In round take my figures from the "New York numbers, Germany's peace army consisted of 800,000 men; Russia's of 1,284,000; and France's of 869,000. In Russia, there is one soldier for every 95 persons; in Germany, one for each 81; in France, one soldier for each 46 persons. The term of service is less in Germany than in Russia, thus equalizing the burden between Russia and Germany.

The population of Germany increased 14 per cent from 1901 to 1910, but the number of men in her army and navy combined increased only 7.8 per cent! To show that Germany had no aggressive designs we have only to mention that during these ten years nearly 900,000 men, the vast majority fit for service in the army, were excused by being placed in the "Ersatz Reserve." The men in this reserve receive no military training; they are only liable to be called out and trained in case of war. If Germany had desired or expected war she would have put these men into the regular army.

A Vital Factor.

A strong army is a necessity to Germany. The fact that she did not make it numerically superior to her neighbors' forces and that her military burden is lighter indicates that she was not aggressive but prepared, well prepared, to wage war if forced to do so. Germany's strategic position emphasizes the need of an efficient army. Germany is situated like a nut between two crackers—

Russia on one frontier and France on the other. Russia's dream of expansion and France's wish for revenge made it necessary for Germany to be prepared against any attempt to crush her by a concerted effort of the two powers. Russia enormously strengthened her army in recent years. The increase of her military and naval expenditures during the past four years has been truly startling. Mr. J. Ellis Barker, a very prominent English author, now bitterly opposed to the Germans, wrote in the "Fortnightly" of April 1, 1913: "The events of the last few years have awakened her (Germany) to a sense of insecurity. Germany has found it necessary to increase her army because the Balkan War has endangered her position. She must reckon with the possibility of having to fight France and Russia simultaneously. Her army is primarily intended to be a weapon of defense." Mr. Barker found no reason to believe that Germany was doing aught but trying to defend her own interests.

In view of Germany's perilous position we cannot do else but agree with Mr. Balfour's statement (House of Commons, July 14, 1910), that "it is on the Army that their national existence depends." However much we may deplore the necessity, a little reasoning should be sufficient to convince us that, for Germany, a well-prepared army is a national need.

The Navies.

We still have the naval situation to consider. Is not British Navyism, with its demand for supreme control, more dangerous to the world than Germany's militarism, with an army inferior in size to those of either France or Russia? England says she must rule the sea. We can readily perceive that, as an island power, England is justified in wanting a strong navy, but it is difficult to concur in her two-keel-to-one standard.

The English Navy is an enormous burden to the country. Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, former secretary of the New Reform Club, writes in the "Contemporary Review" for April, 1914: "The cost of the German Navy is only $1.75 per head of the population of Germany, whereas the cost of the British Navy is $5.50 per head of the population of the United Kingdom." The average family of five persons is taxed $8.75 in Germany and $27.50 in the United Kingdom towards the cost of maintaining the respective navies. The German naval expenditures are not so enormous as the British agitators would have us believe.

A study of the British attitude towards their naval expansion is highly interesting. Consider the following statements taken from speeches delivered in the House of Commons:

"Our Empire is only kept going by supremacy at sea." (Lord Charles Beresford, March 17, 1910.) "I should like to see a Navy which would stop the shade of a shadow of an idea that it could be attacked at all, and if once we had a Navy of that character, I am perfectly certain it would be very cheap, no matter what the insurance (meaning cost) was."

The following remarks were made March 15, 1910:

"If we are to have peace we must be prepared for war." (Sir C. Kinloch-Cooke.)

"We want a Navy for this country which no power dare to attack." (M. Foot Mitchell.)

"Under present conditions our food supply, our national independence, our treaty obligations, and our rights of asylum, must be defended by adequate forces." (Mr. Hyndman, leader of British Social Democratic party.)

"We wish the two-power standard to apply to the two next strongest powers." (Mr. Arthur Lee.)

Can you not imagine what a cry of militarism would go up in this country if we should demand that we must have a navy so strong that no power would even dream of attacking us? These few quotations show that England desired a powerful navy, one which could meet any two other nations. Such statements could be multiplied many, many times if space did not forbid. Does not such a policy constitute more of a world menace than Germany's land strength, numerically inferior to the armies of France or Russia?

Eventually, after many years of such rodomontade, about 1907 or 1908 there came a time when the English public refused to listen to plans for a more powerful navy, and the resulting large and ever increasing expenditures. The Big Navy men resorted to a skillful policy of press agitation. Navy Leagues sprung up like mushrooms and propaganda work continued steadily. These bodies worked smoothly and efficiently. "They," said Mr. Dickinson in the Commons, March 16, 1910, "have kindled a feeling of suspicion and distrust on the part of our nation." The same work, we must admit, was going on in Germany, when the people were urged to support the fleet for two reasons: (1) the fear of English aggression, should any continental dispute arise, and (2) closely allied to this, the enormous expansion of German commerce. This phase will be considered later.

After carefully preparing the way the panic was launched in 1909. The First Lord of the Admiralty, supported by the Prime Minister, startled the nation with the revelation that Germany was making a stupendous acceleration in the production of naval armaments. Germany was said to be planning the construction of Dreadnaught after Dreadnaught. The journals were filled with articles inspired by words such as these, delivered in the Commons on March 16, 1909. Mr. Balfour said: "Germany will have seventeen of these great Dreadnaughts in July, 1911, and we shall have only fourteen. * * * There is no doubt they will have thirteen on 1st April, 1911." Mr. McKenna, First Lord of the Admiralty, said: "My own opinion is that they will have thirteen completed in August, 1911." Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, was not quite so pessimistic, and stated: "In November, 1911, we shall have sixteen against thirteen."

Four Dreadnaughts were immediately voted. The panic, and that alone, made the vote possible. Time tested these revelations. They did not stand the test. It was discovered that the program of German building upon which the Commons authorized the construction of the four Dreadnaughts were ludicrously incorrect, perhaps, who knows, deliberately misleading. When November, 1911, came around, Germany had but five Dreadnaughts, instead of the "from thirteen to seventeen" it was alleged she would have. Mr. Balfour capped the government estimate by stating that by April, 1912, Germany would probably have 21 Dreadnaughts to England's 20. Actually, Germany had, on March 31, 1912, only nine of those great ships, to England's fifteen. On May 31, 1913, Germany had thirteen and England twenty-two. Not till 1914 was Germany to have seventeen, the number Mr. Balfour said they would have in July, 1911. The panic figures of 1909 were absolutely unfounded and have been proved completely erroneous. Yet the English Navy was increased as if they had been correct. The German bogey served a useful purpose for those who stood for an exaggerated British Navy.

Indeed, it was this very agitation in England which led to part of the increase in the German Navy, the remainder of the increase being accounted for by German commercial expansion. Mr. Dillon, in a powerful speech delivered July 14, 1910, said that it was British aggression and disastrous blunders that had caused the creation of the German Navy League, founded to advance the interests of the German Navy. He stated further: "It is an abominable thing, but there are men in this country, who are deliberately and avowedly, without any concealment whatever, trying to provoke war between Germany and this country. Many of them, notably Mr. Maxse of the "National Review," and many other publications, openly say this war is bound to come, and the sooner the better." Dr. Dillon referred to "the outrageous and criminal agitation carried on against Germany for the last three years." Can we greatly blame Germany for trying to prevent England from gaining an overwhelming naval superiority, since it was evident that if these two countries alone should engage in war, the struggle must occur on the sea?

The "Review of Reviews" for October, 1914, editorially (p. 394) refers to England's "ruinous policy of naval expansion that has forced Germany, France and the United States to follow after." Mr. W. H. Dickinson said in the Commons (March 15, 1910): "I believe if we could look into the inmost secrets of the German Navy we should find that it has been this country that on every occa-

sion has brought about the increase in that navy." German naval expansion is justified in large measure by the English attitude on the naval question. Nothing but overwhelming superiority would satisfy Britain. England must bear a large share of the responsibility for German naval growth, a responsibility she cannot escape.

The end is not yet. Mr. Churchill laid down a standard in what are called capital ships, which, he stated, would be satisfactory from the English point of view. This ratio was that of sixteen British capital ships to ten German. Subsequently Admiral von Tirpitz, on Feb. 7, 1913, stated in the Reichstag that such a ratio would be satisfactory to Germany. Concerning this statement, Mr. Molteno, member of Parliament since 1906, says in the "Contemporary Review" of Feb., 1914:

"This pronouncement has not received adequate appreciation or attention in this country. It is an unwelcome statement to those who desire to create an inordinate navy. In any fair attempt to estimate the naval situation it would be monstrous not to realize the full meaning of this admission on the part of Germany. * * * It proves conclusively that she has no desire to attack us, or of aggression upon us." With desire to follow out this plan, the German Naval Estimates for 1914 provided for only two large ships with an occasional third. This was very unwelcome to the Big Navy men of Britain. The Navy League of England said: "Now that her yearly programs have been reduced from four ships to two, with an occasional three, it is the most difficult thing in the world to get up steam for the further task which lies before us, namely to create a sufficient margin of strength to protect the 'whole-world interests of the Empire.'" That admission of von Tirpitz must not be forgotten in any discussion of the Anglo-German naval situation. In England's attempts to make it appear that German ascendancy was approaching and that national disaster was imminent they have elected to ignore this, and all other statements, which would tend to weaken the case for the necessity of a great navy. But facts cannot be ignored nor successfully hidden.

A large part of Germany's naval growth can be justified on another ground—her commercial expansion. Her mercantile development has been astounding.

The trade of Great Britain and Ireland since 1870 has arisen from two billion dollars to five and a half billions. Germany's has increased from one billion to five billions. Germany's trade is, therefore, five times what it was in 1870; England's only two and a half times as great. England's advantage over Germany in 1870 was one hundred per cent; now it is but ten per cent. Comparing the figures of 1870 with those of 1906 as to the tonnage entered and cleared in the German and British ports respectively we find that the amount passing in British bottoms in England was multiplied by three; and the amount passing in Germany in German bottoms was multiplied by seventeen. Comparing with France we find that in 1870 the amount of merchandise passing in and out of Germany in German bottoms was less. In 1906 it was sixty-seven per cent greater, so that Germany's commerce increased much more rapidly than that of France. In 1900 the German mercantile marine consisted of 1,000,000 tons flying under the German standard; in 1910 there were 4,266,000 tons sailing under that Aegis. Hamburg was in 1914 the second port of the world. Germany must have protection for her commerce. Geographically she is confined to one sea. In war with France that country could do more harm to German commerce than in 1870. The Germans believed, therefore, that they had to protect their commerce against other nations, as well as against England.

This principle of naval protection for commerce is well recognized everywhere. Nor is it a new doctrine. Jean-Baptiste Say, the French economist, said: "The art of navigation is an expedient of war, as well as of commerce. The working of a vessel is a military maneuver; and the nation containing the larger proportion of seamen is the more powerful in a military point of view." The "Edinburgh Review" (April, 1909, p. 95) said: "Our naval greatness * * * was conspicuous before our navigation laws were framed. It existed then, as it had done before and has done since, in a degree commensurate with our commerce, which will be found the regulator of naval power in all countries." These ideas, simply expressed, mean that naval power tends to vary directly with the amount of commerce and the prosperity of a nation. It is this principle which accounts for much of Germany's naval growth.

Mr. Verney in the House of Commons on March 17, 1910, after presenting figures as to Germany's marine development, commented: "I wanted to account, if I may, at all events to some extent, for the growth in their navy by reference to the growth in their mercantile marine. I think that tells entirely against the idea of any scare being got up in this country by reason of the growth of the German navy." The "Edinburgh Review" of April, 1914 (p. 448), says: "The German navy has grown with the growth of national spirit in Germany and with the consciousness of necessity. The increase of manufactures, the expansion of foreign commerce, the progressive change which is converting Germany from an agricultural into an industrial country, and the development of German interests throughout the world, are the causes of the growth of the German navy."

Dr. Gibbons, in his book "The New Map of Europe," refers to the navy as "the safeguard of commerce." Nor is this doctrine peculiar to Europe. Hilary A. Herbert, our former Secretary of the Navy, wrote in the "Forum" of Sept., 1897: "We should be able to protect our commerce instantly, and see that such questions (trade relations) are not decided wrongfully to our detriment. We cannot afford to be in the condition we occupied during the Napoleonic era, when Great Britain and France * * * warred on our commerce until we were compelled * * * to fight."

Rear-Admiral Melville believes that "it is not only our right to extend our trade, but it is our duty to prevent foreign markets from being unjustly taken away * * * It is certain that in order to hold on to what we have secured through conquest or industrial superiority we must maintain an armed force of sufficient strength to manifest our readiness and ability to protect commercial rights and privileges." Why condemn Germany because along with her enormous increase in commerce she has increased her naval power at the same time? German naval growth is entirely logical.

Conclusion.

To sum up the points made. The historical record shows Germany to be the most peaceful of all the great powers. The war cannot be traced to the Kaiser, to Nietzsche, Treitschke, Bernhardi, or to any other man or group of men, but is the struggle of a whole nation fighting shoulder to shoulder and with but a single thought—the Fatherland. The German Army is an inexorable necessity of Germany's geographical situation; her navy has grown because of aggressive English tactics; and the increase of German militarism, weighed by facts, vanishes.

MODERN DIPLOMACY
ESPECIALLY "SECRET" DIPLOMACY

Discussion on General and Special Diplomatic Questions

Vital Causes of the War
The Mystery of Diplomacy and International Politics

WHY GERMANY IS AT WAR.

"The Irish Voice," March 17, 1915.

In the last few months responsible and irresponsible persons in the countries now at war with Germany have repeatedly made the assertion that the European War broke out because Germany desired it and that it is now being waged in the name of European civilization, in the interest of the smaller democratic nations against Prussian militarism. These statements are one and all incorrect.

The Causes of the War.

The international crisis which led up to the present war is rooted in the conflict of interests between Austria-Hungary and Servia. On the 28th of June, 1914, this opposition developed into an acute situation through the murder of the Austro-Hungarian heir-apparent and his wife. In the course of the investigation of this despicable crime the Austro-Hungarian authorities discovered that it had been committed in the name of the Pan-Servian propaganda, that this propaganda had its origin in Servia, that its ultimate goal was the destruction of Austria-Hungary and that Servian officers and officials were directly, as well as indirectly accomplices in the murder. Since Servia had on March 31, 1909, made Austria-Hungary the promise that she would put an end to the Pan-Servian agitation, Austria-Hungary was now compelled not only to seek reparation for the murder of Sarajewo but also to insist upon guarantees that the Servian government would keep its pledge and actually suppress this propaganda. In this matter Austria-Hungary had a right to expect the sympathy of the entire civilized world. For, not only had the murder of Sarajewo aroused the greatest repugnance all over Europe, but it also recalled the fact that the present Servian government and a considerable portion of its personnel had been concerned in the no less horrible murder of King Alexander and Queen Draga. England in particular had for years refused to send diplomatic representatives to a country whose authorities had in part thus soiled their hands with blood.

The Austro-Hungarian note which was delivered in Belgrade July 23, 1914, clearly expressed these convictions and desires. The Servian answer, which had to be delivered within 48 hours, did not, however, in sufficient measure comply with the wishes of the Austro-Hungarian government because the kingdom of Servia, as has been clearly proved by disclosures of the Novoye Vremva of the 10th and 23rd of December, 1914, was certain of Russian protection. Consequently Austria-Hungary saw herself compelled to break off diplomatic relations with Servia and declared war on July 28. In doing so Austria-Hungary by no means intended to annex Servian territory or to bring about a displacement of the balance of power in the Balkan States, as she very soon made known in Petrograd in order to calm the uneasiness that had been caused there.

Germany as the ally of Austria-Hungary from the very beginning of the crisis took the stand that the conflict of her ally with Servia was of a local nature and would therefore have to be localized. And in the course of the succeeding international negotiations which endeavored to smooth the differences and solve the crisis, Germany could not give up this standpoint.

Russia.

Soon after the conflict between Austria-Hungary and Servia had become acute a great unrest became noticeable in Russia. For years Russia had assumed the rôle of guardian to the southern Slav nations. Inasmuch this attitude had met with little favor and in part with open opposition in Bulgaria, but was welcomed all the more in Servia, Russia interpreted this rôle, which was legalized by no international agreement, to mean that she was to protect Servia even against a just castigation for misdeeds committed or abetted by Servian officers and officials. Although, as mentioned above, Austria-Hungary had already given the assurance that she in no wise intended to endanger the territorial integrity of Servia or disturb the distribution of power in the Balkan peninsula, Russia mobilized those portions of her troops which would be affected by a war against Austria-Hungary on July 29.

Attempts at Mediation.

The attempts at mediation which were made by the other European powers in the last weeks of July, 1914, centered in the last instance, though this was not acknowledged, around the question whether an understanding between Austria-Hungary and Russia or Austria-Hungary and Servia were desirable. Germany was compelled to remain true to her conviction that mediation between her ally and Servia was not in place, especially since Austria-Hungary in making the above-mentioned declaration had already complied with all of Russia's justified demands. Therefore, Germany could not agree to the proposals of Sir Edward Grey on July 26, according to which the London ambassadors of Germany, France and Italy were to meet in conference under his chairmanship. Such a conference would have brought the Austro-Hungarian difference with Servia before a European tribunal, which by no means harmonized with the actual state of affairs or Germany's duties as an ally. Nevertheless Germany, for her part, continued in her efforts to bring about a peaceful solution. She brought about direct negotiations between Vienna and Petrograd and energetically furthered them although the mobilization of the Russian troops against Austria-Hungary hampered these efforts markedly. France looked with mistrust upon the German proposal because she feared thereby to compromise herself in the eyes of Russia (French Yellow Book No. 62). Formally England accepted Germany's proposal. But at the same time—she had already mobilized and concentrated her fleet as early as July 24. Besides the French charge d'affaires in London could report to his government already on July 25 (French Yellow Book No. 37) that Sir Edward Grey had told the German ambassador, no European power could restrain itself in the case of war. This attitude on the part of the Triple Entente brought about a decided strengthening of the Russian war party. After Russia had mobilized against Austria-Hungary on July 29, it ordered a complete mobilization of its army and navy in the night from July 30 to July 31, which now threatened Germany. This was all the more dangerous because Germany was not only constantly active in the interest of European peace but at that very time an interchange of telegrams had begun between the German Emperor and the Czar. In the interests of her own safety Ger-

many was now compelled to reply with a declaration of a state of impending war in Germany on July 31 and at the same time requested the Russian Government to cease mobilizing. When no answer to this note was received from Petrograd, Germany was likewise forced to a complete mobilization after the expiration of the appointed time on August 1.

Under these circumstances it was entirely pointless of Sir Edward Grey to repeat at the last moment his proposal of an international conference to be held in London, which had previously been rejected by Germany and Russia. For in the meantime the object of dispute between Austria-Hungary and Servia had in no wise been altered. But Grey had already in the above-mentioned manner given the German Ambassador in London to understand that England would take part in a European war and had confidentially informed the members of the Entente of this warning given to Germany. And besides these powers had already a distinct advantage over Germany in having mobilized earlier. Long before the official mobilization Russian had begun a displacement of troops on a large scale; since July 24 the English fleet was mobilized and concentrated; the military preparations of France had begun on July 27, or still earlier. Now since all new military preparations would have had to cease during such a conference on the part of all participants, the negotiations would have been carried on under the pressure of the bayonets and the threat of the ship's guns of the mobilized Entente powers, whereas Germany would not have even partially mobilized. Hence the acceptance of Grey's repeated proposal could mean nothing but war or humiliation for Germany.

Since in the meantime the Russian and French forces had crossed the German borders on August 2, the European war had actually begun.

France and England.

The war between Germany and Russia broke out because Russia denied Germany's ally the right to force the punishment for a mean crime committed against a prominent member of its royal family. It was to be assumed according to the treaties existing between France and Russia that France would take part in a war even if Russia were involved in it because she protected a country which harbored regicides. Nevertheless Germany made the effort to restrict the war to her Eastern border and to prevent it from becoming a European calamity. The inquiry of the German Ambassador in Paris respecting this question, was answered evasively by the French Premier on August 1, that is, it was in reality very distinctly answered. For the attitude of France the circumstance may have been decisive, that already on July 27 the German Ambassador in London was informed that Germany could not count on English neutrality in the event of a European war (French Yellow Book No. 63) and that the French Ambassador Cambon could on July 31 report to his Government (French Yellow Book No. 110) that the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs had said to Prince Lichnowsky, England could not keep out of a war in which France was involved. On August 1, the French Ambassador was then able to add (French Yellow Book No. 126) that Sir Edward Grey was about to propose in the Cabinet meeting that the English fleet should prevent the German fleet from sailing through the Channel or making any demonstration whatever against the French coast.

Accordingly France is at war with Germany because she was forced to it by her treaty with Russia, because she was assured in advance of English support, and because such a war was, in short, the final and logical result of the determined desire for revenge on the part of the French people and the French government.

As for England, Sir Edward Grey had repeatedly given the assurance in Parliament that his government had entered upon no obligations that would tie its hands in the case of a European war. This was literally true but in spirit it was false. Sir Edward Grey had obligated himself to take counsel with France in the event of war whether the proposed collaboration of the army and navy heads of the two nations should actually be materialized against Germany. In any case Germany had to attempt to assure herself of England's neutrality in the coming conflict. That these attempts were hopeless from the beginning is shown by the exposition of the state of affairs which Sir Edward Grey made in Parliament on August 3. He there declared that England would in no case have remained an idle spectator if the German fleet had attacked the French coast and merchant marine, because this coast was laid open to attack by the concentration of the French fleet in the Mediterranean on the ground of the agreement with England. Grey further openly declared in this speech that a German victory over France was opposed to English interests and could therefore not be permitted by England. Finally Grey expressed the opinion in the same speech that neutrality would be just as detrimental to England as participation in the war and that, moreover, England's most vital interests would be imperilled by a neutral stand.

Under these circumstances it was impossible for the German government to be assured of England's neutrality by any guarantees whatever, namely, that it would respect the French coast or guarantee not to make any conquest of French soil. The German inquiry under what circumstances England would remain neutral could hence not be answered. England had bound herself over against France to such an extent to a participation in the war—as Grey correctly stated on August 3—that England would have imperilled her honor and reputation had she kept out of the war.

By her attitude, therefore, England brought about the victory of the Russian war party and thereby gave the impulse for the general mobilization in Russia, and thus assisted toward the war between Russia and Germany. She further abetted France in her intention to enter into the war and herself took part in the war, because, according to Grey's views, this participation in no way hampered England but, on the contrary guaranteed the safety of her most vital interests.

Belgium.

In his speech of August 3, 1914, which set forth the causes of England's participation in the war, Grey spoke only conditionally of the Belgian question. Subsequently England sought to conceal the true reasons for the participation in the war. She pleaded the protection of Belgian neutrality, whereas she entered the fray merely for the protection of her own material interests. Herein the protection of Belgian neutrality rests solely on British interests, as Sir Edward Grey distinctly said on August 3, which demand that this portion of the North Sea coast should not fall into the hands of any great power.

Belgian neutrality became invalid for Germany in that no doubt existed on the part of France to concentrate her troops along the line Givet-Namur. The declarations made on August 2 in Brussels by the German Minister prove this. Documents which were later found by the Germans in Brussels furnish a further basis for it. According to them Belgium had for years made plans in conjunction with England and France for carrying out military operations against Germany in common. In the eyes of every thoughtful non-partisan these documents are tantamount to proof. They have already been published. It is unnecessary, therefore to enter upon them again here.

Accordingly the European war broke out because Russia declared her solidarity with the Servian regicides, because France and Russia were allied, because both nations were abetted in their warlike intentions by England, and because England hoped to acomplish through the war the defeat of Germany which seemed to her absolutely necessary.

Thus we see that Germany in waging a war which is purely and simply defensive and was forced upon her by her neighbors.

Note.—See the *Table of Contents* or the *Index* for the telegrams in the Diplomatic Correspondence and "The Case of Belgium" referred to in this article.—The Editor.

THE CASE OF AUSTRIA.

(Editorial in the "Springfield Republican.")

That Austria is not wholly without a case may be seen by considering the part played by the Maine in our own Spanish war. The justification of a sort, urged for that war was that dangerous and intolerable conditions were maintained in Cuba near our shores, and the sinking of the Main was taken as a kind of demonstration, a concrete instance. It would be a closer parallel to suppose Texas filled with rebellious Mexicans anxious to secede to Mexico, and a President of the United States assassinated by a Texan affiliated with a band of conspirators at the Mexican capital. Under such conditions we may be sure that this country would be as hot for war as Austria, and that the demands made upon Mexico for apology and amendment would be quite as severe as those now imposed upon Servia.

DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE.

How The French-German Conflict Could Have Been Avoided.

The Chicago Herald.

Under this title the German Government has published a new pamphlet containing the following correspondence between Prince Henry of Prussia, King George of England and the German Emperor. This serves to illustrate the point that Russia at no time was willing to desist from her policy of mobilization. The burden of proof becomes stronger each day that had Russia been willing to arbitrate the questions at issue, the present war could have been averted.

The text is reprinted from the "Chicago Herald" of September 11.

Note Preceding the Correspondence.

"The following documents refer to the exchange of views between Germany and England immediately before the war broke out. It will be perceived from these documents that Germany was prepared to spare France in case England should remain neutral and would guarantee the neutrality of France.

We believe that historical documents such as these telegrams require a deeper study than the "Chicago Herald" seems willing to devote to them, judging from the flippant heading it gave these telegrams in its issue of September 11. The heading: "From Georgie to Nicky to Willy." We are not surprised that this strong pro-British daily should desire to treat these telegrams as a joke in order to distract its readers' attention from them; for if they seriously considered and analyzed these messages, they would readily perceive how "English diplomacy faced right about, disavowed a peace proposal of England's King, and joined Russia."

The Chicago "Daily News" therefore deserves great credit for having published in its issue of September 11, the letter received from Berlin from its Special Correspondent, Mr. Raymond E. Swing, wherein these telegrams are analyzed and commented upon.

Mr. Swing begins his letter thus:

"Berlin, Germany, Aug. 24.—The accumulation of historical material, which is to help the world decide the causes of the present war, goes slowly forward. Battles make more interesting reading, but historical material, be it ever so uninteresting on first acquaintance, turns out to contain dramatic stuff of the finest quality, and serves also as the only guide to the world's judgment. The battle decides only strength; these telegrams and notes decide right and wrong.

"The latest array of telegrams made public in Berlin and herewith published comprises some of the communications between London and Berlin during the critical days preceding the outbreak of the war. They are not so startling as the German "White Book," but they make many significant points, two of which are highly important. One, which the St. Petersburg dispatches strongly indicated, is that Germany was working to preserve peace. The other proves that England, up to one critical moment, was co-operating in this movement, and that at this one moment English diplomacy faced right about, disavowed a peace proposal of England's king, and joined Russia in imposing a condition upon Austria in the Servian conflict which alone might have made war unavoidable had not Russia's own mobilization interfered to break off negotiations. * * * "

As we wish to make "War Echoes" a book for present as well as future reference, we hope our readers will find it convenient because we have not only reprinted in full the document as it appears in the pamphlet issued by the German Government, but also have added the complete analysis and comments made thereon by Mr. Swing. Our readers will find Mr. Swing's letter reproduced immediately following the above telegrams.—Editor.

"Telegram of his royal highness Prince Henry of Prussia to H. M. the King of England, of July 30, 1914:

" 'Am here since yesterday; have informed William of what you kindly told me at Buckingham Palace last Sunday, who gratefully received your message. William, much preoccupied, is trying his utmost to fulfill Nicky's appeal to him to work for maintenance of peace and is in constant telegraphic communication with Nicky, who today confirms news that military measures have been ordered by him equal to mobilization, measures which have been taken already five days ago.

" 'We are furthermore informed that France is making military preparations, whereas we have taken no measures, but may be forced to do so any moment should our neighbors continue, which would then mean a European war. If you really and earnestly wish to prevent this terrible disaster, may I suggest you using your influence on France and also Russia to keep neutral, which seems to me would be most useful. This I consider a very good, perhaps the only chance, to maintain the peace of Europe.

" 'I may add that now more than ever, Germany and England should lend each other mutual help to prevent a terrible catastrophe, which otherwise seems unavoidable.

" 'Believe me that William is most sincere in his endeavors to maintain peace, but that the military preparations of his two neighbors may at last force him to follow their example for the safety of his own country, which otherwise would remain defenseless.

" 'I have informed William of my telegram to you, and hope you will receive my information in the same spirit of friendship which suggested them. (Signed) HENRY.'

"Telegram of H. M. the King of England to Prince Henry of Prussia, July 30, 1914:

" 'Thanks for your telegram. So pleased to hear of William's efforts to concert with Nicky to maintain peace. Indeed I am earnestly desirous that such an irreparable disaster as a European war should be averted. My government is doing its utmost suggesting to Russia and France to suspend further military preparations if Austria will consent to be satisfied with the occupation of Belgrade and neighboring Servian territory as a hostage for satisfactory settlement of her demands, other countries meanwhile suspending their war preparations. Trust William will use his great influence to induce Austria to accept this proposal, thus proving that Germany and England are working together to prevent what would be an international catastrophe. Pray assure William I am doing and shall continue to do all that lies in my power to preserve peace of Europe. (Signed) GEORGE.'

"Telegram of his majesty, the Emperor, to his majesty, the King of England, of July 31, 1914:

" 'Many thanks for your kind telegram. Your proposals coincide with my ideas, and with the statements I got this night from Vienna, which I have had forwarded to London. I just received news from the chancellor that official notification has just reached him that this night Nicky has ordered the mobilization of his whole army and fleet. He has not even awaited the results of the mediation I am working at and left me without any news. I am off for Berlin to take measures for insuring safety of my eastern frontiers where strong Russian troops are already posted. (Signed) WILLY.'

"Telegram of the King of England to his majesty the Emperor, of ~~Aug.~~ July 31, 1914:

" 'Many thanks for your telegram last night. I sent an urgent telegram to Nicky expressing my readiness to do everything in my power to assist in reopening conversations between powers concerned.

" '(Signed) GEORGIE.'

"Telegram of the German ambassador in London to the chancellor, of Aug. 1, 1914:

" 'Sir E. Grey just asked me by telephone whether I believed I was in a position to be clear that we would not attack France in a war between Germany and Russia in case France should remain neutral. I declared I believed to be able to give such an understanding.

" '(Signed) LICHNOWSKY.'

"Telegram of his majesty the Emperor to his majesty, the King of England, of Aug. 1, 1914:

" 'I just received the communication from your government offering French neutrality under guarantee of Great Britain. Added to this offer was the inquiry whether, under the conditions, Germany would refrain from attacking France. On technical grounds my mobilization, which had already been proclaimed this afternoon, must proceed against two fronts, east and west, as prepared; this cannot be countermanded because, I am sorry, your telegram came so late. But if France offers

me neutrality, which must be guaranteed by the British fleet and army, I shall, of course, refrain from attacking France and employ my troops elsewhere. I hope that France will not become nervous. The troops on my frontier are in the act of being stopped by telegraph and telephone from crossing into France.

"'(Signed) WILLIAM.'

"Telegram from the chancellor to the German ambassador in London, of Aug. 1, 1914:

"'Germany is ready to accept British proposals in case England guarantees with all her forces absolute neutrality of France in Russo-German conflict. German mobilization has been ordered today on account of Russian challenge before English proposal was known here. It is therefore now impossible to make any change in strategical distribution of troops ordered to the French frontier. But we guarantee that our troops will not cross the French frontier before 7 p. m. on Monday, the 3d inst., in case England will pledge herself meanwhile. (Signed)

"'BETHMANN-HOLLWEG.'

"Telegram of his majesty, the King of England to his majesty, the Emperor, of Aug. 1, 1914.:

"'In answer to your telegram just received, I think there must be some misunderstanding as to a suggestion that passed in friendly conversation, between Prince Lichnowsky and Sir Edward Grey this afternoon when they were discussing how actual fighting between German and French armies might be avoided while there is still a chance of some agreement between Austria and Russia. Sir Edward Grey will arrange to see Prince Lichnowsky early tomorrow morning to ascertain whether there is a misundertanding on his part.

"'(Signed) GEORGE.'

..."Telegram of the German ambassador in London to the chancellor, of Aug. 2, 1914:

"'Sir E. Grey's suggestions were prompted by a desire to make it possible for England to keep permanent neutrality, but as they were not based on a previous understanding with France and made without knowledge of our mobilization, they have been abandoned as absolutely hopeless.

"'(Signed) LICHNOWSKY.

"(Note following the correspondence.)

"The essence of Germany's declarations is contained in Emperor William's telegram to the King of England, of Aug. 1, 1914. Even if there existed a misunderstanding as to an English proposal, the kaiser's offer furnished England the opportunity to prove her pacific disposition and to prevent the Franco-German war."

Immense flocks of storks are reported in southern France. We know of nothing that France needs more.—From the "Boston Evening Transcript."

HOW THE KAISER WORKED TO AVOID WAR.

Messages of the German Ruler and Prince Henry to King George—British Plan Withdrawn—Eleventh Hour Efforts to Bring About an Understanding—Diplomacy by Telephone.

The Chicago Daily News.

Berlin, Germany, Aug. 24.—The accumulation of historical material, which is to help the world decide the causes of the present war, goes slowly forward. Battles make more interesting reading, but historical material, be it ever so uninteresting on first acquaintance, turn out to contain dramatic stuff of the finest quality, and serves also as the only guide to the world's judgment. The battle decides only strength; these telegrams and notes decide right and wrong.

The latest array of telegrams made public in Berlin and herewith published comprises some of the communications between London and Berlin during the critical days preceding the outbreak of the war. They are not so startling as the German "white book," but they make many significant points, two of which are highly important. One, which the St. Petersburg dispatches strongly indicated, is that Germany was working to preserve peace. The other proves that England, up to one critical moment, was co-operating in this movement, and that at this one moment English diplomacy faced right about, disavowed a peace proposal of England's king, and joined Russia in imposing a condition upon Austria in the Servian conflict which alone might have made war unavoidable had not Russia's own mobilization interfered to break off negotiations.

How Kaiser Worked for Peace.

The first point is quickly proved by combination of the white book and the telegrams that are here presented. Everyone of the kaiser's dispatches to the czar is impregnated with his desire for peace and his willingness to work for it to the end. The telegrams of his brother, Prince Henry, to King George adds to the kaiser's own telegrams most convincing evidence.

"William, who is most concerned," telegraphs Prince Henry of Prussia, "is extending himself to the utmost." The language by its very straightforward strength gives a lucid picture of Brother William, his mind filled with information about Russia's and France's military preparations and consequent forebodings of war and himself "most concerned," since his ideal of peace was in danger. It must have been already apparent to William that Cousin Nicholas was allowing himself to pilot Russia outside of diplomatic waters. "Nicholas today confirmed the news that five days ago he ordered military measures—tantamount to mobilization." No doubt William was "most concerned." Then Prince Henry proceeds: "If you really and uprightly wish to avert this frightful calamity may I suggest that you use your influence upon France and also upon Russia to keep them neutral. I believe it to be a sure and perhaps the only possibility of maintaining peace." Then he continues: "Believe me that William is utterly upright in his efforts to maintain peace." The whole telegram is a frank and manly statement between cousins. It was not intended for eventual historical evidence. It rings with the vibrations of the moment.

King George's Peace Plan.

But the really significant telegram of the lot is the second, the answer of Cousin George, another document teeming with frankness and spirit. "Very glad to hear of William's efforts," replies George. George, too, has an "earnest wish" that the "irreparable catastrophe should be prevented." His next sentence is very important:

"My government is doing its utmost to induce Russia and France to defer further military preparations in case Austria is satisfied with the occupation of Belgrade and neighboring Servian territory as security for a peaceful adjustment of her demands, while at the same time other countries suspend their war preparations." Here in one sentence is a solution of the Austrian-Servian conflict. With this proposal there could be no doubt where England stood. It was a strikingly intelligent proposal. The air was cleared. Reading on, William must have smiled gravely as he read, "I trust William will use his great influence to move Austria to accept this proposal."

When Prince Henry received this telegram he was off at once to the Kaiser and thence to the chancellor's palace, and there they talked and argued until 2 o'clock in the morning. A few hours later there was another long conference, with many taking part. The tone of this meeting was distinctly hopeful, one can easily imagine.

The Fateful Word from Russia.

Then a messenger enters. In the little red satchel attached to his red belt are many dispatches and these are laid upon the table. The chancellor starts to opening them and hands them to his secretary for diciphering. They soon come upon a vital message. We know it was short, but the text has not been made public. It was to this effect: "The Czar ordered full mobilization of army and navy today." It was signed by Pourtales, the German ambassador at St. Petersburg. The fateful decision had been made.

The next telegram of the series with London is not by Henry, but by William himself. It voices bitter disappointment. "Your proposals coincide with my ideas and with messages from Vienna." In other words, the solution of the difficulties has been found. But, he continues, Nicholas has ruined it all by mobilizing. There follows a human and moving complaint: "He did not even wait for the results of mediation and left me altogether without news." Can any one, reading this, doubt that the Kaiser wished peace? "I am going to Berlin to insure the safety of my eastern frontier where already strong Russian troops have taken up their position." This was defense, not attack. War had been forced upon him and Russia was the culprit.

The Plan Evolved in St. Petersburg.

So far, Russia had borne the brunt of the blame for this war from the Berlin point of view and not until a copy of the Russian "orange book," corresponding with the German "white book," arrived in Berlin, was there a hint of strange maneuverings in British diplomacy. Not forgetting that King George's solution had been suggested in a telegram of July 30, the Germans read with astonishment that the British ambassador in St. Petersburg, working together with Foreign Minister Sasonow, had evolved an entirely different solution, and informed the Russian ambassadors in other countries about it only July 31. The change in the proposal was radical. Instead of allowing Austria to hold Belgrade as security, Austria was to retire from Servia. She was to have no security other than a promised word. Within twenty-four hours England had changed her course; hitherto her attitude as known in Berlin had been peaceful; within a day it became provocative.

In the light of this fact, what can be thought of King George's next telegram to the Kaiser? "I have sent an urgent dispatch to Nicholas in which I have expressed my willingness to do everything in my power to further the resumption of the negotiations between the powers involved." What, then, is English diplomacy? Did or did not George know of the action of his ambassador in St. Petersburg? If he did, what a lamentable deception this telegram appears! And if he did not, is not British diplomacy, by this very failure, responsible in no small measure for the outbreak of this war?

That Message by Telephone.

The remaining telegrams are instructive, though the die had already been cast. The telephone conversation between Grey and Lichnowsky on the subject of French neutrality was immediately dispatched to Berlin. It is, by the way, unheard of in diplomatic circles thus to commit national destinies to telephonic communication. The chancellor received it about thirty-five minutes before the mobilization order was to be made public, though it appears that the order was already in force. In five minutes he was in the palace, closeted with the Kaiser. How they must have regretted the delay of Grey's suggestion! A few hours earlier and the mobilization toward the French frontier would have not been ordered.

However. the message is not altogether too late. The Kaiser immediately writes his answer, possibly sitting to the task at once, and writing in pencil with his clear, rapid hand the message to George, surely in English: "If France offers her neutrality I shall naturally avoid an attack upon France and shall dispose of my troops otherwise. I hope that France will not be nervous."—Almost as though the Kaiser were thinking aloud—"The troops at my frontier are even now being held back by telegraph and telephone from crossing the French boundary."

The palace must have presented a busy scene, the adjutants at the telephone, the chancellor perhaps at another table writing messages to the front, while William sent his telegram to Cousin George.

But Something Went Wrong.

But English diplomacy had slipped again. George's next telegram was not filled with the cousinly affection which shone out in previous messages. It is not introduced with a word of thanks, as are his others, and it is tinctured this time with the odor of diplomatic evasion. "There must have been a misunderstanding." A diplomatic method of saying: "Things have changed" even as they changed the day before.

The last telegram of the series shows why things had changed. "The proposals of Sir Edward Grey," wires the German Ambassador in London, "which are attributable to a wish to assure the possibility of England's continuous neutrality were made without previously sounding France"—just as Sir Edward's ambassadorial conference was suggested without previously sounding the powers involved—"and without knowledge of mobilization, and in the meantime have been given up as completely hopeless." When France was sounded, it follows, England found that its hasty suggestion was unfortunate and evidently found that the possibility of England's own continuous neutrality was dimming. In three days England had, indeed, changed!

These telegrams are, to be sure, incomplete. We do not yet know what occurred in these three days of England's change, nor what justification she can give for her own right about face. But in any attempt to hold certain individuals responsible for this war it becomes more and more obvious that the responsibility must be divided. And unless the peculiarities of these telegrams are illuminated by startling justifying facts a goodly quantity of the blame must fall in London.

Prince Henry of Prussia to King George, July 30.

"I arrived yesterday and having repeated what you so kindly told me at Buckingham palace to William, who received your message gratefully.

"William, who is much concerned, is extending himself to the utmost to comply with the request of Nicholas to work for the maintenance of peace. He is in constant telegraphic communication with Nicholas. who. today confirmed the news that five days ago he ordered military measures which are tantamount to mobilization.

"We also received information that France is making military preparations, while we have taken no similar measures; we shall, however, be forced into them at any moment if our neighbors continue in this way. That would mean European war.

"If you really and uprightly wish to avert this frightful calamity, may I suggest to you that you use your influence upon France and also upon Russia to keep them neutral? That, in my opinion, would be of the greatest usefulness. I believe it to be a sure, and, perhaps the only, possibility of maintaining peace. I should like to add that now more than ever Germany and England must mutually support each other to avert a terrible catastrophe which otherwise seems unpreventable.

"Believe me that William is utterly upright in his efforts to maintain peace. But the military preparations of his two neighbors can force him finally to follow their example in order that his otherwise unprotected country may be safe. I have informed William of my telegram to you and I hope that you will accept my message in the same friendly spirit in which it is sent.

"HENRY."

King George to Prince Henry, July 30.

"Thanks for your telegram. Very glad to hear of William's efforts to unite with Nicholas for preserving peace. I have the earnest wish that such an irreparable catastrophe as a European war should be prevented. My government is doing its utmost to induce Russia and France to defer further military preparations in case Austria is satisfied with the occupation of Belgrade and neighboring Servian territory as security for a peaceful adjustment of her demands, while at the same time the other countries suspend their war preparations. I trust that William will use his great influence to move Austria to accept this proposal; that would be evidence that Germany and England are working together to avert what would be an international catastrophe.

"Please assure William that I am doing everything and will do everything in my power to maintain European peace.

"GEORGE."

Kaiser to King George, July 31.

"Many thanks for your friendly message. Your proposals coincide with my ideas and with the messages which I received this evening from Vienna and which I forwarded to London. I have just learned from the chancellor that he has just received the news that Nicholas this evening has ordered the mobilization of his entire army and fleet. He did not even wait for the results of mediation, for which I was working, and left me altogether without news. I am going to Berlin to insure the safety of my eastern frontier, where already strong Russian troops have taken up their position.

"WILLIAM."

Perhaps the everlasting height of optimism was contained in Gen. Gallieni's wards when the French state officials left Paris: "The members of the government of the republic have left Paris to give new impetus to the defense of the nation."—From "The Daily News," Chicago, September 4, 1914.

THE HISTORY OF EIGHT DAYS.

Translation of Editorial.

Illinois Staats-Zeitung, Chicago.

We have demonstrated several times how England has worked against Germany. In the course of the last year, however, it seemed as if the British politicians could not reconcile themselves to being on friendly terms with Germany, because the latter was a great industrial competitor, and also because of the trouble over the Bagdad Railway.

The future may prove that England broke the bonds of friendship with Germany because the situation became too serious, and that this will be the British excuse for hostility. This also may account for there being only ten days' interval between the Austrian ultimatum to Servia and the British declaration of war on Germany.

On July 23 the Austrian government sent its demands to Belgrade, and this action caused a great storm in the European press. Both the German and Italian newspapers expressed their belief that the demands were entirely justified in view of the murder of Serajevo. The English press took the same stand even more strongly, as nobody thought of the possibility that the murder might have been committed with a view to causing war with Germany.

The Pall Mall Gazette, for example, on July 24, said that it was Servia's duty to meet the Austrian demands, while the Westminster Gazette, organ of the liberal party, asserted that no power, not even Russia, could say that Servia should not give Austria the satisfaction demanded.

But St. Petersburg and Paris already had decided otherwise. The Novoje Vremya on July 24 again gave the opinion of the Russian minister of foreign affairs, that Russia could not remain indifferent to such action, and the Paris Temps strongly stated that the Vienna ultimatum should find a tremendous echo in Russia.

These opinions opened the eyes of the politicians at London to the opportunity for making political capital out of the affair, which the British press twenty-four hours before had agreed was justified. Consequently on July 25 one could read in the Times: "All who have universal peace at heart should earnestly hope that Austria-Hungary had not spoken its last word in the Servian note. If this is the case, however, we would face a war that would be of unlimited danger to all the great powers of Europe."

London believed in the possibility of war long before Secretary Grey urged mediation of the trouble, and this gives any fair-minded person the impression that England did not care to maintain peace after it ascertained the position of Russia and France and realized how favorable was the opportunity for war upon Germany. Each of the following days affirmed this opinion. In order to prove this it may be cited that the English government spoke with two mouths. In some newspapers were found optimistic governmental expressions, while in others war views were expressed.

For example, the Westminster Gazette on July 25 said the European situation showed great dangers, while the Novoje Vremya openly spoke of Russian mobilization. The following day an order was issued in St. Petersburg stopping all news of military operations. On that same day the mobilization order was secretly issued, but, notwithstanding the censorship, the Echo de Paris told its readers that Russia was preparing for war. * * *

An echo of these preparations was seen in an article in the London Morning Post of July 27, which stated that England's duty as a nation was to assist friendly powers in case of necessity.

The kaiser returned from his trip to Norway on July 28 and was welcomed by a hypocritical telegram from the czar, indicating that the Russian ruler wanted him to be the mediator in the trouble. The kaiser immediately took hold of the mediation proposals with Sir Edward Grey, while Russia was making great preperations for war, the French admiral, Lapeyrere, was ordering the concentration of the Mediterranean fleet at Toulon, and the commander of the English fleet in the same waters had called his ships, which were scattered all over the Levant, to assemble at Malta.

It was not until July 31 that Germany and the kaiser became acquainted with the exact state of affairs and learned of the manner in which the triple entente had bulldozed the true friends of peace in order to gain time for their own preperations for war. After this the ultimatum went to St. Petersburg and war followed by a formal declaration of war.

"Our Trade Ambassador."

"The trade embassador of the National Chamber of Commerce to South America will find his work cut out for him. If he or the organization which commissions him is under a contrary impression they will be painfully disillusioned.

"He will find a well defined political distrust of us that does not help trade relations. He will find differences of manners that mean more than the mannerless American suspects. He will find competitors with established relations, competitors who take the trouble to please, and have not at all the American attitude of "be pleased or be d——d;" competitors who study conditions, commercial, financial, and social, and who meet them. He will find a singular absence at belief in the innate superiority and manifest destiny of North Americans.

"In a word, he will find uphill work, and he will return, we hope, to tell some neglected truths to a people too much given to the doctrine that 'we kin lick all creation' in the arena of world trade."—The publisher of "War Echoes."

BERNARD SHAW CLAIMS RUSS PERIL OF WESTERN EUROPE.

By George Bernard Shaw.

London, Aug. 20 (by mail to New York, Sept. 1.)—It is idle and somewhat exasperating to talk of "lifting the acts and thoughts of the British people to the plane of the noblest and purest patriotism," with such a business in hand as the present war.

The hard fact is that we have placed ourselves in such a position that we cannot, without the most cowardly treachery, refuse to throw ourselves with all our might into the war on the side of France.

But we are all three—France, Germany and England alike—committing a crime against civilization for the benefit of Russia, and to ask me or any other sane man to create an illusion of nobility and purity and patriotism around such a crime is to ask honest people to do the work of dupes and fools.

We Must Fight and Die.

We shall have to fight and die and pay and suffer with the grim knowledge that we are sacrificing ourselves in an insane cause, and that only by putting up a particularly good fight can we bring ourselves out of it with credit.

For my part I can only hope that all the western powers quoted will acquit themselves so heroically that they will be forced to divide the honors of war and shake hands forever.

For what is to happen if we smash Germany and smash Sweden, if we have forced Sweden to join Germany?

Simply that we shall have to defend both Sweden and Germany against Russia, and to defend them when we are exhausted by a fratricidal war.

And if Germany smashes us and annexes the coast of the North Sea, what sort of back seat shall we and France occupy—we, who might have dictated the destinies of Western Europe if we had stood for civilization and not for loans to Russia and capitalistic exploits in Persia?

Draft Peace During War.

It is fortunate for us all that smashing is school boy brag. We can display tremendous bravery and exhaust one another in the face of inexhaustible Russia (not more inexhaustible, however, than we three shall be when we unite), but we cannot smash one another.

For the present there is only one thing to be done besides fighting for all we are worth, lest we be ashamed as weaklings and cowards as well as fools and madmen, until we learn to respect one another and respect our high destiny as the joint standard-bearers of Western civilization as against the half-civilized Eastern legions to whom we have taught the art of killing by machinery.

And that one thing is to set to work immediately to draft the inevitable treaty of peace, which we must all sign when we have had our bellyful of murder and destruction.

FURTHER CAUSES OF THE GREAT WAR

The Nations are all to Blame and all are Right from a Certain Point of View

Causes and the Occasion of the War

Great Britain and Germany

A Manly and Peaceful Pursuit of Industry and Progress Spurned

LETTER OF AN ENGLISHMAN TO HIS GERMAN FRIEND.

Although I am an Englishman and my country is at war with yours, I do not consider, however, that my loyalty to England need necessarily compel me to obliterate from my memory the long years of friendship I have entertained for Germany. Ever since I first went there as a student some nineteen years ago. I have always remained one of her staunchest friends and most enthusiastic admirers, and I am still so today, though in certain quarters it may be considered heretical to admit it. I have mixed so much with Germans and have been afforded such exceptional opportunities for studying their splendid State and Municipal governmental systems and, in fact, the entire civil and military administrative machinery on which German power and greatness depends. I am possibly, therefore, better qualified to estimate correctly what Germany's tremendous powers of resistance are destined to be during this conflict, than many of those whose knowledge of German international affairs is based mostly on hearsay, but who publish columns on the subject daily in the French and British presses. It is a pity that so many Englishmen when they visit foreign countries and especially European ones, are usually incapable of divesting themselves of their inherent insularity and racial prejudices. Because, by failing to realize that there is something new worth learning, or at any rate investigating, in every civilized land, much useful information slips by them unperceived to the detriment of their own country. The average Britisher's conception of patriotism is to entertain a pitying contempt for everybody (and everything) who has had the misfortune of being created outside the British Isles, and it is entirely due to this unfortunate temperamental characteristic that all we English have had such an unpleasant and rough awakening concerning Germany's might since the outbreak of this war. Individuals often get angry at first when suddenly startled, and this is exactly what has happened in England. She embarked on this campaign thoroughly convinced that at the first shout of the Triple Entente, the "Walls of Jericho" would almost instantly collapse and that within three months the German Empire would be *in extremis.* But to her disgust she has discovered that the Germans are not perturbed in the very least at taking on the whole of Europe, and if necessary any interested spectators who may care to take a hand in the game. In consequence, the disillusionment of my "sporting" compatriots knows no bounds, and the only comfort they get is by reading the volumes of the above, interwoven with slander, belched forth daily by their press at Germany's expense. But there is a comical side to the present situation which disinterested spectators are not likely to overlook.—Because the Germans have so far succeeded in withstanding, practically single handed, the onslaught of a gigantic coalition, the object of which was the total annihilation of their Empire, they are now being accused of having secretly spent years in preparing their defensive military machine for the sole purpose of subjugating Europe and especially poor little England. Personally, I have not the faintest notion whether the German Government is directly or indirectly responsible for this terrible conflagration, but what I do know is, that the German Nation has got its back to the wall and is fighting the largest military powers of the world, and such being the case, if any of the English people have a spark of sporting instinct remaining in them, they who, hitherto, have always been believed to be the admirers of true sport and of everything that is sportsmanlike in the noblest and highest sense of the word, then in my opinion, they should be the first to acknowledge what a magnificent fight the German nation is putting up! *Even if your country should be eventually defeated, the terrific odds against which she is fighting will rob the victors of all glory, and impartial historians of future generations will assuredly dedicate it all to her.*

For years I have incessantly impressed on my countrymen what a stupendous power the German Empire is, but my opinions were scoffed at and I, myself, was "dubbed" pro-German and was told that I was unpatriotic and belittled my own country, because I maintained that in certain respects Germany was a greater country than England owing to the superiority of her military and educational systems. Now, if I, a private individual, could collect sufficient data for the purpose of enabling me to assess her strength at its true value, how much more should our Military Attachés have been able to do so, possessing all the advantages which the sacred robes of officialdom bestowed on them. It is evident, therefore, that our military representatives in Berlin were either criminally negligent and apathetic, or else hopelessly incompetent, and I should be inclined rather to believe the latter. But in either case, it is preposterous for us now to accuse the German Government of wilful duplicity and impute to it aggressive motives for adopting precautionary defensive measures while the British nation peacefully slumbered. Such a point of view is as irrational as that of the Peace-at-any-price Party in the House of Commons who, prior to the war, was continually beseeching the Germans to disarm, so that Great Britain, with her vast colonial possessions wrapt tightly around her, might continue to sleep in perfect tranquility and free from all anxiety for the future. But when suggesting such an unbusinesslike and unpractical arrangement, British politicians completely ignored the fact, that were she to have adopted such a fatuously short-sighted policy, Germany would speedily have been smothered by her French and Russian neighbors and their cohorts of hangers-on. Instead of attempting to usher in the millenium before the world was ready for it, these well-meaning but misguided idealists would have served the case of civilization far better, had they directed their energies in bringing pressure to bear on their Government to heed the old classical dictum "*Si vis pacem, para bellum*" (If you wish peace, prepare for war), but which preferred to pander to the ignorant proletariat for the sake of obtaining its manhood votes on which depended ministerial posts and huge yearly salaries regardless of national security. So obsessed was the Government with Social reform, that had this war been postponed but a few years more, the probabilities are that we should have had an appalling national disaster.

For some years prior to this war I contributed innumerable articles to our press, in which I showed how utterly futile it was to try to prevent a country like the German Empire, containing a population of sixty-eight millions and possessing the most perfectly

organized and trained army which has ever existed, the second largest Navy and mercantile marine, and an ever increasing commercial and industrial prosperity, from expanding and acquiring Colonies, Protectorates, Commercial spheres of influence, or whatever you choose for convenience sake to call them. I emphasized the fact, that quite apart from all equitable considerations, such a systematic and ruthless blocking policy as was being pursued by our Government with regard to Germany's legitimate territorial aggrandizement aspirations, would most certainly culminate in some such frightful world-wide cataclysm as has now actually come to pass. In direct contradistinction to this negative line of policy. I strongly advocated a rapprochement with her, based on an amicable and equitable settlement by which she would be allotted certain spheres of influence in Asia Minor and Africa. I was opposed all along to the Franco-British Entente and still more so to the fatal Triple Entente, as I foresaw clearly that both these agreements contained the germs of future international complications, and were thus bound to defeat their ostensible "*raison d'être*" namely, to safeguard the peace of Europe. To wish to cultivate friendly relations with France was admirable, but the *modus operandi* employed for doing so could not have been more clumsily devised and more calculated to injure rather than benefit France's interests, by the mere fact that the terms of the "Entente Cordiale" were shrouded in so much mystery, that nobody knew what they were or to what extent England had pledged herself to assist France, should she be involved in a war. Besides, from the very outset, the French were permitted to exaggerate its political significance and placed an entirely different interpretation on it to that which the British Government had originally intended. Its natural tendency, therefore, was to foster in them a spirit of misplaced confidence in their ability of waging a successful war of revenge against their old enemy and so recover their lost provinces of Alsace-Lorraine. But, as might well have been expected, the Germans viewed the whole transaction with the utmost suspicion and dislike, and especially the Triple Entente, because they firmly believed, that its primary object was to head them off in every direction, and definitely prevent them from ever obtaining those outlets, the possession of which is essential for ensuring the future economic and commercial prosperity of their Empire. The immediate result of this threatening coalition was to compel Germany to redouble her armament efforts, and for having done so she is now being roundly abused by Great Britain and accused of compassing the destruction of Europe. If she had not maintained her lead in armaments I should like to know whether there is a single English Statesman worthy of the name, who would have been willing to stake his personal honor, that immediately the military preparations of France and Russia had been completed and they believed themselves sufficiently strong to crush her, that they would not have hesitated to seize upon the first opportune moment for picking a quarrel with Germany and forcing a war upon her. Sandwiched in as she is between two avowed and implacable foes such as they are, what else could she do than prepare for all eventualities? Is it conceivable that a great and progressive nation as Germany is, was going to incur the risk of being reduced to the status of a second class Power? The fact that Germany did not go to war with France in 1905 when the Moroccan crisis arose, speaks volumes for her peaceful intentions. Then, if ever, was the psychological moment for her to have done so, as France, Russia, England and Belgium were wholly unprepared for war, their military affairs being in a chaotic condition.

No, in my opinion, a combination of unfortunate circumstances, but not Germany, were the cause of this terrible conflict, however much in certain quarters it may be desired to attribute it to her. To act in self defense is frequently mistaken for aggression. For instance, suppose two persons have an altercation and one of them is suddenly seen to strike the other, would he not appear to be the aggressor in the eyes of anybody watching the scene a way off and to whom the words which were exchanged between them were inaudible? May not one man have said something to the other which compelled him to act as he did? Moreover, is it not conceivable that believing himself to be the weaker of the two, and realizing that the other was fast losing control of himself, but deemed it expedient, therefore, to hit first and not incur the risk of receiving a staggering knock-out blow? This is exactly what happened in Germany's case. The premature mobilization of the Russian troops coupled with France's truculent and threatening attitude obliged the Germans for the sake of their own safety to declare war, and thus endeavour to deal the enemy a decisive blow before he was ready. But German critics declare that if Germany had not desired war, her military mobilization could not have been completed prior to that of her opponents. But they forget that her peculiar geographical position, namely between France and Russia, necessitated that her troops should always be in a constant state of preparedness to take the field at a moment's notice, just as the British fleet is maintained on a war footing and is always ready for active service. The fact is, that by their clever scheming, the Russians succeeded in making the German government appear to be the aggressor, when in reality it was merely dealing a defensive blow. But now because the Germans have objected to being annihilated ("butchered, to make a Triple Entente holiday") and are defending themselves heroically in the face of overwhelming odds, their foes now blame them for their extraordinary powers of resistance and accuse them of having secretly compassed the downfall of Europe.

In order to gain the sympathy of neutral states, Great Britain has advanced the preposterous plea that she is championing the case of freedom against militarism. If this were the case, she should then be waging this war against the whole world, as all civilized countries except the Americas have adopted compulsory military service and maintain large armies. Besides, she herself has of late become an ultra military power, and has even gone so far as to adopt a veiled form of military dictatorship which is one of the most sensible things she has done, especially as Lord Kitchener is one of the very ablest of great statesmen we have ever had. No! let us admit frankly that we are not fighting militarism, but only the wonderful German military machine that has raised the standard of military efficiency to such a pitch that it has so far enabled the German Empire to withstand, practically single-handed, the onslaught of the hordes of a united Europe. The fact is that England realizes only too well that Germany's homogeneous military governmental system is what stands between her and becoming the dominant commercial power of Europe and which proud position she is perfectly justified in coveting. For, if it were not for the inconvenient counterbalancing effect of German military power, our naval preponderance would permit of our playing off one country against the other and whilst they were scrambling for the fence we should be gathering in the sovereigns. We are hearing a great deal just at present concerning the iniquities of this brutal and tyrannical German militarism, but what about navalism? Has it ever dawned on English people how ludicrously inconsistent their abuse of German militarism on land is, considering the fact that Great Britain's navalism aids at playing identically the same game on sea; also that it is of equally vital importance to the German Empire's existence as a great power for her to retain her military supremacy as it is to our existence to retain our naval supremacy.

I am fully aware that the German people are convinced that England was the evil genius who caused this war, but I venture to differ with them on that point. There is not the least shadow of a doubt that the British Isles were madly jealous of Germany, and what is more, feared her. They knew that her commerce was on the increase and that her navy was growing stronger year by year, necessitating a proportional increase in that of theirs and which was already costing them £45,000,000 annually. As it would have been suicidal for her to abandon the race in naval armaments, England was obliged, therefore, to redouble her efforts in the hope that the German government would either tire of the contest or else go bankrupt, and which was a most probable contingency seeing that, not only had it to meet naval expenses but ever-increasing colossal military ones as well. However, in spite of her heavy naval expenditure England had no desire to become embroiled herself in a conflict with the Germans, although she may not have been adverse to seeing them humbled by other powers. The flirtatious British government had unquestionably whispered many "sweet nothings" into France's loving ear during those early halcyon days of the courtship, and prior to the conclusion of the mysterious "Triple Ménage." But judging from the lack of martial ardour displayed by

the British government by not adopting the most trivial and palpable military precautions commensurate with the foreign policy to which it had committed itself, I think I am justified in declaring that the one prayer it offered daily to Heaven was that no occasion would arise necessitating the fulfillment of those promises it had made its mistress. Hence, my contention that we were not the instigators, but involuntary participators in this upheaval. When the Austro-Servian crisis arose in July, 1914, followed by the Austro-German-Russian one, the English cabinet was placed in an appalling dilemma, and however much Germans may be incensed against us today, those of them who have studied political questions will, I feel sure, agree with me in this. On the one hand, the government knew it had guaranteed to support France should she be attacked, but what was even worse still, it realized that if Russia should again receive an unavenged rebuff on Servia's behalf (she had already received several since the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria in 1909), the probabilities were that she would sicken of the paralytic and impotent policy of the Triple Entente, and, in consequence, would conclude an independent agreement with Germany to the serious detriment of British interests in Asia Minor and Persia. But besides all this, there was yet another reason, no less important, which impelled the government to adopt the course it did. For ten years that scurrilous rag and insatiable scavenger, "The Daily Mail," Lord Northcliffe's personal property and mouthpiece, and supported by its foster brother, the once distinguished "Times," carried on a systematic and ruthless anti-German campaign with a view to terrifying the gullible public and arousing its insensate hatred for Germany and all her works! The immediate result of this iniquitous policy was, that when the European crisis arose in July last, public opinion in England was already inflamed against the Germans, that however much one government might have wished to do so, it would never have been permitted to draw back at the eleventh hour and leave France to her fate. Had it done so, it would not have remained in office twenty-four hours. But what I am particularly desirous of impressing on the German nation, is the importance of differentiating in its hatred of England, between the individual Englishman and his press-ridden government. I can assure you, that had the question of war or peace been submitted in the form of a referendum to the people, there would have been an overwhelming majority in favour of peace because none of our working classes wanted war with the Germans, however much they may have been interested in the "Daily Mail's" exciting and sensational novelette anti-German jargon. They were simply rushed headlong into heel by their government and its inexorable taskmaster, the press. Do not imagine that the mush you read in our daily newspapers is the true voice of the English nation. The childish and futile abuse which is now being heaped upon Germany comes solely from the pens of that handful of scum of scum of Fleet Street editors, who by their maniacal ravings have succeeded in hypnotizing my compatriots into believing that they abhor Germany and Germans, that the latter are barbarians but that the Russians are saints. If, however, the "Daily Mail" suddenly veered around and commenced publishing leading articles rigorously decrying the war, and showing what economic and commercial suicide it was, what a baneful effect it would ultimately have on the interests of our working classes and on those of all other countries, and how unnecessary it was, seeing that prior to the July European crisis, we had no tangible reason whatsoever, for quarreling with Germany, the latter would speedily witness the most startling revulsion of feeling imaginable against this conflict in Great Britain. Consequently, I maintain that it is the fault of our respective presses, we are all now murdering each other and are, thereby, retarding our civilization by hundreds of years.

But the question is: How can peace be once more restored? Unfortunately so long as both Germany and England are both quite convinced that each is certain eventually to smash the other there can be no possible prospect of a speedy settlement. However, those of us Germans and English who have still retained our mental equilibrium and have not allowed the war fever to take too strong a hold upon us, must strive to instil a little common sense into our respective unhappy compatriots. If ever there were an opportunity for the press to prove what a mighty power for good it can be, this is most certainly the moment of all others for doing so. Public opinion today is formed and influenced almost entirely by what the various daily newspapers write; of what vital importance it is, therefore, that they should, one and all, endeavour to uphold unflinchingly the standard of right or their interpretation of it, in as charitable a spirit as possible for those whose opinions differ from theirs and thus, to quiet rather than excite the unreasonable and harmful passions by which the ignorant masses are swayed. Only by this means it is possible to guide them along the path which is best calculated to lead to the most satisfactory results both for themselves and the good of the whole world.—The "Continental Times," Berlin.

H. B. M. When was Sir Arthur Conan Doyle knighted? Was it after he had written and circulated in Europe his famous pamphlet defending Great Britain in the South African War? Is he writing a similar defense for the present occasions?

Sir Arthur was knighted in 1902, subsequent to the publication and distribution of the pamphlet to which you allude and two years after the appearance of "The Great Boer War." It has been announced in the press that he is now working on a book having to do with the present war.—From the "Questions and Answers" column in the "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung," November 9, 1914.

"And the Lord our God delivered him before us: and we smote him, and his sons, and all his people."

THE WAR AND AMERICA.

New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, New York.

Herman Ridder.

When so much is being written on every angle of the European war, so much that will serve its purpose of creating a temporary misconception of the aims and ideals of Germany and Austria and then, having lived its little day in type-metal, will pass into the limbo of the past, a monograph on the war from the able pen of Professor Hugo Muensterberg, of Harvard University, is not only timely but to those Americans who are striving to maintain a neutral mind and who desire only fair play, exceedingly welcome.

It is not necessary to introduce Prof. Muensterberg to the reading public in America, or in Europe. For twenty years his pen has been active on both sides of the Atlantic, defending in turn American ideals in Europe and German ideals in America. I know of no man, now living, who has sought more consistently or more intelligently to promote a proper understanding not alone between Americans and Germans but also between Americans and Europeans in general, including the British people.

The book which Professor Muensterberg has written on the war, and which Messrs. Appleton will publish today, deals of necessity only with causes and morals. It is free from prophecies and does not even touch on the military operations which have already taken place. Its great value lies in the clearly thought and concisely put causes which led up to the outbreak of hostilities, from the point of view of a man of superior intellect and education whose life has been divided nearly equally between Germany and the United States. The spirit which permeates it is that of cold, logical reasoning, which alone, and more especially in times like the present, when the smoke of battle is still in our nostrils, can be of assistance to those who wish to arrive at the truth.

There is no attempt on the author's part to belittle, to slander or to condone. He has a good word for each of the participants in the struggle. To him there is no immortality in the war. It is as moral a conflict as inevitability could make one. It had been building for many years. In the author's own words:

"And yet was ever a war more natural, more unavoidable? It is central Europe's desperate defence against the mighty neighbors of East and West, who have prepared and prepared for the crushing blow to the German nations. This war had to come sooner or later. Russia spent billions to be ready to push the steam roller of its gigantic population over the German frontier. France armed as no civilized nation ever armed before; even the educated had to serve three years in the army against the one year's service in Germany. For decades the French did not allow Germany an hour to rest without armor.

"Germany's pacific and industrious population had only the one wish: to develop its agricultural and industrial, its cultural and moral resources. It had no desire to expand its frontiers over a new square foot of land in Europe. It aimed to unfold its commerce over the markets of the world and to build up a great national literature and art and science. It became prosperous and even luxurious. But never did the neighbors allow Germany a pause in its training of patriotic defenders. The neighbors begrudged this prosperity of the fatherland which had been weak and poor through centuries satisfied with songs and thoughts and dreams. They threatened and threatened by ever increasing armaments. Germany had to spend a vast part of its material and mental income in a hard preparation for defence."

Six nations have cast their lots against Germany and Austria; yet for Prof. Muensterberg there is but one war—the war between Russia and Germany. A native of Danzig, reared under the shadow of the Russian advance, he speaks with the voice of one who knows. The Slavic peril is for him the one great fact which stands out, clear-cut and unmistakable, among the varied dangers which are now threatening the German people.

"All other nations are in a hurry, Russia has time; all others economize with men, Russia can waste and waste and will always grow. All other nations have wavered in their enterprises, Russia remains unswervingly loyal to its aim of world control. Russia has seen reverses which would have crushed any weaker nation; defeats in Turkey, defeats in Asia; she hardly felt them. The clumsy bear withdrew his heavy paw for a while to put it forth with tremendous power at another spot. Russia is the one nation on earth which is invincible."

And yet Prof. Muensterberg has not one harsh word for this perpetual eternal, invincible foe of Germany. She, too, is moving in channels dredged for her by first causes. The meaning of Russian domination is not overlooked, however. "The Slavic world is full of deep melancholy beauty, of devoted loyalty, of religious democracy, of sincere idealism," but—"the Russian life is one of cultural inefficiency, a life from which no true inner progress may be hoped."

The diplomatic incidents which preceded the open declaration of war are condensed and reviewed in a spirit of broad non-partisanship. The conclusions at which the author arrives are those of every intelligent and unbiased reader of the correspondence which has been made public. The murder of the Archduke of Austria brought to a head the machinations of the Pan-Slavs not alone in Servia but in the southern provinces of Austria-Hungary, and demanded the ultimatum sent by Vienna to Belgrade.

"Belgrade was willing to yield completely to its great neighbor, but at noontime of the day on which the ultimatum was to end, a cipher telegram from Petersburg arrived, and the message of the Russian government to the Servian reversed the mood of the little kingdom. The bellicose Servian Crown Prince, standing in his automobile, drove jubilantly through the excited crowds on the streets, and a few hours later a refusal was sent to Vienna which could mean nothing but war. The Czar had instigated it and was consistent: the Russian empire was to back little Servia against its foes."

The immediate order which followed the mobilization of the Russian army, and which was carried out unswervingly in the face of repeated protests and entreaties from the German Emperor, was the real declaration of war. If the Emperor erred at all, he erred in not meeting the challenge of Russia sooner.

The part played by England in this "cosmic catastrophe" is so overshadowed in Prof. Muensterberg's mind by that of the Russian danger, that little space is given to it. And perhaps rightly so in a work from the pen of a philosopher. The Russian danger is racial and cultural, the British economic and commercial. The Russianization of Germany, or of an essential part of it, would mean the turning back of the hands on the clock of cultural progress not alone for Germany but for all Europe and the whole world—the achievement of British aims would mean no more than a temporary economic set-back which in time the inner virility of the German people might be looked to recoup. There are not wanting those, however, who see behind the "clumsy bear" of Russia the work of Britain's far-reaching diplomacy, and feel that as the instigator and abettor of the Russian advance, Great Britain demands more attention than is generally accorded her. The entrance into the war of England is condoned on the grounds of national expediency. There is no bitterness expressed on account of race treachery.

"The whole idea of race obligation and race treachery is a construction which has never really been accepted by the political powers of the world . . .There cannot be a more unlike racial companionship than England, Russia, France, Servia and Japan, and yet the whole history of mankind justifies the welding together of strange elements. The cousinship of Germans and Englishmen is no political tie."

That England, while committing no crime, has "committed a great historical blunder" is clear to the author, however.

"But will England pluck the fruits for which it reaches out its hand even if Germany is crushed? The German defeat will satisfy the longing of France without strengthening it strategically, but it will immensely strengthen the Slavic nations. Russia will be the great winner, and the new strength of Russia will be the real danger to the British Empire, which will be weakened anyhow by the exhausting war. Russia will at once push forward in Asia; India will be liberated, and if India secures its independence, Canada and Australia will be lost. If the German dam against the Russian-Servian flood is broken, twenty years later the area of the British Empire will be pitifully small."

The inconsistency of the Anglophile element in the American press is alluded to, and explained on the basis of "the psychology of the crowd." A year ago, on the occasion of the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the inception of the present German Emperor's reign of unbroken peace, it lauded Germany and its Emperor to the skies. Today there is nothing too wild, too imaginative, too ridiculous and untrue to ascribe to the aims and ideals of both. The German cables were cut at the beginning of the war and the American press was flooded with anti-German reports colored by the enemy. Acting on first impulses and first "news," the campaign of vilification was set in motion and it is only now, when the truth is beginning to come in from Germany, that the better element among the American papers is returning to the normal. The writings of H. G. Wells, for England, Henri Bergson, for France, and Dr. Charles W. Eliot, for the United States, are disposed of by dignified controversion—those of the petty "penny-a-liners," who have turned their pens alike against Germany and the truth, by an expression of poorly veiled contempt.

"They are hardly conscious lies; they are the hysteric illusions of over-excited brains. The bystanders are really convinced that they saw the horrible ferocities. I fancy Richard Harding Davis believed sincerely that he actually saw those wild impossibilities with which his reports are bristling.

There is not a line in the two hundred and ten pages which make up "The War, and America" which will not repay reading. They are pages pleasantly written but nevertheless calmly thought out and concisely put. As a contribution to the literature of the present war and to the philosophy of war in general, their place is assured. In the concluding chapter, on "The Morals of the War," the reader will find in the suggestion of a novel basis for world peace, "cosmochorism," food for new thought and perhaps the solution of the question now uppermost in all American minds: Why is war? When will the necessity for it cease to be?

FOREIGN CHARITY AND NATIVE WAGES.

From "The Chicago Tribune," November 14, 1914.

Clinton, Ia., Nov. 12.—[Editor of "The Tribune."]—Will some gentleman kindly explain to the writer through the columns of "The Tribune" why some people "sincerely trust" that $5,000,000 of America's money be sent abroad to help the needy, and kick like Texas steers if they have to pay living wages for American skilled labor?

H. F. S.

A GERMAN MENACE.

A letter written to the Chicago "Tribune" in reply to an article on the German Menace to Great Britain —Its Rising Navy.—By the Editor of "War Echoes."

The Editor in Chief,
The Tribune, Chicago, Ill.
Dear Sir:

I am frankly and honestly a German sympathizer in the present European conflict, and, no doubt, primarily so, because of my deep-seated conviction of the justice of the German-Austrian cause, and, consequently, I have an abiding faith in them. To be sure the Historian will some day settle this question to the satisfaction of most enlightened and disciplined people, settling their cause in its true light. And not until this is done, and until we refuse to hear a verdict with but a part of the evidence and only some of the witnesses in the case, shall I lose faith in a country that bears the reputation and character of that of Germany.

It is simply faith based on knowledge. It is fact and truth. It is certainly the more abiding thing we have to judge by; this spiritual, intellectual, and practical Germany is universally acknowledged where people have not been too much concerned with fear, prejudice, jealousy, revenge, ambition, etc. Can it possibly fail to appeal to us that we are dealing with a situation created by Germany's bitterest enemies? I venture to predict that Germany will retain her abiding character, in spite of all the abuse, vilification and slander heaped upon her in this crisis. Be not deceived; History shows that strength, character and courage are made in such trying times. But the thing created by the passions of man against her, unjustly, will pass away, with traces of guilt and contrition, let us hope, from the guilty.

I am indeed gratified for the letters appearing under "Voice of the People," for it is precisely the want of such a Forum in the popular press, publishing overwhelming material from England and her Allies, while their enemies have been shut out from the world, that I am ready to make any possible sacrifice to defend Germany. For the press it simply spells BUSINESS. Could Germany and Austria assure us immediate and ultimate financial gain by boosting her, she would get the support. I have been told that Germany lacked practical wisdom by refuting to spend several millions to this end, that she will have to pay it anyway, and that in an infinitely harder way, by much suffering and making additional human sacrifices for the sale of ideals and patriotism, than she would have been obliged to sacrifice by the every-day practise of bribing, such as is common even in our very households; why then cherish high ideals in regard to how we may "get there" in relations with our neighbor nations.

To defend her, not so much in her claims, though I feel that I have just reason to have more faith in their claims than in those of her enemies, but as against the claims of her enemies. From the very first of the conflict I have had a genuine reluctance to mete out in the same kind, style and measure in which it was meted out by the Anti-German press the world over. This has had one inevitable result; nine out of every ten responsible persons we meet, who have any interest in the conflict at all, are still harping the echoes of the first impressions, made upon them by the Allies literature: now it is "German Militarism," now "Prussian Militarism;" it is "German Conceit" and "German Culture." We could stand their "Kultur" if we would never see it or hear of it, but "to choke it down our throats," that is what we object to. Then it is the "Militarism Supreme," the "Autocrat Kaiser," the "degenerate Crown Prince," and so forth without end. But one thing is certain that we have not been honest and fair, for it is evident that we have not availed ourselves of the many, most excellent articles on these and many similar questions by a number of American writers of character, learning and spirit unquestioned. Are we acquainted, for instance, with such men as Dr. John W. Burgess, Dr. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, Hon. Peter S. Grosscup, Dr. George Stuart Fullerton, Dr. F. Westfall Thompson, Dr. Ferdinand Schevill, Dr. Herbert Sanborn and many others, whose non-German names will indicate that they are not defending Germany from sentiment alone. Have we who have so much to say about German sins and crime, read and digested what these great American scholars have to say to this?

Now, as voiced by your recent correspondent in this department, Mr. Owen Howard Owen, we finally have also to hear of the "German Naval Menace." To be more exact, in speaking of Germany, Mr. Owen declares that "if they could prove that the German Naval program was not a distinct MENACE to Great Britain" (Tribune, March 22, Voice of the People). Now, Mr. Owen, honor bright, as man to man, why should Germany be obliged to make a confession on this point? If she said it is to protect our growing commerce, they would give her the lie; if she said, straightforwardly, with her customary candor and frankness (where the German philosopher has no doubt been at fault for the non-Teutonic world) that this navy is to protect us against our neighbors in case of war, they would brand her with "Ambition," "World Emperorism," "Menace," etc. I cannot see why Germany should have to explain her conduct in this particular at all. Did England make apologies for her growing navy? Do you, Mr. Owen, make apologies to your competitor when you strip him in honest business and other competition? Or, if your competitor should think you "a menace" to him in your prospering business? I trust I have heard the last such unreasonable objections. I would let such statements pass altogether if it were not that the unreasoning masses swallow in a most pathetic manner everything they hear and see; then they try to digest it as best they can—since it is spoken of the unpopular element among us to the popular. Give us this day our daily sensation and some poor devils at war to lie about.

You observe, Mr. Owen, that I fail to see the logic of speaking of a "German Naval Menace" inasmuch as Germany has never had more than half of the British naval force, that is, in the number of ships, their manning, and the money invested. This fact ought, also, by the way, settle that question of "Militarism." British Navalism, of course, is not "Militarism." And now, through British maneuvering, since the opening of the war, Germany is easily opposed in the present naval warfare, by five to one in the number of ships, and by even more in the cost of their equipment. Is it, Mr. Owen, that the British Empire realized that the German Navy would be more than a match for them in case of war? If this is the case and especially so, in the light of the part that Great Britain played in getting into the slaughter-game to cripple an honest competition, when she had as good a chance to make a military showing as she might ever expect to have again, that is while other nations would be sure to do the bulk of the fighting—then she ought to be defeated.

The idea was this, that the combination of naval and land forces of the Allies would be irresistible; alone or with one power she would not have had a ghost of a show to force her will among nations. It must not be overlooked, moreover, that England was in as good a position, both from point of view of influence, and honor at stake, to prevent the war by simply putting her finger on Russia—yes, and France and Belgium—and say that she would not back Russia up in her interests in the Serbian-Balkan policy. I wish somebody would point out to me where England had more at stake, both in honor and other national interests, than Germany. Hence, why could she not have honorably done this?

Is a small man a menace to a large man simply because the small man develops to the utmost? Why should we expect the small man to make explanations and apologies for the development of his powers? You say he might some day give me a thrashing. But are we so certain that the big fellow ought not to have a thrashing, that the little fellow has a weaker cause just because he has come into the limelight? Any way you wish to take it, Mr. Owen, I fail to see the point; and have you not observed how this "Menace," the German Fleet, has been utterly incapable of protecting the German commerce, for which purpose it was called into existence? We were not called into existence, primarily to fight, but to be happy in constructive work and yet I see a VIRTUE in using force at times. And so the German Navy does not become a menace, even if it finds duties other than protecting German commerce. Or, don't you trouble yourself in trying to see the other fel-

low's situation, Mr. Owen? Can we not even see so simple a point? Is it because of our selfishness or what?

Did Great Britain really expect the world to come to her assistance, to defend her against Germany in case of war? If you will recognize a menace when you see one, Mr. Owen, behold Russia mobilizing, egged on by France and Great Britain; here you have a real cause for a declaration of war and they got it. Russia succeeded in becoming a real menace to Germany, but by this trick alone. Can you show me that England and France are not also guilty of this? Is Germany not guilty with Austria, if the Austrian-Balkan policy is reprehensible? And, mind you, this Balkan question, ultimately the real issue, was of no primary concern to Great Britain, perhaps not to France even. I would ask: Is it Germany's fault that her fleet of about one-fifth the size and number of ships and of about one-sixth the cost of the Allied fleets is yet "a menace" to them? If this is your real meaning, Mr. Owen, then I say it serves them right that they are facing a menace. Is a man a menace simply because he is capable of holding his own and protecting his home, his all, against three or four who have plotted "to get him"? Or, are Germans a menace because they are intelligent, industrious and serious in the tasks of life?

I would not be surprised if a further complaint were lodged against Germany because she is getting more effective results with her fifty submarines than all her enemies combined with five times that number? Hence, next, the Submarine Menace. Oh, yes, the submarine is "a menace" too, because of its efficiency. And here we come to the crux of the whole controversy about Germany and her enemies—Efficiency, "Made in Germany." We cannot compete with you, Germany, and so you must be crushed. But there is no end to this. It is common knowledge that Germany has made more of her native as well as created resources, when taken together, than perhaps any other people. Why should that be a menace? Why should it be a menace to be able to read and write, to think hard, reason, take discipline, learn to obey, command and serve? Why should it be a menace to be able to make a better article and sell it cheaper than some one else can do? No, competition along these lines is too hard and takes too long; it is too laborious, for England impossible. There was one idea with France and Great Britain in this competition problem: the "Bear" must save us. We shall settle this question in quite a unique and original fashion. We know how to unite the "Gordian Knot."

When speaking of menaces, I have often observed that "the menace" is very frequently well named. You could easily show and that with excellent reason, how the British navy has been and still is a menace. Consult Washington, for example, at present. Consult the spirit of Washington and Lincoln. Consult the American archives from 1800 to 1812. Nor need we go outside of our own country to settle this question, Mr. Owen. But this philosophizing is a mighty slow and inexpedient business, hence the war; it is certainly not Germany's fault if not enough philosophizing was done. You, Mr. Owen, and your sympathizers in this connection may console yourselves with the thought that he who would rise and maintain his position honorably, nobly and in righteousness must pay the price, must win his spurs, just as Spain, France, England in turn, had done. They all have passed through these critical moments. They ought to know upon what their laws and morals are written. You may console yourselves, moreover, in the fact that the literature written against the menace of the British navy will make interesting reading to you all in times of trouble. It is quite possible, too, that you could not take this record seriously, as Great Britain may have been the Chosen People, in your eyes, to enjoy the privilege of a large navy alone, and by virtue of "Divine Right." Of course, it is a heinous crime for the Turk or the Jap to cherish such an ambition. Yes, even for our kin, the Germans. Has not our own Secretary of State clearly implied in his recent analysis of cases coming under international law that Great Britain is getting the better of it at sea in the present conflict, not by any illegal act, but by sheer virtue of posession is 99 per cent of the law "she can get away with it" in every day slang.

The implication is clear and simple. German sympathizers may regret it and other sympathizers may congratulate themselves, secretly, for the good fortune, but what are we going to do about it? You see we all face the same law, and there it is hard and fast. It certainly does not take a bright man to see the great realm of human endeavor that lies between the "Letter of the Law" and the "Spirit of the Law" within which latitude we might commit plenty that were questionable and wrong if the shoe were on the other foot, but a region within which we may steer safely to the harbor of temporary success. Just let unfortunate Spain or Japan do one-half what Great Britain has done, even in the present crisis and you will see another type of neutrality and even getting away around the law. Why in the case of the Maine, we did not even wait to investigate. The offense rests so much in the offender; it grows so much out of our feelings in relation to the offender.

I find this an opportune time, also, to say what I have often said in this connection, and what to the best of my knowledge thousands of good and able sympathizers all over this country have been saying; let us set ourselves the noble task of clearing up misconceptions, too hastily formed by the helpless innocent, who do not think for themselves; let us neutralize the venom and poison sent into the minds and hearts of millions of innocent Americans by the enemies of Germany. We can also prevent the still further evitable damage that would be done by inflammatory writers by inspiring leaders to a manly and womanly dignity, to speak evil of no man and to cultivate an insatiable thirst for facts, truths, fair play, and above all, for us Americans to be neutral in Spirit as well as Word —in this task America always first, we may not dare or do too much.

Sincerely yours,

Hotel Holland,

Chicago, Ill.

Further Evidence of the Work of the War Makers

TWO EXTREME VIEWS.

Editorial from "The Daily News," Chicago, November 10, 1914.

Mr. Roosevelt is indignant because the United States has not taken aggressive steps on behalf of Belgium. He does not go the length of saying in so many words that we should have declared war on Germany, but many persons will think they discover this to be his meaning on reading the sixth of his papers on the war appearing in The Daily News. Although this country is not one of the signatories to the two long standing treaties which guarantee Belgium's neutrality, the ex-president is of the opinion that our participation in The Hague conventions obligates us to take cognizance of any infraction of those stipulations. It is on this ground that he declares the present administration has failed in its duty.

The United States is called upon as a "trustee of civilization," Mr Roosevelt thinks, to investigate all the charges made against Germany. "If such an investigation is made," he writes, "and if the charges prove well founded, then it is the duty of the United States to take whatever action may be necessary to vindicate the principles of international law set forth in these [The Hague] conventions."

This is vague, though forceful. Apparently, it points down the red pathway of war.

While Mr. Roosevelt is crying out for direct interference by the United States in European affairs, it is interesting to discover how far peace advocates will allow themselves to go in the other direction. Writing in the current number of the North American Review, Prof. Phelps of Yale shows how easy it is for well meaning persons to become extremists in their enthusiasm for a cause. In the course of his appeal for peace Prof. Phelps exclaims: "Would it not be fine in the future if the United States of America should make some actual sacrifice to prevent war? Would it not be splendid if we actually sustained insults and material damage from some other country and did not fight?"

LIBERALS PLEAD FOR CO-OPERATION.

Leaders Object to British Policy Which Preceded the Present War Encouraged by Great Britain.

Prominent members of the Liberal organization are taking measures to direct public policy toward the reform of European methods of shaping the destinies of the various nations. It is the purpose of these leaders to carry on a vigorous campaign, in which their plans will be outlined and the thinking public urged to co-oprate. The following letter to the London "Morning Post" has been sent broadcast as the forerunner of the movement for governmental reform:

"There are many thousands of people in the country who are profoundly dissatisfied with the general course of policy which preceded the war. They are feeling that a dividing point has come in national history; that the old traditions of secret and class diplomacy, the old control of foreign policy by a narrow clique and the power of the armament organizations have got henceforth to be combated by a great, conscientious and well directed effort of the democracy.

"We are anxious to take the measures which may focus this feeling and help to direct public policy on broad lines which may build up on a more secure and permanent foundation the hopes which have been shattered for our generation in the last month. The objects we have in view are:

"First.—To secure real parliamentary control over foreign policy and to prevent it being again shaped in secret and forced upon the country as an accomplished fact.

"Second.—When peace returns to open direct and deliberate negotiations with the democratic parties and influences on the continent, so as to form an international understanding depending on popular parties rather than on governments.

"Third.—To aim at securing such terms that this war will not, either through the humiliation of the defeated nation or an artificial rearrangement of frontiers, merely become the starting point for new national antagonisms and future wars. When the time is ripe for it, but not before the country is secure from danger, meetings will be organized and speakers provided. But the immediate need is, in our opinion, to prepare for the issue of books, pamphlets and leaflets dealing with the course of recent policy and suggesting the lines of action for the future. Measures are being taken to prepare these at once, and they will be ready for publication when the proper opportunity occurs. For this we shall be glad of any subscription which you can spare and would like to know if you are willing to support us in this effort in order that we may communicate with you as occasion arises.

"There may be other ways in which voluntary help may be of value. We shall be glad of the names and addresses of any of your friends who you think are likely to share the views expressed in this letter."

The foregoing communication bears the signatures of E. Ramsay MacDonald, Charles Trevelyan, Norman Angell and E. D. Bord, who will have direct charge of the campaign. —Reprinted from the "News of the War in Europe," supplied by "The Fatherland," New York.

HORNET STINGS.

From "The Hornet," Chicago, October 15, 1914.

Did you notice the fragrant bouquets which the French and British army commanders are lately throwing at each other? General French is simply de-lighted about the dash and bravery of Jean Crapaud and Joffre is just tickled about the magnificent courage of Tommy Atkins. It reminds one of two boys whistling as they pass a graveyard after dark. They are trying to keep up their courage. * * *

THE BRITISH AND GERMAN WHITE PAPERS.

(From an Editorial in "The Boston Herald," Aug. 28, 1914.)

Occasionally the public interest to be served by the distribution of a pamphlet is so great that the newspapers owe it all the free advertising they can give. Such is the case with the full text of the White Paper of the British Foreign Office and the memorandum issued by the German Government, which the New York "Times" has brought out in pamphlet form and is selling at ten cents.

Everybody who wishes to form a coherent and unprejudiced opinion of the relations of the two great powers—Great Britain and Germany —should read the diplomatic correspondence. And no one who fails to do so has longer any intellectual right to express a cocksure opinion on the struggle. Here is a body of evidence of the most substantial character. It deserves the attention of every thoughtful citizen. Up to date nothing has thrown such a clear white light on the sources of the present desperate calamity as the full text of the diplomatic correspondence of the two powers, in whose leadership a large share of the civilization of the world rests.

How deficient is our English language when it comes to describing colors! Thus we all remember Richard Harding Davis' wonderful description of the almost invisible "gray" uniforms of the Germans, which so melted into the landscape that they could hardly be seen, except as a mist, across a city square, while from St. Louis comes a dispatch that says: "A British agent who is buying 10,000 horses and mules in Missouri is rejecting gray ones. He says they can be seen farther than animals of any other color."—From "The Boston Globe," September 9, 1914.

SECOND CHAPTER

UNFORTUNATE BELGIUM

PROCLAIMING A VIRTUE LONG SINCE SURRENDERED BELGIAN NEUTRALITY A MYTH

GERMANY AND THE TRIPLE ENTENTE THEIR BELGIAN POLICY

Their Position and Consequent Attitude in regard to the Future of Belgium
Belgium Co-operates with France and England Against Germany
In Consequence Belgium Loses her Neutrality

THE GERMAN GEOGRAPHIC POSITION HER CONSEQUENT ATTITUDE BEFORE THE WAR AND NOW

Germany's Honorable Proposal to Belgium
Even after Belgium's Secret Dealing with the Entente

Evidence of these Secret Negotiations—Meaning Trouble for Germany
Great Britain, France, Belgium

THE NON-TEUTONIC NATIONS OF EUROPE THE CASE OF BELGIUM AND THE OTHER NATIONS

The Interesting Position of the Teutonic Nations in this Great World Conflict
The Deeper Meaning of the Alignment of Nations at War

THE ENGLISH-FRENCH-BELGIAN POSITION THEIR CONSEQUENT ATTITUDE

The Popular Notion that there was a Neutrality to Violate That the Entente were Duty-bound to Protect Belgium in This Sham Neutrality

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BELGIAN NEUTRALITY—ITS REAL MEANING A "SCRAP. OF PAPER"

What the German Chancellor meant by thus describing the Belgium Neutrality Guarantee

INTRODUCTION

DOCTOR JOHN W. BURGESS

BELGIAN NEUTRALITY—ITS REAL MEANING.

The Vital Issue.

EDITOR'S NOTE:

This article by Professor John W. Burgess was released to the press of this great country two weeks ago. Which newspaper printed it? If our readers will give us the name of the paper in which it appeared before this copy of the "Vital Issue" goes to press we would be glad to give them credit for their sense of honor and fairness.* Is it not strange that a special paper has to be founded to print such material as is contained in our magazine? In spite of the immense difficulties this paper will continue to throw a true light on the present European crisis.

BY PROFESSOR JOHN W. BURGESS.

Of Columbia University, New York.

So much has been said about "Belgian Neutrality," so much assumed, and it has been spoken of as **such a sacred thing,** that it may be well to examine the basis of it and get an exact idea of its scope. It is not a moral question. It is a question of truth. It is a question purely of international agreement and we must find for it such an agreement and the agreement must not have been abrogated nor have become, by change of conditions, obsolete. Of course by the term "Belgian neutrality" is meant guaranteed neutrality, not simply the "general neutrality of all states not at war" at a time when other states are at war.

On the 19th day of April, 1839, Belgium and Holland, which had from 1815 to 1830 formed the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, signed a treaty of separation from, and independence of, each other. It is in this treaty that the original pledge of Belgian neutrality is to be found. The clause in the treaty reads: **"Belgium in the limits above described shall form an independent neutral state and shall be bound to observe the same neutrality towards all other states."** On the same day and at the same place, London, a treaty, known in the history of diplomacy as the **"Quintuple Treaty,"** was signed by Great Britain, France, Prussia, Austria and Russia, approving and adopting the treaty between Belgium and Holland. A little later, May 11th, the German Confederation, of which both Prussia and Austria were states, also ratified this treaty.

In the year 1866 the German Confederation was dissolved by the short war between Prussia and Austria. In 1867 the "North German Union" was formed, of which Prussia was the largest state.

Did these changes abrogate the guarantee of the Treaty of 1839, or make it obsolete? The test of this came in the year 1870, at the beginning of hostilities between France and the North German Union. Great Britain, the power most interested in the maintenance of Belgian neutrality, seems to have had considerable apprehension about it. Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, said in the House of Commons on the 2nd of August, 1870: "I am **not able to subscribe** to the doctrine of those who have held in this House what plainly amounts to an assertion that the simple fact of the existence of a guarantee is **binding on every party to it,** irrespective altogether of the particular position in which it may find itself at the time when the occasion for acting on the guarantee arises."

Acting on this view, the British government then sought and procured from the French government, and from the government of the North German Union separate but identical treaties, ratified on the 9th and 26th of August, 1870, respectively, guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium **during the period of the war between France and the North German Union (the so-called Franco-Prussian war), which had just broken out, and for one year from the date of its close.** In these treaties Great Britain limited the possible operation of her military forces in maintaining the neutrality of Belgium to the territory of the state of Belgium.

These treaties expired in the year 1872, and the present German Empire has never signed any treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium. If the Treaty of 1839 had become so unreliable in 1870 as to require, in the opinion of the British government, the new treaties of 1870 in order to make sure of the guarantee of Belgian neutrality, what shall we say about it in 1914, **42 years after these treaties of 1870 have expired,** and after the North German Union, which was party to them, has given way to the present German Empire?

Finally, **The Hague Conference of 1907 drafted a convention which** reads:

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*The "Milwaukee Free Press" printed this article of Professor Burgess under the heading of "What Belgian Neutrality Really Means," on its editorial page of October 13, 1914.

Read also the paragraphs headed: "The Case of Belgium," in the article by Professor John W. Burgess, entitled, "Why I Champion Germany," and also article entitled: "Has Germany Violated Belgian Neutrality," both of which important papers have been reprinted elsewhere in this book.—Editor, War Echoes.

"The territory of neutral powers is inviolable. Belligerents are forbidden to move troops or convoys of either munitions of war or supplies across the territory of a neutral power."

Great Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy refused to sign it and did not sign it. Russia was not represented.

Perhaps we may now somewhat more clearly understand, why the German Chancellor referred to the guarantee of Belgian neutrality as a "scrap of paper." At any rate, these facts, taken together with the facts that **Great Britain refused to pledge her own neutrality in the present war even on the condition that Germany would agree not to move her troops through Belgium and not to attack the north coast of France, and declined to formulate any conditions upon which she would remain neutral,** clearly reduce England's much vaunted altruistic reason for entering upon this war to a diplomatic subterfuge.

JOHN W. BURGESS.

Athenwood, Newport, R. I., September 11, 1914.

"SOME REAL NEWS."

Editorial from "The Vital Issue," New York, October 10, 1914.

We believe our readers and the untold millions of sympathizers of Germany will surely consider it a treat to read the many interesting articles which appear in the present copy of "The Vital Issue."

The article by Professor Burgess proves so convincingly that somebody has lied about the Belgian Neutrality Question. Will the British Government sit up and take notice of "The Vital Issue?" We think it will. It will be much upset by now reading the true facts about this Belgian issue, instead of seeing their lies continually reprinted by American newspapers. More discoveries will follow. We will catch them again.

With these new facts at hand, the statement issued by Sir Edward Goschen, the then Ambassador to Germany, loses almost its entire force. Perhaps, it even does him an injury, because the statement issued by him is absolutely misleading, not to use stronger terms. However, he may not have been acquainted with the status quo of the Belgian situation, and we will therefore be charitably inclined and attribute his statement to a lack of knowledge rather than to malice. Inasmuch as Sir Edward Goschen's statement formed a part of the British White Paper, it becomes evident that the British White Paper loses in importance and trustworthiness.

Many editors will no doubt regret that they have been so imposed upon and that they have innocently fallen to be a victim to the British wiles. Innocently, these editors have stirred up hatred against a friendly country. Let them beware in the future of British lies and British systematic secret work.

Berlin's comment on the advance southeast of Verdun corroborates a French report of yesterday. Of the German claims of advance there is nothing from Paris except the vague remarks that the Kaiser's troops are in a strong position. **However, since the war started, Berlin has made no claims which have not been proved later. When the German war office has nothing favorable to report, it simply issues no report.**—From the "Chicago Examiner," September 27, 1914.

Making a Fuss over a Virtue long since Surrendered
Belgian Neutrality a Myth

BELGIAN NEUTRALITY.

New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, New York.

Herman Ridder.

So much has been written about the breach of Belgium's neutrality that I shall say a few words on the German side of this question. A special treaty provided for "Belgian neutrality during warfare." England, France and Germany agreed to it. For many years past France has, in a measure violated the neutrality of Belgium by assisting that country in building the fortresses on the German frontier. The details of the fortifications of Liège and Namur were partly worked out by the French General Staff, giving them a decided military advantage over Germany.

As far as we can learn from German sources, preceding the outbreak of hostilities, French officers, in larger numbers than ordinarily, were active in Belgium. It is certain, at any rate, that the French had made extensive preparations in Belgian territory for the eventuality of a war with Germany. Not to take account of these preparations would have been folly and suicide on Germany's part.

More than this, the erection in Belgium of a series of great fortifications does not appeal to the unbiased mind as an act of pure Belgian initiation and violation. Neutralized as her territory is by a European convention, what necessity could have prompted her to these steps? The answer must be sought not in Belgium but in Paris. The fortress of Liège and Namur were designed for defense again Germany, but where are the fortresses to insure the Belgiun frontier against France?

Germany requested Belgium to allow the transfer of German troops in German railroad cars over the Belgian lines. The bulk of Belgian traffic in times of peace is carried on in German cars, there being a tremendous through traffic of German goods. Germany offered to pay for these facilities and to pay for anything else that it might use at Belgium's own price, to put in order again anything that was destroyed and to guarantee the integrity of the territory of Belgium in the fullest measure. This offer was not accepted and the simple law of self-preservation forced Germany to its subsequent steps. As matters have turned out it would have been the part of wisdom of Belgium to have accepted the proposition of Germany. It was furthermore, increasingly clear to the German government that England wanted to keep its hands free to join the fray whenever the time seemed favorable. The consideration of the opportune moment and nothing else, has been the reason why skilful English diplomacy, although we have only the English "White Paper" to go by, emphasized the Belgian neutrality in the final dealings, to the exclusion of almost everything else.

England knew well, that Germany "in defence" would quickly turn "to attack"; that a man or a nation, fighting for its life, must anticipate the enemy's move and not wait for it. In view of the French activities in Belgium during times of peace, it was reasonable for Germany to assume that France would not hesitate to violate the neutrality in times of war. It was essentially a measure of defense on the part of Germany, and as the results show, an important part in the general strategy of the war.

England never objected to France overseeing the military policy of Belgium. Would England have warred on France if France had violated Belgium's neutrality in actual warfare? Is there anything in the "White Paper" to indicate that England applied the same hypocritical morality to France and Russia which it adopted towards Germany? Do we find any sharp English comment on the embargo placed on a German wheat shipment to Belgium previous to the outbreak of hostilities? Belgium was a convenient excuse, a very flimsy one at that, of English diplomatic hypocrisy. Perfide Albion!

It would be well for we Americans, before rashly condemning Germany, to recall the many emergencies we had to meet in connection with the Panama Canal. We took the larger view of the situation and overlooked the technicalities. The United States, Columbia, Panama, and the Hay-Pauncefote treaties present many analogies with the Belgian situation.

The men who were intrusted with the safeguarding of Germany were actuated by a high consciousness of their mobilizations towards Germany. However imperative from a purely military point of view, the passage through Belgium may have been, it was undertaken with the greatest reluctance and with every desire to avoid friction. The Belgian resistance is one of the most regrettable features of the war.

FURTHERING GERMAN "KULTUR"
German Officers give Instructions in a School in Brussels
(By Courtesy of the "Chicago Abendpost")

BELGIUM'S CHANGE OF POLICY.

Translation of Editorial Which Appeared in German in the "Illinois Staats-Zeitung," Chicago, September 9, 1914.

The latter part of June, 1908, or more than six years ago, an article appeared in the Antwerp Matin, which read thus: "Belgium recognizes the value of Germany's constant mode of dealing governed as it is by a spirit of loyalty; Germany wants no foreign property, and impressed with a regard for the rights of nations, would not impose on a weaker nation. England, according to U. S. Senator Harrison, has cast a longing eye on Belgian Congo, which lies between English possessions and for that reason is an obstacle in the building of the railroad from the Cape to Cairo. She wants to wipe out the Congo as she did the Transvaal and Orange Free State and with this object began a campaign of defamation, describing the Belgians as corrupt and cruel colonizers. If in the pursuit of her selfish policy England should be the cause of any more difficulties, we will be forced to take the initiative and appeal to the states that took the place of god-father at the baptism of the Belgian kingdom, and ask them to decide, whether or not we had violated the articles of the Treaty of Berlin and sinned against civilization. Then with the mighty aid of Germany, on which we rely as we do also on the justice of our cause, righteousness will gain a victory over a policy, the brigandish aim of which is only too apparent."

The Brussels "L'étoile Belge," a paper that is entirely influenced by Parisian baiters, designated the above article as an excellent essay. Six years ago then Germany, in the eyes of the Belgian people, was the guardian of the rights and peace of nations. England on the other hand, the agent of a piratical policy. Has even the slightest evidence been furnished of German's intention of a similar policy as that England is charged with by the Belgians? No, indeed. The only increase, during this time, in German's colonial possessions was a stretch in French Congo, and the Belgians well acquainted with the character of the backwoods in their own African colony, are best able to conceive that only a desire to keep peace could have induced Germany to accept this swamp and fever-ridden district in exchange for her claims on Morocco.

Now when the imperial government in the early days of August solemnly assured the Belgian government that it had no intention of seizing Belgian territory and added that it would at the close of hostilities with France immediately withdraw all its troops from Belgian soil and make full reparation for any damage done, Belgium had no cause to doubt these assurances. The fact is, that Belgium which in the meantime had completely succumbed to British and French influence in case of war was to figure as an ally of these powers, and by pretending to uphold their neutrality, aid in veiling the extensive strategic plans of the French military. The tales of the violation of Belgian neutrality by Germany, of the disregard and infringement of the rights of nations shown by this same Germany, of the desperate struggle of the Belgian's against suppression, should finally disappear from the columns of American newspapers. Germany has hundreds of witnesses to testify that on the eve of August 1st, the railway station at Exquelinnes had already been occupied by French troops. Even those, whose fanatical hatred of Germany would not admit that an alliance between Brussels, Paris and London existed, must confess that this was undoubtedly a violation of Belgium's neutrality by the French. Although King Albert made no attempt to call on Germany, one of the Treaty powers for protection in this war, in addition to Servia, the country of assassins, Belgium has assumed the most disgraceful and treacherous rôle, in that, being too cowardly to confess its alliance with England and France, demands strict neutrality of Germany, after having basely violated it herself. It would be well to compare the statement of the Antwerp paper with the charges now brought against Germany by Belgium, in order to fully judge the faithlessness of Belgium and the incredibility of her accusations.

THE CAT IS LET OUT OF THE BAG.

Translation of Editorial.

Illinois Staats-Zeitung, Chicago.

An article appearing in the "Taegliche Rundschau." a Berlin newspaper, in which it is said to advocate the annexation of that part of Belgium occupied at the present time by the German troops, has aroused the ire of our anglo-American colleague, "The Chicago Tribune." Our colleague assures us that such an act would prove Germany unworthy of the sympathy of the Americans which they are catering to, because, as the "Tribune" further reasons, Belgium should not be punished for having fulfilled her international duty in such a heroic manner. We do not know to what extent the "Taegliche Rundschau" is justified in its assumption that Germany will annex Belgian territory, but we do know, that if Belgium's fulfillment of her international treaty" were reviewed through a strong lense another construction would be put on it. We have shown in a previous article that Belgium was not entitled to a guarantee of neutrality by another power until it had given absolute proof of its intentions to remain neutral. Belgium has done just the reverse, for she has not made the slightest protest against the massing of French troops on her border and she was stricken with blindness when French aviators crossed through her provinces to spy on the movements of German troops.

Belgium saw no breach of neutrality whatever in permitting French troops to further strengthen her fortifications. Only when the Germans ask permission to march through her territory, vouching full reparation for any damages done, did she remember that strict neutrality had been guaranteed her, while Belgium with the aid of guns was trying to maintain her neutrality so far as Germany was concerned, she made no attempt to conceal her recent negotiations with France and England and offered no protest when France claimed her as an ally.

And now the cat has been let out of the bag.

Now that the Belgians after suffering heavy losses have been vanquished by the Germans and the remnants of her army found their way to the French, the Germans in possession of almost her whole kingdom, now again Kaiser Wilhelm proffers his hand for peace. The Kaiser notes that the honor of the Belgian army has been preserved by their heroic deeds on the field of battle and has appealed to the king and the government of Belgium to avoid further unnecessary bloodshed. He assured them that any agreement with Belgium would be acceptable, that would not interfere with the war with France, and that he has no intention whatever of annexing Belgian territory, and that as soon as conditions will permit all German troops will be withdrawn from Belgium.

More generosity could hardly be expected from a victor, but Belgium has rejected the generous proffer. She is determined to continue her struggle against Germany in conjunction with France and England. Thus, Belgium is not defending its neutrality. It is an ally of the Triple Entente. Will our esteemed colleague, the "Tribune" still feign indignation that Germany is treating a foe as a foe? And will our worthy anglo-American contemporary ape England, that she make Belgium a pretense for renouncing her friendship for the Germans? The "Tribune" should submit the neutrality cat that has been let out of the Belgian bag to a closer inspection before she expresses an opinion.

THE "LOQUACIOUS" AMBASSADOR.

(From "The Fatherland," New York, September 23, 1914.)

The anti-German press is pleased to refer to Count Bernstorff as Germany's "loquacious" ambassador.

The Russian and the English ambassador, we are told, do not talk half so much. But we feel sure that both England and Russia would be mightily pleased if their ambassadors could talk half so well and to such excellent purpose. Everything that Count Bernstorff has touched has been successful, just as the mythical touch of Midas turned all things upon which he laid his hands into gold.

Count Bernstorff asked for the opening of the wireless station at Tuckerton; his request was granted.

Count Bernstorff protested against the habit of regarding this country as a naval base for belligerent powers; his protest was heeded.

Count Bernstorff protested against the arming of British commercial vessels leaving from American ports; again the American Government, with admirable fairness, met the ambassador's wishes.

Bernstorff's articles in the Times and in the Independent have already been too widely printed to need recapitulation here. All in all, Germany is to be congratulated on possessing so wide awake a spokesman. Count Bernstorff owes his success to his moderation. He never speaks without just cause; he never asks unless his request is righteous. There is nothing back-handed in his methods, he meets America fairly and squarely, in the same spirit in which our own Government is accustomed to act. No wonder England and Russia would like to cut the freedom of speech of the German ambassador as they have cut the German cable.

Note: Moreover, it requires the greater diplomat to talk freely and unhampered and yet discreetly and wisely! Any fool can play doctor by looking wise and saying nothing.—Editor.

Probably by this time the "movie" actors are fighting European battles in New Jersey.—From "Waterville Sentinel."

AN AUTHORITY ON NEUTRALITY.

Milwaukee Free Press.

To the Editor of the Milwaukee Free Press: Anent the hue and cry raised by the Anglo-American press against the German violation of Belgium neutrality—the protection of which was England's only pretext for entering the war—a quotation from a well-known English political writer, Homer Lea, in his "Day of the Saxon," published in 1912, is extremely apropos.

On page 213, he says: "The neutrality of a minor state once it is included in the theater of war waged between greater nations, becomes an anomaly. A kingdom in such a position invariably constitutes an area over which war is waged until one or the other combatants is capable of incorporating it within his base and forcing the conflict into the territories of the enemy. The neutrality of these three countries (Belgium, Holland and Denmark) has increased, not diminished the probabilities of war."

On page 215, "The northern strategic sphere (for England in time of war) includes military control over Belgium, the Netherlands and Denmark."

On page 226: "The occupation of the Persian and Afghanistan frontier prior to the war with Russia, or the European frontiers (Belgium, Holland and Denmark) in a conflict with Germany, arouses in the British nation an appearance of great opposition to the violation of neutral territory.

"This is false for the empire has never been moved by the sanctity of neutrality.

"It is only a means of evading responsibility and shifting it upon these nations, deluding themselves with the belief that such declarations are inviolable; whereas no nation has violated neutral territory and denied their obligations more frequently than England."

On page 227: "Neutrality of states under the conditions just mentioned has never heretofore nor will in future have any place in international association in time of war. Such neutrality is a modern delusion. It is an excrescence.

"In 1801 Maderia was taken possession of by the British without any previous communication to the court of Lisbon, in order that it should not fall into the hands of the French, observing in this action the true principle governing such activities in war.

"In 1807 the British fleet, without any notification, with no intimation given of hostile intentions, no complaint of misconduct on the part of Denmark, entered the Baltic, seized the Danish fleet and blockaded the island of Zealand on which is situated the city of Copenhagen.

"The purpose of this attack was to anticipate the occupation of Denmark and the use of her fleets by France. So correct is the principle of this initiation that it stands out with remarkable brilliancy in the darkness of innumerable military errors made by the Saxon race.

"If England were therefore justified in seizing Denmark in the beginning of the nineteenth century for no other heason than to prevent the employment of the Danish fleet by the French, how much more is she justified during peace in the twentieth century, in the occupation of its southern frontiers. . . ."

"That this principle was applicable in the beginning of the nineteenth century, but is not so under the civilization of the twentieth, is an erroneous conception of the principles that direct the conflict of nations. While England and other nations violated both peace and neutrality in the beginning of the nineteenth century, we find Russia and Japan doing the same thing in China and Korea in the beginning of the twentieth."

"Wars involving neutral states are governed by the following principles:

"1. Whenever a minor state rests between the bases of two combatants and constitutes a portion of the subsequent theater of war, it is essential to seize that state prior to or at the beginning of a war, either for one's own advantage or to prevent it from falling in the hands of the enemy.

"2. When the neutrality of a minor state constitutes an element of weakness to a great power, those frontiers from which arise the weakness should always be subject to the control of the military power.

"3. When the continental neutrality or independence of a minor state threatens the existence of a great power, as Korea threatened Japan, it should be deprived of its independence and absorbed by the greater power."

Now, Mr. Editor, it is a poor rule that doesn't work both ways. It strikes me this is a case of sauce for the goose—and another example of England's hypocrisy.

MARY BLAKE BROECKER.

Milwaukee, Sept. 27.

C. L. B. How would you justify von Bethmann-Holweg's reference to "a scrap of paper"?

I would justify it on the ground that the Chancellor of the German Empire knew exactly what he was talking about and was man enough to speak the truth. That the treaty which guaranteed Belgian neutrality had been rendered of no more value than the paper upon which it was written, by England, France and Belgium, was known to him when he made the remark and has since become known to the world at large. The blunt frankness of the Chancellor has been worked to death by England and will probably live in her histories along with the distorted "blood and iron" of Bismarck. It will live, however, as a monument to the frank and open diplomacy of Germany, in contradistinction to the secret intrigues of England, Russia and France.—From the "Questions and Answers" column of the "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung," October 27, 1914.—The Publisher of "War Echoes."

AN EXCUSE FOR A MINISTER'S MISTAKES.

Illinois Staats-Zeitung, Chicago.

Horace L. Brand.

The "Literary Digest" is the name of a weekly magazine published in New York by the Funk & Wagnalls Company.

We reprint below from its issue of September 26, 1914:

"Thus a bitter objection to the intervention of England in the European struggle is expressed by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, a labor member of Parliament, who published in the "Labor Leader" (Manhattan, England) the following severe criticism of Sir Edward Grey:

"The justifications offered are nothing but the excuses which ministers can always produce for mistakes. It has been known for years, that, in the event of a war between Russia and France on the one hand, and Germany on the other, the only possible military tactics for Germany to pursue were to attack France hotfoot through Belgium and then return to meet the Russians. The plans were in our war office. They were discussed quite openly during the Agadir trouble, and were the subject of some magazine articles, particularly one Mr. Belloc. Mr. Gladstone made it clear in 1870 that in a general conflict formal neutrality might be violated. He said in the House of Commons in August, 1870:

"I am not able to subscribe to the doctrine of those who have held in this house what plainly amounts to an assertion, that the simple fact of the existence of guarantee is binding on every party to it, irrespective altogether of the particular position in which it may find itself at the time when the occasion for acting on the guarantee arises."

"Germany's guarantee to Belgium would have been accepted by Mr. Gladstone. If France had decided to attack Germany through Belgium, Sir Edward Grey would not have objected, but would have justified himself by Mr. Gladstone's opinion."

Thus far the words of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, labor member of the British Parliament.

Mr. Keir Hardie—says the Literary Digest—also a labor member of Parliament, is a "brilliant supporter of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald."

It is common knowledge that the English people are NOT a unit in favor of England's participation in the war. But the "official class" in England is also divided, for two members of the British Council (viz: Lord Morley and Hon. John Burns) resigned their portfolios rather than follow Sir Edward Grey in his war upon Germany.

And now we learn that a labor member of Parliament openly accuses his government of making the so-called "violation of Belgian neutrality" an excuse "for mistakes made by ministers."

And England's own great statesman, Gladstone, made it clear that "in a general conflict formal neutrality might be violated."

Therefore Germany—according to the English view in 1870—was justified "in a general conflict" of violating the neutrality of Belgium. Why is the English view in 1914 different?

Because in 1870 England feared France more than Prussia and wanted to see France crushed. But in 1914 England feared Germany most and WANTED TO ENGAGE GERMANY IN WAR, so as to help France and Russia crush Germany's military power, while England destroyed its navy and commerce.

But the ILLINOIS STAATS ZEITUNG has repeatedly printed proof that Belgium had committed breeches of her neutrality long before German soldiers set foot upon Belgian soil and France violated Belgian neutrality because French troops crossed the Belgian frontier even before Germany declared war on France or France on Germany.

Thus England can find neither reasonable justification nor a plausible excuse for warring upon Germany, because "Belgian neutrality was violated by Germany" and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is another Englishman who is brave enough to tear the mask from official England's hypocritical face.

IN DEFENSE OF CIVILIZATION?

Editorial in The Chicago Tribune, August 26, 1914.

The assertion ascribed to the Taeglische Rundschau that Germany would retain all of Belgium which she occupies in this war is not consistent with the claims for American sympathy made by Germans and by German-Americans. The kaiser would have not a moral leg to stand on if he absorbed Belgium. His case against her is of the weakest. It is merely a case of military necessity, a case that may be conceded, for the time being under the law of self-preservation.

But if Germany asserts that she has a right to punish Belgium with the loss of her independence because Belgium refused to assent to the nullification of her pledged neutrality and thus to become a passive ally of Germany against a nation with which she was at peace, then Germany will forfeit the approval of the neutral world.

Let there be no doubt about this. If there is one nation in the European conflict which has the unmeasured sympathy and admiration of the American people it is Belgium. She has done her full duty under international law, and she has asserted her independence with splendid gallantry and heroic sacrifice. If there is any excuse for Germany's action against her it is only that of the direct necessity, and such excuse ceases with a German triumph. If, then, Germany insists upon taking Belgium, she will be punishing Belgium for doing her duty.

With such action Germany's policy would be stripped naked of moral claims and stand forth in the ugly guise of remorseless conquest. There would be nothing left of her claim, then, that she is defending civilization from barbarism, even if there were much to it now.

THE EXPOSURE OF THE BELGIAN NEUTRALITY FRAUD.

An astounding discovery has been made by the German authorities in the Belgian capitol. Amongst the archives of the military staff in Brussels, our authorities found nothing more nor less than a neatly written agreement between Belgium and England in which Belgium (Belgium, who was, oh! so neutral) is assigned the part which she was to play in the war against Germany. The "Nordd. Allg. Zeit." gives us the following information with regard to the discovered documents:

The English assertion that the infringement upon Belgian neutrality by Germany caused England's interference in the present war, is proven to be false by Sir Edward Grey's own statements. By means of the discovery made by the German authorities in the archives of the military staff in Brussels, a new light has been cast upon the pathos of moral indignation, with which Germany's invasion of Belgium was used by England, for the purpose of stirring up wrath against us. By the contents of a folio which bears the superscription, "English intervention in Belgium," it is plain to see that as long ago as 1906 the sending to Belgium of an English expedition corps was planned in case of a war between France and Germany. According to a document written to the Belgian Minister of War, on April 10th, 1906, it is to be seen that the Chief of the Belgian Military Staff, in conjunction with, and on the repeated advices of, Lieutenant Colonel Barnardiston, who was at this time English Military Attaché in Brussels, had worked out a definite plan for the combined operation of an English army-corps of 100,000 men, with a Belgian army-corps against Germany. The plan received the approval of the Chief of the Military Staff, Major General Geierson. The Belgian Military Staff was furnished with all information regarding the strength and membership of the English troops, as well as to the formation of the expedition corps, points of embarkation and exact calculations for the time necessary for transport, etc., etc.

With this information as a foundation, the Belgian Military Staff had prepared, in a detailed manner, plans for the transport of English troops, and for their shelter and maintenance. Co-operation was carefully planned far down to the very minutest details. The English army was to be supplied with a number of Belgian police, and the necessary interpreters and maps. Preparations were even made for the care of the English wounded. Dunkirk, Calais and Boulogne were designated as points of embarkation for the troops. From there they were to be transported by the French railways. The intended disembarkation in French harbors, and the transport through French territory, showed that these English-Belgian agreements had been preceded by arrangements with the French military staff. The three powers had made definite plans for the co-operation of the "combined armies," as the document reads. This is also made evident by the fact that to the secret papers a map of the French plan of march is joined. The above mentioned document contains some material of particular interest.

In one place we read that Lieutenant Colonel Bernardiston has stated that the support of Holland could not be relied upon. He also communicated confidentially that the English government intended to transfer to Antwerp, the basis for reinforcements, as soon as the North Sea was cleared of all German warships. The remainder of the article consisted of suggestions made by the English Military Attaché, for the establishment of a Belgian spying agency in the Rhein Provinces. An important complement to this material was furnished by the discovery of a document amongst the private papers of Baron Greindl, for many years the Belgian Minister to Berlin. In a communication to the Belgian Minister of the Exterior, the hidden designs which formed the foundation for England's offers are exposed with great acuteness. The Ambassador points out here the earnestness of the situation in which Belgium has placed herself, by assuming a partial attitude in favor of the powers of the Entente. In the detailed report dated Dec. 23, 1911, the full publication of which is withheld, Baron Greindl goes to say that the plans of the Belgian Military Staff for a defense of Belgium's neutrality, in case of a German-French war, touch only upon the question of the measures to be followed, in case of Germany's infringement upon Belgium's neutrality. The hypothesis of a French attack upon Germany through Belgium is equally probable. The Ambassador continues as follows: "From the French side, the danger threatens not only from the south from Luxembourg; it threatens upon all of our mutual boundary lines. This statement does not rest upon surmises; we have positive grounds for it." The thought of an encircling from the North doubtlessly originated with the combination of the Entente Cordiale. Had this not been the case, the plan to fortify Flushing would not have caused such an alarm in Paris and London. They made no secret whatever of their reasons for the Schelde to remain undefended. They expected to be able to transfer without hindrance an English garrison to Antwerp, as well as to establish a base of operations for the offensive, in the direction of the lower Rhein and Westphalia, and in this way to be able to take us Germans by storm, which would not have been difficult. For, after having surrendered our national place of retreat, and having allowed their entrance, we would, by our own fault, have deprived ourselves of every possibility of offering resistance to their exactions.

At the time of the founding of the Entente Cordiale, the utterances of Col. Barnardiston, which were as naive as they were perfidious, showed us Germans plainly what we had to expect. As it became evident that we were not intimidated by the supposedly threatening danger of the closing of the Schelde, the plan was, to be sure, not given up, but changed, in so far as that the English auxiliary army was landed, not on the Belgian coast, but in the nearest French harbors. Evidence of this is also found in the utterance of Capt. Faber, which were denied to the same extent, as were the reports in the papers, which confirmed and completed the statements. The English troops which were to be landed at Calais and Dunkirk were not to have marched along the borders to Longwy, in order to reach Germany; they were to force their way directly into the country from the northwest. This would give them the advantage of being able to meet the Belgian army in a region where we Germans would have no fortifications upon which to reply, in case we risked an encounter. It would make it possible for them to occupy provinces rich in all resources, and in any case to prevent our mobilization or to allow it, only after we had pledged ourselves to take up arms with England and her allies.

It is earnestly advised to draw up a plan of action for the Belgian army in case of this event. This is necessary in the interest of our military defense, as well as for the carrying on of our foreign policy, in case of a war between Germany and France.

These utterances, from an impartial point of view, confirm in a most convincing manner the fact that England, the same England which is now playing the part of protector of Belgian neutrality, had advised Belgium to assume a partial attitude in favor of the powers of the Entente, and that it had even planned an infringement of Holland's neutrality. For the rest, it is clear that the Belgian government, by succumbing to the enticements of England, committed a serious offense against its duties as a neutral power. The fulfillment of these duties would have required that the Belgian government forsee in her plans for the defense, the possibility of an infringement of her neutrality by France, and that in this case, she would have made certain agreements with Germany, as well as with France and England. The discovered papers form a documentary proof of the fact of the Belgian connivance with the powers of the Entente, which fact was known by the German authorities before the outbreak of war. They serve as a justification for German military action, and they confirm the information which the German military authorities have received regarding France's intentions. May these facts serve to enlighten the Belgian people, as to whom thanks is due for the catastrophe which has overtaken their unfortunate country!—"Hamburger Fremdenblatt."

ENGLAND THE ARCH CONSPIRATOR.

The Fatherland, New York.

Important revelations are forcing their way into publicity in spite of widespread prejudice, and gradually the truth concerning those who inspired the European war is coming to be understood.

The finger of guilt is pointing at England as the arch conspirator.

For weeks the American press organs of London and Paris had it their own way. This was a war of conquest by the Kaiser, a dynastic war, the war of organized militarism, and an unpardonable breach of neutrality

against Belgium, designed to overwhelm France and promote the territorial aggrandizement of Germany. To England was assigned the rôle of a benevolent power forced to take up arms in behalf of inoffensive Belgium, just as Russia was forced to take up arms in the defense of little Servia, threatened with national extinction by Austria-Hungary.

It was useless to quote from the London dispatches to the New York "Evening Post" that England had assembled her fleet in the North Sea, weeks before the war, in order to be ready to carry out her part in the preconcerted attack on Germany. It was useless to point out that the Paris "Gil Blas," a year before the war, announced that Maubeuge had been made a military emporium for British ammunition against the day when Germany was to be assaulted through Belgium, or that the Belgian forts were garrisoned with French troops, the French officers in German uniforms had been arrested at the German-Belgian frontier before a single German soldier had crossed the French border, and many other incidents proving that but for the prompt action of the German Government these various plans of invasion would have resulted in immediate disaster for the German nation.

We now have even more conclusive evidence that Belgium was not an innocent victim of a land-hungry War Lord, but a designing party to a preconcerted conspiracy to crush Germany.

This evidence consists of important documents discovered by the German military authorities in the archives of the Belgian General Staff at Brussels, documents found in a portfolio inscribed: **"Intervention Anglais-Belgique."** One of these documents is a report to the Belgian Minister of War, dated April 10, 1906, which gives the result of detailed negotiations between the Chief of the Belgian General Staff and the British Military Attache at Brussels, Lieut.-Col. Bernardiston.

This plan is of English origin and was sanctioned by Lieut.-Gen. Sir James M. Grierson, Chief of the British General Staff. It sets forth the strength and formation, and designates landing places for an expeditionary force of 160,000 men.

Continuing, it gives the details of a plan for the Belgian General Staff to transport, feed and find quarters for these men in Belgium, and provides for Belgian interpreters. The landing places designated are Dunkirk, Calais and Boulogne.

Lieut.-Col. Bernardiston is quoted as having remarked that for the present Holland could not be relied upon.

Another confidential communication declares that the British Government, after the destruction of the German navy, would send supplies and provisions by way of Antwerp.

There is also the suggestion from the English Military Attache that a Belgian system of espionage should be organized in the Prussian Rhineland.

A second document is a map showing the strategical positions of the French army **and demonstrating the existence of a Franco-Belgian agreement,** and a third is a report from Baron Greindl, the Belgian Minister at Berlin, to the Belgian Foreign Office, dated December 23, 1911. Be it said to the credit of the Belgian Minister, Baron Greindl, at Berlin, that he seriously objected to the famous "Conversations." (See "Case of Belgium.")—Editor.

The discovery of these incriminating documents follows within six days of the denial made by the London official press bureau—not the foreign office, be it remembered—that England had stored ammunition at Maubeuge prior to the outbreak of the war. To this denial was added the statement that "the determination to dispatch an expeditionary force to the Continent was not reached until Germany had violated the neutrality of Belgium, and Belgium had appealed for aid."

There is further evidence of Germany's honest conduct in the recent Russian Orange Book, an analysis of which appeared in the London "Economist" of September 12, and is all the more curious coming as it does from an organ of Russia's ally. We quote from it as follows:

"The reason for the Russian mobilization is somewhat surprising. According to the Orange Book, **the general mobilization orders were signed in Austria on July 28, whereas, according to Baron de Bunsen, our Ambassador in Vienna (White Paper No. 127), general mobilization in Austria was ordered on August 1.** Since the necessity for the Russian mobilization was based on the Austrian mobilization, and since the general Russian mobilization was the direct cause of the German mobilization . . ., which made war inevitable, it would seen to be important that this point should be cleared up. A further telegram, in the Orange Book, from Berlin, describing the issue of German mobilization orders **some time before it actually took place,** suggests that the Russian envoys were occasionally mistaken in their information."

That Germany wanted this war is so generally accepted that it is interesting to read what the Belgian Charge at St. Petersburg, M. De L'Escalle, wrote to his government at Brussels July 30th in an exhaustive report on conditions in the Russian Capital, in part as follows:

"The days of yesterday and today have been spent in the waiting for events that must follow the declaration of war by Austria-Hungary upon Servia. **What is incontestable is, that Germany has striven here, as well as at Vienna, to find some means of avoiding a general conflict.**

"This morning an official communiqué to the newspapers announces that the reserves have been called under arms in a certain number of governments. Knowing the discreet nature of the official communiqués, one can, without fear, assert that mobilization is going on everywhere.

"England began by allowing it to be understood that she did not want to be drawn into a conflict. Sir George Buchanan (British Ambassador) said that openly, today one is firmly convinced at St. Petersburg—one has even the assurance of it—that England will support France. This support is of enormous weight, and has contributed not a little to give the upper hand to the war party."

So here we have it that England would support France under any circumstances, whether Belgian neutrality were violated or not, and that this attitude of England was "of enormous weight and has contributed not a little to give the upper hand to the (Russian) war party."

Germany, then, was expected to butt its brains against the French line of forts while England secretly landed her 160,000 men at Dunkirk or Calais and with her French ally attacked the German forces in the flank through Belgium. This, too, in shameful disregard of Mr. Gladstone's avowed conviction that treaties of neutrality were not considered binding by England in an emergency such as confronted Germany in this instance. We may well repeat here Mr. Gladstone's utterances in 1870 when the Belgian neutrality treaty was under discussion:

"There is, I admit, the obligation of the treaty. It is not necessary, nor would time permit me, to enter into the complicated question of the nature of the obligation under that treaty. **But I am not able to subscribe to the doctrine of those who have held in this house, what plainly amounts to the assertion, that the simple fact of the existence of a guarantee is binding to every party to it, irrespective altogether of the particular position in which it may find itself at the time, when the occasion for acting on the question arises.** The great authorities on foreign policy, to whom I have been accustomed to listen, such as Lord Aberdeen and Lord Palmerston, never, to my knowledge, took that rigid, and, if I may venture to say so, that impracticable view of the guarantee."

How baseless the assertion, so often repeated, that Germany's aim in the war was to subdue Belgium despite **her statement to the contrary on August 2** that it felt obliged to prevent an attack from France through Belgium, and despite her offer to respect the integrity of the kingdom and its possession in return for the unobstructed passage of German troops, is shown in a new light by evidence developed since the fall of Liège. After that catastrophe, which should have satisfied the Belgian government of the futility of further resistance as well as satisfied the demands of national honor in fighting for a principle, Germany addressed to the King's government a further note, as follows (Belgian Gray Book):

"The fortress of Liège has been taken by assault after a courageous defense. The German Government regrets that such bloody encounters should have occurred. It is only by reason of the military measures of France that it has been forced to take the grave determination of en-

tering Belgium and of occupying Liège as a base for her further military operations. Now, that the Belgian Army has in heroic resistance against great superiority maintained the honor of its arms in the most brilliant fashion, the German Government prays his Majesty the King and the Belgian Government to avert from Belgium the further horrors of war. The German Government is ready for any agreement with Belgium. Once more Germany offers her solemn assurance, that she has not been actuated by any intention to appropriate Belgian territory and that such intention is far from her."

From these official statements and documentary evidence it requires a peculiarly warped mental attitude to gather the conclusion that Belgium was not hand-in-glove with England and France in a colossal conspiracy to destroy the German Empire. The proof of a military plan of co-operation is in the hands of the German Government; Russia in her Orange Book deliberately sets back the date of Austrian mobilization three days in order to make it appear that she did not mobilize until after Austria; the Belgian Charge bears out the German White Book that Germany strove "to find some means of avoiding a general conflict" both in St. Petersburg and Vienna; Mr. Gladstone, it is shown, would not have respected the neutrality of Belgium under circumstances such as environed Germany; England would have gone to war upon any other pretext, since she had her fleet assembled in the North Sea for the intended destruction of the German navy and the landing of marines at Antwerp, and Winston Churchill was quoted in London dispatches to New York papers as "delighted at a bare prospect of demonstrating England's naval might at Germany's expense." (New York "World" London cable.) And finally, so desirous of sparing Belgium was Germany that she sent another note to the Belgian Government after the fall of Liège and in the moment of an unexampled victory offering to make peace and disavowing all desire to appropriate Belgian territory. That, in brief, is the sum and substance of this official manifest of Germany's enemies.

BELGIUM NEUTRALITY MYTH, SAYS EMBASSY

Von Bernstorff Says Documents Prove Compact With England

(Reprinted from the "Milwaukee Free Press," October 4, 1914.)

Washington, Oct. 13.—Count von Bernstorff, German Ambassador, today issued a statement in connection with a telegram from Berlin announcing the finding in the archives of the Belgian general staff at Brussels by the German military authorities of documents which, it was claimed by Berlin, showed that details of the plan for landing an expeditionary English force in Belgium had been provided for long before the war. The statement follows:

"Neutrality Did Not Exist."

"The German ambassador drew special attention today to the telegram which came from German headquarters. This telegram proves the German contention that the allies did not intend to respect Belgian neutrality. It even proves more—namely, that Belgian neutrality practically did not exist and that the Belgian government was conspiring with the allies against Germany. Notwithstanding the denial coming from French sources, it is a fact that French prisoners were taken at Liège and at Namur who acknowledged that they had been in those fortresses before the German troops entered Belgium.

The Chancellor's Error.

"On the French side it has been asserted that the German chancellor in parliament had acknowledged that Germany was doing wrong in violating Belgian neutrality.* It must, however, not be overlooked that the chancellor further said: "We know that the allies do not intend to respect Belgian neutrality, and Germany, in the position she is in, attacked from three sides, cannot wait, while the allies can wait.' At that time the Belgian archives were not at the disposal of the German government."

Chinese Neutrality Assailed.

If the chancellor had known at the time he made his speech that Belgium was not neutral he would certainly have spoken of the alleged Belgian neutrality in a different way.

"Germany has violated the frontiers of no really neutral country," the statement concludes, while the allies are on record for disregarding all obligations toward China.

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*We quote the following from an editorial entitled "Belgium the Step-Child of England. The Myth of Belgian Neutrality," in "The Fatherland" (New York), for October 21, 1914:

The "violation" of Belgian territory by Germany is still unforgiven by those who have failed to grasp the full significance of the events leading up to the German invasion. We are told again and again that they admitted that Germany was committing a "wrong" in trespassing upon this "neutral" kingdom. The facts in the case are that Bethmann-Hollweg, inspired by the same ethical spirit in international politics which dominates President Wilson, made an honest but injudicious admission. He suspected that Belgium was no longer neutral. In the old days the suspicion itself would have justified the German raid. England would not have hesitated a minute in such a case. But, Bethmann-Hollweg, German Imperial Chancellor, overscrupulous, made no accusation against Belgium. Even if his evidence had been incontrovertible, he would still have maintained his peculiar point of view.

The Chancellor of the German Empire is certainly not a Nietzschean. Bernhardi leaves him cold. He does not lean on Treitschke. In fact, Bethmann-Hollweg is more of a moralist than a diplomat. To his mind two wrongs do not make a right. Belgium wronged Germany. Justice demanded a reparation. Germany's supreme duty of self-preservation made such a reparation imperative. Nevertheless the Chancellor held that such an action on Germany's part, even if practically necessary and entirely defensible from the point of everyday ethics, was wrong from the point of view of the new statesmanship which applies even to statecraft the tenets of Christianity. Belgium smote Germany on the left cheek. The Chancellor realized that from a certain idealistic point of view it would have been noble to turn the right. For practical reasons, Germany decided otherwise, and hit back. Hitting back may not be ethical, but it is inevitable, sometimes.

An English statesman in Bethmann-Hollweg's place would have explained that it was Germany's "moral" duty to invade Belgium, but the German temperament despises hypocrisy. As a matter of fact, the Chancellor would have been justified if he had made such a statement. It WAS the moral duty of Germany to save the Belgian people from the intrigues of her ministers who played into the hand of the allies. When the Germans reached Belgium and, more recently in Antwerp, they found incontrovertible evidence, cited by Dr. Dernburg and others, that Belgium had violated her neutrality, that she was conspiring with the enemy, that she was merely England's cat's paw in the great war game.

This discovery justified any act of reprisal on the part of Germany. If it had not been for the flagrant breach of neutrality on the part of Belgium and the sniping of German soldiers, Germany would have been even more lenient in her treatment of the misguided people. As it was, after the fall of Liege, and before the fall of Brussels, Germany again and again offered Belgium guarantees of her national integrity and compensation for her losses, if she would desist from her unneutral policy into which her rulers, hiding behind a somewhat shadowy treaty, had plunged her.

The neutrality treaty was invalid legally, for it had never been signed by the German empire. The German empire was legally no more responsible for the action of the North German Confederacy than the United States assumes responsibility for the actions of states before their incorporation into the Union. Belgium's only claim was a moral claim. But even that was forfeited by her alliance with the enemies of Germany. In view of her unneutral acts the treaty, already antiquated, was indeed a mere "scrap of paper."—From "The Fatherland."—Editor.

America has two things to be thankful for in the present time of armed uproar. One is the Atlantic ocean and the other is the Pacific ocean.—From "The Daily News."

The Heroic Deed of Protecting a Neutrality that was not Good Will and Ability to Protect Belgium!

BERNARD SHAW SHOWS UP ENGLAND'S HYPOCRISY.

London, February 21.—The "Nation" publishes the following from Bernard Shaw:

"Neutrality is an utter humbug. That is my position. There is no such thing as a breach of neutrality, because there is no such thing as neutrality. I hope that is clear enough.

"The importance of bringing this simple and natural fact home at present arises from three considerations:

"1. The danger of obscuring the real issue by the false issue of the neutrality of Belgium.

"2. The danger that, instead of real terms of peace, fictitious terms in the form of fresh guarantees of neutrality may be accepted as valid.

"3. The general objection to throwing stones when you live in glass houses and are allied to Eastern Powers, whose whole history is a huge cucumber frame.

Committed to These Propositions.

"Those who insist that neutrality is real and sacred are committed by the facts to the following propositions:

"1. Germany has not violated Belgian neutrality. She has made war on Belgium, which her guarantee of Belgium's neutrality in no way abrogated her right to do; and her guarantee of Belgium's neutrality still stands in spite of the war. and actually entitles her to treat the violation of it by another Power as a *casus belli.*

"2. France and England have violated the neutrality of Belgium by invading her and fighting on her soil, though they do not war upon her.

"3. Germany offered to keep the peace with Belgium on condition of that right of way which Great Britain was the first to demand and enforce by war in China.

"4. Great Britain and France refused to respect Belgian neutrality except on a condition which they knew would not be fulfilled, and which, in any case, Belgium could not control; namely, that Germany would keep peace with Belgium.

"5. Germany offered peace in Belgium.

"6. Great Britain ordered war peremptorily.

Discredits Belgian Pretext for War.

"I defy any international jurist to put a creditable complexion on these propositions, except by showing that they are the *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory of neutrality, and by admitting that Belgium might as well have been a free country as a neutralized one, for all the use that the guarantee proved. And it is because I am not duped by that theory that I have set myself to discredit the Belgian pretext for war, and to induce our ministers and newspapers to drop it.

"I did so even before the documents found in Brussels by the Germans left the foreign office so completely bowled out of the Belgian point by the German Chancellor that it had not a word to say, and was reduced to hiring a street boy to put out his tongue at him. That was what came of not taking my advice and evacuating an untenable position.

"I pass on to the Monroe Doctrine, cited as the supreme modern case of neutralization. The Monroe Doctrine is balderdash. It is not a doctrine at all. Its validity to any intelligent person is exactly what it was to Cortez and Pizarro and the Mayflower Pilgrims, to Clive, to William the Conqueror, Caesar, Napoleon, Hengist and Horsa, Joshua in Canaan, Henry V. in France, Kitchener in the Sudan, Kruger and Cecil Rhodes in South Africa, Strongbow in Ireland, Edward in Scotland, Russia in Siberia, and Japan in the advantage she has taken of the war to make a startling Frederican grab in Mongolia and Manchuria, which has just leaked out after months of concealment by our Government.

Will Not Notice Monroe Doctrine.

"I have as much right to annex and ravage the State of Colorado as Rockefeller. If the British Empire ever decides to annex the United States, say, with a view to improving the local Government, it will not take the slightest notice of the Monroe Doctrine, nor will the public opinion of the world be in the very faintest degree biased by it by the breach thereof.

"If the United States should ever decide to annex Canada or Alaska, on the ground that the Monroe Doctrine obviously requires the extrusion of Great Britain and Russia from the North American Continent, they will have to take exactly the same steps as if the Monroe Doctrine had never been formulated or thought of. The Monroe Doctrine did not help the redskins against the white man, and it will not help the redskins' conqueror when his turn comes.

"Why is it that the European militarists who annex every country they can conquer are not at all likely to annex America, and even pretend to respect the Monroe Doctrine as an excuse for not trying to? Because they are afraid of the army and navy and people of the United States.

"Why did Germany make war on Belgium? Because she was afraid to delay the rush to Paris by attacking France through Lorraine and Alsace.

"Why did she attack France? Because she was terrified by Russian mobilization, and afraid France would strike her from behind when she was attacked by Russia.

"Why did we attack Germany? Because we were afraid of her growing naval strength, and believed she would be irresistible if she conquered Russia and France, and thus left us without effective allies.

"Frightened animals are dangerous, and man is no exception. We in the west of Europe are all fighting because we were afraid not to. If the war is to be concluded on ethical principles of any sort, then the settlement will be exactly what it would have been if there had been no war."—The Crucible.

GERMANY AND BELGIUM.

Editorial.

The Chicago Tribune.

The German defense for its invasion of Belgium seems to be as mobile as its wonderful army. The most loyal pro-German must "move lively" to keep up with it.

As we have understood the German position, it is about like this: In the first place, Germany invaded Belgium because necessity knows no law, and, regretting the wrong done her and Luxembourg, compensation would later be given. Second, Germany invaded Belgium because it was certain that France would invade Belgium to attack Germany. Third, Germany invaded Belgium because France had invaded Belgium first. Fourth, and latest, Germany's invasion of Belgium was not a breach of neutrality, because Belgium was not neutral, but had entered into a plot with England to help her in an attack on Germany.

Doubtless in due time the reason why Germany invaded Belgium will become clear and settled, even in Germany.[1] In the meantime the world will continue to sympathize profoundly with the unhappy Belgian people, and attempts to fix upon them or even their government, responsibility for their tragic misfortunes will have to be sustained by the most indubitable of proofs if they are not to react against the German appeal to the world conscience.[2]

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[1]If the hysterical editorial writer of "The Tribune," who seems to take delight in sneering at Germany, would shed fewer crocodile tears for "poor, unhappy little Belgium," sympathize in less high sounding phrases, and would, instead, have told his audience in plain English what he knew about the sacredness of Belgian neutrality, there would not have been any necessity for his readers to be in doubt as to the Belgian neutrality myth.

"The reason why Germany invaded Belgium" does not seem "clear and settled" to "The Tribune's" editorial writer at as late a date as October 15. He should have informed himself and his readers by availing himself of Professor Burgess's article, "Belgian Neutrality, Its Real Meaning," which, "The Vital Issue" says, was released to the press of this country the latter part of September, i. e., some three weeks before "The Tribune's" champion of "poor, unhappy little Belgium" wrote that "attempts to fix upon them (the Belgian people) or even their government, responsibility for their tragic misfortunes will have to be sustained by the most indubitable of proofs if they are not to react against the German appeal to the world conscience."

Facts are what the American people want, not crocodile tears or hysterical editorials. Facts, cold facts,

are contained in Professor Burgess's article which is reprinted in this section.

Why did not the editorial writer of "The Tribune" or, as far as that goes any other Anglo-American editorial writer in Chicago, refer to Professor Burgess's article which certainly throws the true light on "Belgian Neutrality?"

Because it does not suit their policy that the American people should know the whole truth!

But all of the American people cannot be fooled all of the time.

The anti-German editorial propagandists are finding this out.

Apropos these sentiments, in Germany, "why Germany invaded Belgium" has always been entirely "clear and settled." Any doubt about this "existed" only in the perverse minds of the German-hating press on both sides of the water.—Editor.

[2]We reprint below the first part of an editorial entitled "Belgium The Step Child of England—The Myth of Belgian Neutrality." This was published by "The Fatherland" (New York) in its issue for October 21. This may counteract in a measure the effect of the hysterical editorials written by fanatical writers, such as "The Chicago Tribune's" editorial writer and others of his ilk.

"The Fatherland" says:

"Antwerp has fallen after a brave defense by the Belgians (and fifteen thousand English). Germany crushed the last stronghold of Belgium. We are sorry for Belgium. But Antwerp was one of the strongest fortresses in the world, second only to Paris. The 'little' Belgian nation has been annihilated by the Germans. But as far as numbers were concerned the Belgians and their allies outnumbered the Germans. 'Little' Belgium stood alone. Possibly. But, behind her in battle array, were three of the greatest nations of Europe. To compare their defense of Antwerp to Thermopylae or to William Tell's defense of Switzerland is silly. The Spartans at Thermopylae and the Swiss under Tell were not financed, fed, supported on land and sea by seven warring countries. The Belgians made a valiant defense of their country, but King Albert and a large part of his army fled from the invader unlike those braves of Leonidas, to whom the New York 'Evening Sun' lachrymosely compares them. How far more glorious, how far more heroic is the defense of Kiauchau, that lone lost German fortress in the Far East, battling without hope of relief, far from home, against the combined attacks of Japan, England and Russia. Here indeed is a modern parallel with Thermopylae and all the valiant deeds of history. For the little German garrison, posted there, is defending not only its own existence and the flag of its country, but civilization itself.

"We do not know what sinister advices were responsible for the action of Belgium. Surely it would have been wiser, and no less compatible with honor, to observe a benevolent neutrality, granting the passage of German troops through Belgium, than to subject the country to the devastation of modern warfare. When Belgium considers her situation calmly she will realize that she has more to hope from Germany than from the Allies who first goaded her into war and then thrice betrayed her. They betrayed her when their armies fled from Belgium for 'strategic' reasons, leaving the little country to her fate and to the German siege guns. They again betrayed her when they refused, for 'strategic' reasons, to come to her relief when Antwerp was threatened. But worst of all is her final betrayal by England, who would rather see the last Belgian starve than one German soldier fed.

"London reports that Brussels is fearing a famine. Yet, now that Belgium's usefulness is exhausted, England refuses to send food. She even refuses to permit ships carrying food supplies to land, unless Germany gives assurances that she will not supervise the division of the food. Inasmuch as Belgium is at present a part of the German Empire, Germany can give no such assurance. Hence John Bull permits four hundred thousand Belgian women and children to starve to death. Not that he loves Belgium less, but that he hates Germany more. England is not the foster-mother but the stepmother of Belgium. Fortunately Belgium can look to Germany for succor. She will not starve as long as she remains under German rule, in spite of reports to the contrary. Betrayed, forsaken, bleeding, Belgium begins to realize her mistake. She will see that Germany holds her promises sacred, even if she calls them 'scraps of paper.' England calls them by all sorts of holy names, but has no compunction whatever to violate her most sacred obligations, if it suits her convenience."

TREATY VIOLATIONS.

The Fatherland, New York.

It is funny to hear England, France and Russia express their indignation over Germany's violation of written guarantees. Not one of these countries was ever known to keep a promise or a guarantee it suited her to break.

The late Empress Dowager of China issued an edict against the cultivation and use of opium in the Empire, and provided for its complete extermination within ten years. Many Governments, including the United States and Great Britain, agreed to help enforce the edict. It seemed that the day of deliverance had come.

But Great Britain broke faith in the matter, as she has done many times before. The Indian government, which receives a revenue of more than $10,000,000 a year from the opium traffic, is not willing to relinquish that advantage and opium in enormous quantities is still being shipped into China in defiance of all protests.

The island upon which Hongkong stands, giving British foothold in China, was exacted as indemnity for several shiploads of opium that were destroyed by the Chinese to prevent their accursed cargoes from reaching the people.

Of late we have been hearing much of the Aland Islands, where the German ships were reported to have defeated a Russian squadron. In 1907 or 1908 the Russia Duma appropriated a large sum of money for the fortification of the Aland Islands, lying off the coast of Finland in the Baltic Sea. As these islands lie nearer Sweden than Finland, and as Russia, by the treaty of March, 1856, pledged herself not to fortify them, representations were at once made to the St. Petersburg Government from Stockholm calling Russia's attention to the treaty and declaring that Sweden's defense would be seriously menaced by such fortifications.

Sweden did not feel herself strong enough to go to war over the question, and as her protests were disregarded, she forthwith appealed to France and England, who were also signatories of the treaty of 1856, which specifically declared that "the Aland Island shall not be fortified and no naval or mliitary force shall be established there." The appeal placed both England and France in an embarrassing position. Both countries guaranteed the perpetual neutrality of Sweden, but both were most favorably disposed toward Russia; France on account of the dual alliance and England because of the Anglo-Russian agreement. And Stockholm was justified in her fear that neither France nor England would interfere, especially because the fortification by Russia of the islands in question served to diminish the preponderance of German influence in the Baltic.

Sweden ceded Finland, with the Aland Islands, to Russia in 1809. Twenty years later, Russia proceeded to fortify the islands. England thereupon objected, but without avail. During the Crimean War, Bomarsund was built, and a combined French and English fleet had to blow its forts to pieces.

France and England conveniently ignored Sweden's appeal, and permitted Russia to fortify the island against the day when they would be joined in war against Germany.

When Secretary Hay established "the open door in China" as a principle of American policy, the only nation that supported him was Germany. It still remains in active force. In total disregard of the United States, Russia seized Port Arthur and Ta-Lien-Wan and other Chinese possessions, but guaranteed to observe all treaty rights. But no sooner had she taken forcible possession of Manchuria than she showed her hand. Instead of keeping the door at Port Arthur open, the Russian Consul at Tien-Tsin one morning startled his colleagues by announcing that foreigners could not be allowed at Port Arthur or at Ta-Lien-Wan without passports issued

by him. Both Chinese and foreigners bitterly complained, but no heed was paid to them. That was one reason why the United States strongly sympathized with Japan in her war with Russia.

No doubt that in this country, a few years ago, thousands of honest people believed that Great Britain's war upon the Dutch republic in South Africa was a righteous and high-minded crusade. One heard on all hands that once more "dear old England" had taken up the banner of civilization and consecrated herself to the salvation of mankind. The Boers were obstacles in the pathway of human progress. Down with them! We heard it in the clubs; we read it in the administration organs; we saw it in our foreign policy.

NEUTRALITY VIOLATED BY ENGLAND CUTTING CABLE.

Translation of Editorial Which Appeared in the "Illinois Staats-Zeitung," Chicago, August 8, 1914, in German.

England accuses Germany of violation of neutrality laws, as has been previously reported, in order to cloak the definite objects and well formed plans for and by which it has for scores of years paved the way for war with Germany. At the same time it commits a more important breach of the laws of neutrality by cutting at the Azores the cable which connected Germany with America. Although the proposal of Cyrus Field in 1872 to place all transatlantic cables in neutral zones during wars was not adopted at the third telegraphic conference in Rome, still in Paris in 1884 the protocol of the convention of submarine cables was signed by thirty-eight states, among which England was included; which convention established not only the political and commercial rights of the owners of submarine cables but also recognized the demands of cultured nations to possess rapid means of communication.

The cutting of the German cable by the English warships was a disgraceful act, and it shows up the English hypocrisy of striving for ideals of humanity, in its own miserableness.

We German-Americans especially, but really the entire world outside of the Triple Alliance, are thus robbed of the possibility to obtain a true, uncolored picture of the events which are taking place upon the European battlefields, which we could have hoped to obtain only via the German cable Emden-Azores.

The last possibility is now removed. To be sure the wireless station at Nauen, near Berlin, is able to send messages to the stations at Tuckerton and Sayville upon the Atlantic Ocean, but our government seems to intend to stretch its perfectly proper stand of strict neutrality to such an extent that the successful operation of these stations will be stopped.*

We must therefore be prepared to learn of a superabundance of victories won by the English, French, Russians, Belgians, Servians and Montenegrins. We do not like to make bets, but we will bet a German battery against a Russian pocket pistol that such reports will be lies, and intended only to picture Germany as a forlorn loser. One feels so confident that these barefaced lies cannot be controverted through any German corrections, that one only yesterday tried to convince us (Americans) that two German cavalry regiments attempted to capture the forts at Liège and thereby were totally annihilated. From such ridiculous statements we can judge how much credence we can give to the reports emanating in the near future from English sources.

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*Since this editorial was published, these two wireless stations have been allowed to operate under the surveillance of U. S. Government officials in order to prevent messages from being sent to German warships at sea. This act would constitute a violation of U. S. neutrality. However, some apparatus of the powerful Tuckerton station, which is the only one that can send as well as receive messages from Germany, has broken down, and up to the time of our going to press with "War Echoes" it has been impossible to remedy the accident. We understand that the Sayville station can only receive messages, as its apparatus is not powerful enough to send them.—Editor.

But on July 9th the station was again taken over by the United States military authorities, evidently to act as a censor on the messages sent.—Editor, War Echoes.

HAS GERMANY VIOLATED BELGIAN NEUTRALITY?

Herman Schoenfeld, Ph. D., LL. D. Professor of Germanics, George Washington University.

The Fatherland, New York.

Of all the insinuations and aspersions against Germany's sinful aggression none remains but the violation of Belgian neutrality. It does not suffice to exonerate Germany by stating even the true facts that Germany never guaranteed Belgium neutrality, but Prussia did, and that Prussia's guarantee could not be binding upon the other twenty-four sovereign states of the empire. This would stand in law, but would not stand in ethics. Nor does it suffice to prove that French aviators used Belgian territory in all its breadth, without protest, to enter Germany and drop bombs on Cologne.

Even the established fact that Belgium has for years leaned strongly on France, even if there did not exist a formal military convention, has accepted French money and French officers and engineers for building of gigantic fortifications against Germany, did not necessarily vitiate Belgian neutrality, since a neutralized state has the right to make its neutrality respected. It is true that a question arises here in international law, whether a permanently neutralized state, by strong fortification and military armament, does not invite attack, since such military acts constitute a priori a contradiction of neutrality, and may be rightfully construed as a revocation of neutrality treaties by the neutralized state itself, especially if the latter racially, politically, and in a military way has for years veered manifestly towards powerful, antagonistic and now openly hostile states, like France and England.

The British pretext of war against Germany on the score of the violation of Belgian neutrality sounds false and rings untrue on the part of England, which in a very much slighter emergency, without word of warning, steamed into the port of Copenhagen, carried away the unsuspecting Danish fleet and occupied the port herself till after the Napoleonic wars. And when the British government, upon the direct question of the German ambassador, Prince Lichnowski, absolutely refused to bind itself to respect Belgian neutrality to the end of this war, the powerful port of Antwerp in the hands of the British being nothing less than Hamburg in the hands of the strongest naval enemy, it would have been absolute folly, on the part of Germany, still further to consider Belgium a neutral state.

Even more hypocritical than the English standpoint towards the sacredness of Belgian neutrality, has been the position of France toward it since the very inception of the illegitimate birth of that state.

In an essay, "Theoretical Permanent Neutrality in Political Practice" (Geo. Washington Univ. Publications, Politics and Diplomacy Series, vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 25-40, January 1906), I have proven, I believe, that Belgium was founded as a neutral state solely to save her from the cupidity of France.

The declaration of Belgium independence and neutrality in London, November 15, 1831, by the representatives of England, Austria, Belgium, France and Russia (no Prussian representatives being present) was considered merely the lesser evil; the other alternative was absorption by France. The Memoirs of Prince Talleyrand reveal unmistakably the fact that the French government fostered the plan of the partition of Belgium. The Austrian envoy, Weissenburg, reported to Vienna: . . . "France arms from head to foot and burns with impatience to cross the frontier of Belgium."

But this may seem old history. More recent events will be more convincing. In my work, Bismarck's Speeches and Letters, D. Appleton & Co., New York, p. 314 ff., it is mentioned that the revelation of secret state documents by Bismarck proves beyond a shadow of a doubt that an alliance with Prussia had been eagerly sought by the French government for the entire acquisition or the partitionment of Belgium. These revelations, conclusive as they are, furnish one of the most painful chapters in diplomatic history, with regard to the French greed of territorial expansion, and the cruelty with which the iron chancellor exposed the unsatiety of French appetite. The condemnation of French perfidy

against Belgium's treaty rights was universal, and the purpose of her integrity was attained.

In a circular dispatch of July 29th, Bismarck revealed the existence of several draft treaties written by Count Benedetti on the official paper of the French embassy. All Europe was amazed when the London Times printed the draft treaty of the autumn of 1866 which promised Prussia a free hand to deal with Germany as she pleased, for one compensation —Belgium.

"From this time on," Bismarck writes, "the French ambassador never ceased to tempt us by offers at the expense of Germany or Belgium. The impossibility of accepting any offers of that kind was never doubtful to me; but I deemed it useful in the interest of peace to leave to the French statesmen the illusions peculiar to them, as long as this would be possible without giving them any, even oral promises. I supposed the destruction of every French hope would endanger the peace, to preserve which was to the interest of Germany and of Europe.

"I was not of the opinion of those statesmen who advised not to try to prevent the war with France, because it was inevitable. No one penetrates so surely the purposes of divine providence with regard to the future, and I consider even a victorious war per se, as an evil which a wise statesmanship must endeavor to spare to the nations. I had no right to calculate without the possibility that in the constitution and politics of France changes might take place which might have led the two great neighboring peoples above the necessity of a war—a hope which was benefitted by every delay of a rupture. For this reason I was silent concerning the suggestions made, and treated them in a dilatory way without, on my part, ever giving as much as a promise. I have the impression that only the definite conviction of France's inability to attain an extension of her boundaries with us, led her to the resolution of obtaining it against us. I have even good reasons to believe, that, if the publication in question had not appeared, France would have offered to us, after the completion of her own and our armaments, to carry out in common the propositions made to us formerly, as against unarmed Europe, at the head of a million of armed warriors, namely, to conclude a peace after or before the first battle, on the basis of Count Benedetti's propositions, at the expense of Belgium.

"After the negotiations with the king of the Netherlands concerning the purchase of Luxumburg had failed, the French proposals comprising Belgium were constantly repeated.

"At this juncture occurred the communication of the Benedetti manuscript.

"It was indicated to me that in the case of a French occupation of Belgium we should find our Belgium somewhere else ("nous trouverions notre Belgique ailleurs").

"Concerning the text of these proposals, I remark that the draft in our hands is written from beginning to end by the hand of Count Benedetti, on the paper of the French Ambassador, and that the ambassadors, or envoys, of Austria, Great Britain, Russia, Bavaria, Belgium, Hesse, Italy, Saxony, Turkey, Württemberg, who have seen the original, recognized the hand-writing."

Bismarck's revelations, simultaneously in Berlin and in London, as afore-mentioned, with regard to the French attempts at Belgian independence, produced a profound agitation in Belgium and in all Europe.

It is more than likely that a different statesman from Bismarck might have succumbed to the almost irresistible temptaiton, and the French plot for the partitionment of Belgium would have succeeded then and there. And it is certain that against such a combination of force as France and Prussia, united would have offered, any protest from the other signatory powers would have been inefficient, especially if means and ways had been found to equalize "the balance of power" by other compensations.

But to the eternal glory and honor of Bismarck and Prussia be it said, the great chancellor built the German empire without sacrificing any Belgian territory to perfidious France, saving Belgium and frankly warning her of her danger. Knowing history and knowing the hankering of France for Belgium, the German government in the extreme hour of necessity pleaded with Belgium for a right of way, vowing every possible compensation and security and territorial integrity, but the Belgian king and government, with that blindness which so often dooms—as it were, through the powers of darkness—those who are ripe for a fall, preferred to throw their country into the arms of their worst enemies and destroyers.

When the French statesman, Count Benedetti, promised Bismarck, "You shall find your Belgium somewhere else," he did not dream that the noble kingdom, which was industrially, culturally, and politically one of the most advanced and progressive states in Europe, would be hurled by its own demented rulers into the arms of France, its destroyer and plotter, even before it emerged from the womb of time. There lies the violation of Belgium neutrality, not in Germany's procedure, to whom she owed her independent existence, and who was eager and determined to guarantee it again and forever.

GREAT BRITAIN'S CASE.

New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, New York.

Herman Ridder.

It is interesting to note that while our cousins across the water are attempting to open our eyes to the German propaganda, they are allowing no grass to grow under their own feet. There is little to be gained now by saying that Germany was the first—as she was not—to seek the moral support of the American people by such means, or that England was the first. Both nations have stated their case, each from its own point of view, for our benefit. The appearance, therefore, of "Great Britain's Case," the collaborated effort of certain members of the Faculty of Modern History at Oxford, has no external significance other than that England now confesses that she is calling upon her last line of reserves to carry the day. We welcome the brochure, not that we need it, but as additional evidence of the terrible sincerity of England's present day desire to chain us to her chariot wheels.

As yet we have but the excerpts from the pamphlet made public by the British Embassy in Washington. We may with reasonable justice, however, assume that these contain in a large measure the cream of the pamphlet itself. And among these excerpts there is much that is good history and much that is not, and less that is good argument. My eye was caught by the following statement, in particular: "It is desirable to point out that Bismarck, in 1870, made full use of the Belgian treaty to prevent England from supporting the cause of France. The result was that Germany and France entered into an identical treaty with Great Britain (August, 1870) to the effect that if either belligerent violated Belgian territory, Great Britain would co-operate with the other for the defense of it." This is unquestionable good history. So let us profit by it. The neutralization of Belgium was accomplished originally by a treaty, concluded in 1839, to which England, Prussia, Russia and France were all signatory. By the time the Franco-Prussian war came upon the tapis, this treaty was admittedly of little value for the particular purpose for which in part it was written. England, with an eye ever to the sustenance of Belgium as an independent state to buffer the English coast, used the threat of interference to secure from both of the then belligerent nations a further guarantee of the integrity of Belgium. If we but apply the attitude of Gladstone to the conditions which existed immediately prior to the outbreak of the present war, we are forced to a conclusion which absolves the Belgian question from any connection, except that of pretext, with England's motives for going to war with Germany. The offer made by the German Emperor on August 1, 1914, through the Imperial Chancellor and the Ambassador at London, of the unconditional guarantee of Belgian neutrality in return for the neutrality of England, was in no essential sense different from the written agreement entered into by Bismarck in 1870. The outcome has proven but one thing: that England, seeing in Germany nothing but danger to her own ill-gotten Empire, reading in Germany nothing but the vaporings of the "Prussian School of History," had attired her attitude on the subject of Belgian neutrality, and no longer content with preserving the integrity of Belgium as a buffer state, was prepared to use the violation of Belgian neutrality as an excuse to be in "at the killing." She

had the same offer given her in 1914 that was given her in 1870. Can her able defenders explain why she did not accept it?

Again, in a very unhistorical manner, these historians formulate a journalistic phrase of convenience: "The war, in which England is now engaged with Germany, is fundamentally that of raison d'état (right of the state) against the rule of the law. One nation claims a prerogative to act outside and above the public law of Europe in order to secure the 'safety' of its own state, while the other stands for the rule of public law." Apparently the Oxford professors are eager to prove their introductory assertion that "We are not politicians." They show themselves hopelessly out of touch with the actualities of government; as we are indebted to the English, not to the German, Government, for the enlightening expression of the "Supreme Duty to insure National Safety." The British Government has certainly acted more exclusively on the principle of "raison d'état" than has Germany, which has been trying to make the sometimes inevitable clash between raison d'état and the rule of the law least destructive. It is necessary only to recall the conciliatory notes addressed by Berlin to Brussels. We have heard of no such considerate requests being addressed by London to Constantinople in connection with the raison d'état diplomatic expulsions from neutral Egypt or of such conciliatory requests being addressed by London to the powers which neutralized the Suez Canal in connection with the raison d'état use of the Suez Canal as a military base. We are unaware of any English protest against the Japanese raison d'état violation of Chinese neutrality or of an explanation of the raison d'état sinking by the English of the Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse within the three mile limit of a neutral country.

It is unfortunate that England should have found for her ultimate defense men apparently so little qualified to realize hard facts. It is, in turn, not surprising that Treitschke and Bernhardi have once more been brought into the fray. Apparently quite a number of Englishmen, now well advanced in years, were in Berlin when, 30 or 40 years ago, Treitschke was at the height of his always limited popularity, based chiefly, as I said the other day, on his brilliant, but very narrowly limited exposition of the forces of the young Empire. As to Bernhardi, it is worth while to repeat, that up to the beginning of this year six editions only had appeared of his work on "the next war." The edition of a semi-scientific volume consists usually of about 1,000 copies. It is clear, therefore, that very few Germans had, before the war, read Bernhardi's book. But enough has been said in the press on this point to make the outsider realize that neither Treitschke nor Bernhardi can be fastened upon the German people as a typical representative, any more than H. G. Wells and the others of his ilk can be made out to be typical representatives of the English people.

Another item of important news, with reference to the causes of the war, is the discovery in Brussels of certain documents which clearly show a military understanding of some age between England and Belgium. The English government, in its attempt to explain away the significance of this discovery, admits that "some notes with reference to the subject may exist in the archives of Brussels." It merely deprecates their importance and seeks to show that they were of a defensive and not of an aggressive character. It contends that such arrangements with Belgium were justified in view of the provocation of France by Germany in the Morocco imbroglio, and of the construction by Germany of military railroads to the Belgian frontier. It tries, in other words, to shift the blame to Germany. It considers its action as one brought about purely by a desire to oppose German aggression. The action of Germany in the Morocco trouble was caused directly by the agreement between France and England allotting Morocco to the French sphere of influence and Egypt to the English sphere of influence. As far as the construction of strategic railroads is concerned, such railroads as exist from Germany into Belgium merely serve the enormous interchange of peaceful traffic which has been growing in recent years at an amazing pace. There are no railroad lines to the Belgian frontier which can be designated as "strategic." Only a railroad which fails to maintain itself in times of peace and which is at the same time of paramount value in times of war, may be called a strategic line.

The notes dealing with the military arrangements between Great Britain and Belgium, may, when fuller reports become available, contain other interesting facts. One thing is already clear: the arrangements for the protection of Belgian neutrality contemplated a co-operation with France against Germany, but not one with Germany against France. Why did the cherisher and defender of small nations, Great Britain, arrange in so one-sided a manner for the maintenance of the integrity of Belgium? Why did Belgium continue such a one-sided arrangement with Great Britain, when Belgium's own Minister reported on the "danger of French attack, threatening us not only near Luxemburg, but on the whole length of the common frontier," and impugned the motives of the French and English in volunteering as special "protectors" of Belgium? All that Germany has ever contended is proved by that part of these Brussels dispatches which has been accepted by England. Germany has maintained only that she had the gravest of reasons for assuming the existence of military plans prepared by the English and French and involving a passage through Belgium. For its conclusions, Germany had no other mode or code of reasoning than that adopted by England and France. England and France acted as soon as they thought that they detected German aggressiveness. Germany acted as soon as she thought she detected English and French aggressiveness. The General Staff of all of these countries had worked out plans against attacks by the others through Belgium. When Germany's repeated offers of neutrality for Belgium, France and England were rejected, she had no other choice than to interpret the Belgian, English and French military conventions as hostile rather than defensive. So, in the light of these latest disclosures and of England's comments thereon, all possible favorable allowances for the French and English having been made, neither the action of Germany nor that of England can be arraigned without the arraignment of both.

PONSONBY'S THIRTEEN QUESTIONS.

Translation of Editorial.

Illinois Staats-Zeitung, Chicago.

The London government is still pleased to adopt a loud tone when the final result of the war is discussed and displays an absurd self-conceit that contrasts strangely with the successes of Great Britain in this war. Facts speak louder and clearer than all assurances of the government and the continual loss of British ships has brought the war closer to the minds of the masses in England. The evident dissatisfaction and mischief brewing among these masses has reached such a state that it was considered necessary in London to divert the rage of the mob, which was directed against the government. In consequence of this policy we hear today of the pillaging of all business houses in London that belong to Germans.

People who can think for themselves are not affected by such actions and when we consider the rapidly growing feeling against Britain's war policy we feel justified in asking how long these fathers of the war will continue to direct England's policy. The most severe criticism of England by an Englishman may probably be found in the thirteen questions published by Mr. Ponsonby, a member of parliament. "If we," Mr. Ponsonby says in his objections to England's participation in the war, "who think that many fatal errors have been made would remain silent any longer these errors would never become known to the public and there would be no hope for enlightenment in the future." Ponsonby then puts the questions and the answers immediately following the questions show his views as well as those of his partisans.

1. Does the correspondence contained in our White Book show that we had assumed great obligations and become entangled in a net we had prepared ourselves?—Yes. 2. Is it just or even prudent to form alliances with one nation, without informing other nations thereof?—No. 3. Has our government emphatically declared it was under no obligations in case of war?—Yes. 4. Would we have declared war on France if that country had considered it necessary for its own safety to send an army into Belgium?—No. 5. Was Germany aware that we had bound ourselves to support France and did Germany want

a war?—No. 6. Would Germany's attitude not have been entirely different had she known our intentions from the start?—Yes. 7. Was it not above all an attack by a Slavic race, that is Russia, that Germany feared?—Yes. 8. Is our support of Russia not equal to the strengthening of Russian autocracy and militarism and thereby obstructing the development of the Russian people?—Yes. 9. Would not Russia's success in this war cause her to acquire new territory and would this not be a calamity?—Yes. 10. Is it possible or desirable that the German Empire be overthrown and that it cease to flourish?—No. 11. Is it probable that Germany would become an inactive and subordinate state by losing all her colonies?—No. 12. Was there any ill feeling towards the Germans shown by the British people at the outbreak of the war?—No. 13. Have we any reason to think that official England was pursuing an anti-German policy?—Yes.

Ponsonby's questions and answers cover all charges directed against England by the Germans and these objections raised by an Englishman against the actions of his own country is a great moral support of the justice of the German joint of view. They show no more and no less than that England labored continually and systematically to bring about this war and started it by a false pretext. Germany has no occasion to parade this English witness in public because she requires no references for the honesty of her policy: neither can she hope to gain by it, for words and declarations of sympathy, even though they come from the camp of the enemy, will have no influence on military events. But as an evidence of the growing feeling in England these questions and answers are interesting and even of historic value as Mr. Ponsonby has for the past six years been one of the most prominent members of the liberal party, the party now in power and his utterances are all the more important as he, in his capacity as private secretary to the former liberal leader Campbell-Bannerman, has considerable influence.

GREAT BRITAIN'S REAL MOTIVE FOR ENTERING THE WAR.

New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, New York.

Herman Ridder.

The veil of hypocritical altruism which the British Government has hung between its real motives for entering the present war and the searching eye of the world, torn asunder by the cold, crude and, in the logic of Great Britain, condemnatory fact that in the twenty-five years from 1887 to 1912 the exports from the German Empire increased from $734,000,000 to $2,239,000,000 while British exports advanced from $1,134,000,000 to no more than $2,486,000,000. Although Great Britain still leads in total value of exports, her rate of increase during these years has been so insignificant in comparison with Germany's as to give cause for serious alarm not alone to the British merchant but to his Government as well. This steady forging ahead by Germany in the world's markets, unassisted by extensive colonies such as Great Britain possesses, has been for years interpreted in every conceivable manner by the British press. The phrase "Made in Germany" was coined to kill German trade, but today it is the coals of fire which are returning to burn the heads of those who coined it.

That this is no unfounded assertion may be read in the British papers which have come to us since the beginning of the war or in that element of the American press which has joined in the campaign to sweep German commerce from the seas. The leading British newspapers find their one triumphant note in the thought, expressed in headline after headline, that out of this conflict will come the recapture of the fields lost to their merchants in the years of Germany's peaceful expansion. What she could not do by the fair means of commercial competition, Great Britain has set about to do by war. Baffled at every turn by German brains and enterprise, it was the only recourse left to her.

The story of British diplomacy during the last years coincident with Germany's tremendous cutting down of Britain's commercial supremacy is punctuated with every conceivable form of possible interference with her rival's legitimate line of trade expansion. It was all done under the cover of that shibboleth of Downing Street "the status quo," but like other fabrics stretched to cover too much, the "status quo" became at last transparent. When that point was reached, war sooner or later was inevitable.

It was Edward VII, who maintained the "status quo" in northern Africa by bargaining with France for Egypt and giving in return a free hand to the French in Morocco, and thus closed both of these countries to German trade. The Treaty of Algeciras which subsequently "guaranteed" the open-door in Morocco was never intended by France and Great Britain to be anything but a mantle to cover the insidious workings of French subtlety. Sir Edward Grey, with the same "status quo" ever uppermost in his mind, divided Persia between Russia and Great Britain and closed another door in the face of German expansion. In China the same objective was aimed at.

There was not one field beyond her own borders in which Germany was unopposed not simply by the commercial competition of her rival but by all the diplomatic forces that could be brought to bear against her. Germany knew this, and Great Britain knew that she knew it and that the hour of reckoning could not be long postponed. When her chain of allies had been completed, Great Britain needed only a pretext.

The "White Paper" issued by the British Foreign Office and the telegrams exchanged between Downing Street and the British Embassy in Washington show where this pretext was found and throw a strong light upon the principles which actuated Great Britain to declare war on Germany. The excuse given by Sir Edward Grey for the declaration of war was the violation of the neutrality of Belgium, but anyone who can read will see for himself how little such altruistic motives moved the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs at a time when it was in his power to prevent the violation of Belgium soil.

The following statement sent by the British Foreign Office to its Embassy in Washington subsequent to the seizure of the two warships building in British shipyards for Turkey enunciates a policy which exactly covers Germany's action in Belgium.

"In accordance with the recognized principle of the right and supreme duty to insure national safety in time of war, His Majesty's Government took over two ships which were building in England for the Turkish government, but had not yet been delivered to them.

"His Majesty's Government has not only offered to pay in full and return the ships in good condition after the war, or supply equivalent new ones, but also additional and generous compensation for the use of the preëmpted ships during the war."

No simpler justifications of Germany's passage through Belgium could be supplied than this statement by the British Foreign Office. How much in harmony it is with the views of those responsible for Great Britain's policy and, as a consequence, how hypocritical their professed motives of highest international morality are, is best shown by quoting verbatim from the British "White Paper." These quotations clearly show that Great Britain WANTED to go to war and was merely looking, as usual, for the proverbial sheep-skin, in which to parade before an applauding audience.

> Sir Edward Grey to Sir F. Goschen, London, Foreign Office, Aug. 1st, 1914.
>
> Sir: I told the German Ambassador today that the reply of the German Government with regard to the neutrality of Belgium was a matter of very great regret, because the neutrality of Belgium affected feeling in this country.
>
> He asked me whether, if Germany gave a promise not to violate Belgium neutrality, we could engage to remain neutral.
>
> I replied that I could not say that; our hands were still free.
>
> The Ambassador pressed me as to whether I could not formulate conditions on which we would remain neutral. HE EVEN SUGGESTED THAT THE INTEGRITY OF FRANCE AND HER COLONIES MIGHT BE GUARANTEED.
>
> I SAID THAT I FELT OBLIGED TO REFUSE DEFINITELY ANY PROMISE TO REMAIN NEUTRAL, AND I COULD ONLY SAY THAT WE MUST KEEP OUR HANDS FREE."

Sir Edward Grey to Sir F. Berite. (Telegraphic.)

London, Foreign Office, Aug. 2nd, 1914.

After the Cabinet Meeting this morning I gave M. Cambon the following memorandum:

"I am authorized to give an assurance that, if the German fleet comes into the Channel or through the North Sea to undertake hostile operations against French coasts or shipping, the British fleet will give all the protection in its power.

"This assurance must not be taken as binding his Majesty's Government to take any action until the above contingency of action by the German fleet takes place."

M. CAMBON ASKED ME ABOUT THE VIOLATION OF LUXEMBURG. I TOLD HIM THE DOCTRINE ON THAT POINT. HE ASKED ME WHAT WE SHOULD SAY ABOUT THE VIOLATION OF THE NEUTRALITY OF BELGIUM. I SAID WE WERE CONSIDERING WHETHER WE SHOULD DECLARE VIOLATION OF BELGIAN NEUTRALITY TO BE CASUS BELLI."

There appears to have been neither logic nor decisiveness in the attitude of Great Britain on the question of Belgium's neutrality. On the other hand, the question of national safety is clearly expressed and unmistakable. Great Britain was ready to do anything to insure her national safety. Placed in a position similar to Germany's she could not but have announced to the world: "In accordance with the recognized principle of the right and supreme duty to insure national safety in time of war, His Majesty's Government was obliged to enter Belgium.

"His Majesty's Government has not only offered to pay in full and return everything in good condition but also additional and generous compensation for the use of Belgian territory during the war."

There is a great deal of hypocrisy about the value of international agreements. If all nations respected their treaties and conventions there would be no longer cause for war. The seizure of the Turkish ships was a necessity to England, and the occupation of Belgium a necessity to Germany. The extenuation of the German action is contained in these words of the British "White Paper":

"Germany had consequently to disregard Belgian neutrality, it being for her a question of life or death to prevent French advance."

When we have discarded the nonessential, the facts that stand out boldly are that Sir Edward Grey still had it in his power on August 2nd to determine whether Great Britain "should declare violation of Belgian neutrality to be casus belli,"* that he refused to give the German Ambassador any satisfaction on this vital point, and that when the time was ripe he used the *fait accompli* of the German movement through Belgium, under circumstances warranted by his own *pronunciamento* in the case of the Turkish war-ships, as the pretext so long sought to strike at Great Britain's commercial enemy.

*Consult the *INDEX* for "An Authority on Neutrality" on this subject. —The Editor of *War Echoes*.

UNFAIR AND INSINCERE.

Editorial from the "Milwaukee Free Press," October 13, 1914.

Every civilized human being deplores and regrets the destruction wrought by this European war. Whether it be the home of a peasant or a monument of ancient architecture that is damaged, the sentiment of mankind responds either on the human or on the aesthetic side, as the case may be.

Admitting that and approving it, why should American publications generally sound this note, and at the same time either charge or insinuate that the Germans somehow are to blame for the destruction that is taking place in France and Belgium?

Pick up the "Saturday Evening Post," the "Literary Digest," "Collier's Weekly," in fact nine out of ten American publications devoted to current events—to say nothing of the newspapers—and we see articles and pictures emphasizing the destruction wrought by the war and always with this implication of German responsibility and German blame.

We cannot help but wonder what these same publications would be doing if the French and English, or the Russians, were fighting on German soil, if they were besieging and taking German cities. The same destruction that is now visited on Antwerp or Rheims would then be the lot, say, of Strassburg or Hamburg.

But would the lamentings of the American press be quite as loud as they are today?

Let us hope so. And yet, when we think of the wide publicity given to alleged German atrocities, while similar charges, far more authentic, against the Belgians and Russians, have been passed over in comparative silence, we become a little doubtful.

War is an engine of destruction, and the soil which has the misfortune to become its theater must bear the consequences.

Germany did not invite this war. It was forced upon her. The prime mover was Russia. Had France, had England thought more of the destruction that threatened their cities and their citizens, than they thought of inflicting destruction upon Germany, they would not have been found hand in glove with Russia's purpose.

To expect Germany, fighting as she is against a world of enemies and for her very national existence, to bombard threatening cities with confetti and spare churches, when they are used by the enemy for military purposes, is to expect something pathetically absurd.

She is doing only what that enemy would be doing were he fighting for advantage on German soil. If the French or the Belgians think more of their cities than they do of their strategic importance, all they have to do is surrender them before the work of destruction commences.

The horror and the waste of war cannot be minimized, but it is no evidence of either the sanity or fair play of certain numerous American journals when they emphasize the havoc wrought by the triumphant German arms as if somehow that reflected upon the character of their warfare or the civilization of the nation.

GERMANY'S GEOGRAPHIC POSITION CONSEQUENTLY HER PLANS OF MILITARY STRATEGY

GERMANY'S HONORABLE PROPOSAL TO BELGIUM EVEN AFTER BELGIUM HAD BROKEN FAITH WITH HER NEIGHBOR

And Belgium finally Plotting Secretly against Germany
Evidence of Secret Negotiations with France and England to this End

Colossal Machinations and Intrigue against the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Consequently Against Germany

KING ALBERT'S POLICY.

By the Editor.

The Open Court.

It is strange that although Belgium's policy is well known in Europe and the questionable character of Belgium's neutrality is recognized by Sir Edward Grey himself, yet in this country Belgium is persistently made the main reason for keeping up a propaganda against Germany and condemning her as the most faithless and barbarous of nations. Almost all my critics fall back on Belgium and treat the discoveries in the Brussels archives either as inventions or as of no significance. Nor have our daily papers been sufficiently unprejudiced to publish the facts which speak loudly against British policy.

One of the most important documents discovered by the Germans in the Brussels archives is a letter written by Baron Greindl, Belgian ambassador at the court of Berlin, who claims that in planning to enter into a close alliance with the Triple Entente and open its country to a British army for the purpose of proceeding against Germany, the Belgian government has violated the laws of neutrality and has thereby exposed herself to the danger of surrendering her fortresses to her foreign friends whom he deems not less dangerous than the Germans. The letter reads in part as follows:

"From the French side danger not only threatens us in the south, by way of Luxemburg, but also along our whole common frontier. This assertion is not based on conjectures alone; we have positive support for it. An encircling movement from the north forms without doubt part of the scheme of the *entente cordiale*. If that were not the case, the plan to fortify Flushing would not have raised such a hue and cry in Paris and London. There the reasons have by no means been kept secret, why it was desired that the Schelde should remain without defense. What they wished was to be able to transport English troops to Antwerp without hindrance, i. e., to create with us a basis of operation for an offensive movement against the Lower Rhine and Westphalia, and then to compel us to fall in line, a thing which would not have been difficult, for in handing over our national stronghold we should have deprived ourselves, by our own foolhardiness, of every possibility of resisting the demands of our questionable protectors, once we had been so unwise as to let them in. The overtures, as perfidious as naïve, of Colonel Bernardiston at the time of the conclusion of the *entente cordiale* have shown us plainly how the matter really stood. When, eventually, we allowed ourselves to be intimidated by the pretended danger of a closing of the Schelde, the plan indeed was not given up, but so altered that the English auxiliary army was not to be landed on the Belgian coast but at the nearest French ports. For this we have as witness the disclosures of Captain Faber which have been contradicted just as little as the reports in the newspapers, by which they were confirmed or supplemented in individual points."

Albert—King of Belgium

We will not here condemn Belgium for breaking her neutrality, for to remain absolutely neutral under such circumstances is very difficult and actually prevents the self-assertion of a small nation. Belgium had been intended as a buffer state. It was established for the purpose of separating the frontiers between France and Germany and its establishment was mainly in the interest of England, whose policy is well described in the recent article of Field Marshal Earl Roberts in the "Hibbert Journal" of October, 1914.[1]

England naturally has an interest in the coast of the continent facing her own shore and has always been anxious that it be retained in the hands of a weak nation. An invasion of Belgium is felt by English statesmen as an invasion of English territory, and we must understand that this feeling is a sort of Monroe Doctrine to Great Britain. This explains why the English could go to war in defense of Belgium.

Upon the whole England has always favored the smaller countries on the continent and has always been the enemy of whatever power took the lead in continental politics. Originally the neutrality of Belgium was aimed against France, but since the establishment of the German empire the tables turned and it was intended to be used against Germany. But just here lies the equivocal nature of England's attitude. She wished to use Belgian neutrality against either France or Germany, but did not intend to respect it herself; this two-faced policy is positively proved by the documents found in Brussels and is plainly indicated in Baron Greindl's letter.

King Albert is apparently an ambitious monarch. King Leopold, his uncle, had a keen mind and enriched himself as well as enlarged Belgium by the acquisition of African terri-

[1] Quoted in the December number of "The Open Court," pp. 761-762.

tory. Experts in international law have considered that this step threw doubt on the old neutral character of Belgium or even entirely disposed of it, and this view was shared by no less an authority than Gladstone. King Leopold's policy induced Gladstone to establish a new treaty during the war of 1870-1871, which was to last for one year after the close of the war. A correspondent of mine who prefers that his name be omitted, writes to me as follows:

"It has often occurred to me that very little explanation has yet been offered as to the real reason for Belgium's siding with the allies. They must have had more motives than just plain neutrality. Is there anything in the fact that the throne of Belgium personally owns such large tracts in Africa that, had the throne been neutral in spirit, they would have been endangered by the English and French? Might it not be a purely selfish motive which induced the king of Belgium to join with the Allies, believing that he would thereby avoid losing his estate, which I understand is the largest in the world?"

Of whatever value, or lack of value, the old treaty concerning Belgium's neutrality may be, King Albert has certainly not respected it. He has been on very friendly terms with England, and this in itself is certainly commendable; but he has also shared the view of the British government which regards Germany as the main foe of English supremacy on the seas and is expressed in the formula, *Germania est delenda.* He did not doubt that Germany could easily be crushed between France and Russia. He seemed fully confident that Belgian forts could resist invaders for an indefinite length of time and could not be taken except at an enormous loss of life, and so he saw no danger in joining the Allies. He even ventured so far as to extend his own influence over the other small powers by proposing to establish an alliance among them of which he was to be the leading spirit. This in itself was also a breach of neutrality. Like the English he regarded the neutrality of Belgium as a protective measure against Germany; he saw in it a privilege, not a duty.

The alliance between the small states, however, fizzled out because Holland, which was the very first one approached, became suspicious of its purport and hesitated to join. And since Holland was more important to Belgium than Denmark, Sweden or Norway, and since the latter were influenced by Holland's misgivings, the whole scheme was abandoned.

We do not know what part Albert will play in the future, but it is certain that he is a unique character not to be underrated. His wife, too, is a distinguished woman. She is the daughter of that Bavarian Prince, Rupert, who studied medicine and practiced among the poor just like any other physician except that he would not take fees. He lived like a civilian, and, among his children, the present Queen of Belgium was brought up like a professor's daughter.

We will repeat in extenuation of King Albert's mistakes that it is by no means an easy matter to play a truly neutral part; and while his ambitious plans for an alliance of the smaller states failed, he has cut a dashing figure in recent history, and has shown sufficient energy to overcome even the traditional antipathy against royalty in democratic Belgium. He has never been so popular as now in times of war, and his popularity has spread into France so that in the present dissatisfaction with the republican government isolated voices have been heard which would welcome him to the throne of France.

MORE ENGLISH FAITHLESSNESS.

Translation of Editorial.

Illinois Staats-Zeitung, Chicago.

Just now Edward Grey is indulging in filthy remarks about German violations of treaties, the expiation of which England must make a task of a lifetime. The fairy story of Belgian neutrality has already become stale and lost its attraction. All sorts of interesting secrets have reached us from the diplomatic world, that show that this Belgian neutrality was two-sided.

Among the papers of General Briaillant, the constructor of the forts at Liège and Namur, was found a statement, that work on these forts —intended to check a probable German invasion—was not begun until King Edward urged their erection. Colored sheets, showing all the different uniforms worn by French and English troops, were found in possession of Belgian soldiers, and Belgian prisoners asserted, that they have to be instructed to become familiar with the styles of these uniforms. And finally we learn from the columns of Paris papers that during the months of May and June large quantities of ammunition for English cannon and small arms had been stored at Maubeuge—a preparation for the war that was begun in August, which, according to Grey, England had not decided upon, until Germany avowed its inability to respect Belgium's neutrality. History then will be the unbiased judge in this case of breach of neutrality, violated tenfold in the grossest manner by the other party with a view of overthrowing Germany.

The longer England parades this ghost of neutrality, the less the dread of it, while on the other hand her faithlessness and violations are more and more brought to light. In East Africa for instance, the English have bombarded Dar-es-Salaam, captured the steamer "Herman Wissman" on the Victoria Nyanza, and with the aid of native troops destroyed German settlements. These actions of England are serious violations of international treaties that had been proposed by her. Article 11 of the Congo Act stipulates, that colonies lying in the central African free trade zone, among them German East Africa, should in case of war between their respective mother countries be considered neutral and enjoy all the rights of a neutral state. This was determined upon to avoid endangering European authority and as a show of regard for the natives. It equals throwing the principles of colonial policy to the winds when colored troops are brought in to fight in the battles of the white races. The history of the Boer war could have taught Germany, that England after having proposed such precautionary measures would entirely ignore them should it be to her momentary benefit to do so, but this present war has again shown that Germany's worst fault is her strong faith in others.

The history of the near future will prove England guilty of showing outrageous disregard for her African treaties. If she teaches the natives of her colonies to use their arms against white people, she will not be spared the mortification of seeing the negroes make no distinction between Britons and Germans. For the present the Germans will see to it, that England's brigandish policy will affect her stomach. After the British excesses, the weak forces of East African home guards crossed the frontier, took Foweto, levied contributions and destroyed sections of the Uganda railroad. From Southwest Africa German troops have invaded Batshumland and their advance has been such a rapid one, that the London diamond trust is fearing for the safety of its Kimberley mines. No doubt this advance of the Germans was undertaken in the hope of arousing the Boer element of South Africa, which as yet has not become reconciled to the English government. * * *

Official Despatch of Belgian Charge d'Affaires in Petersburg to Minister of Foreign Affairs in Brussels.

The semi-official Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung of September 12th publishes the following highly interesting article:

BELGIAN DIPLOMAT ANENT GERMANY'S EFFORTS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE.

On July 31 a letter was mailed in Berlin, bearing the following address:

Madame Costermans,
107 Rue Froissard,
Bruxelles, Belgique.

Since as is known, a state of threatening danger of war was declared on the same day, for the territory of the German Empire, on account of which the transmission of private mail to foreign countries was suspended, the

letter in question was returned to the place of dispatch, viz., Berlin. There the letter was kept in the Dead Letter Department, and after the expiration of the prescribed term, was opened by the competent postal authority in order to ascertain the name of the sender. It was found that inside the envelope there was a second envelope, bearing the following address:

"Son Excellence Monsieur Davignon,
Ministre des Affaires Estrangeres."

Since this envelope did not bear the name of the sender any more than the outside envelope, the letter was then opened. It contained an official dispatch of the Royal Belgian Charge d'Affaires at St. Petersburg, Mr. B. de l'Escaille, concerning the political situation in the said capital on July 30, which, in view of its political importance, was handed over to the German Foreign Office by the postal authorities.

This dispatch reads:

(ORIGINAL.)

Légation de Belgique,
à St. Pétersbourg. Le 30 juillet 1914.
795/402.

Situation politique.

Monsieur le Ministre:

Les journées d'hier et d'avant-hier se sont passées dans l'attente d'événements qui devaient suivre la déclaration de guerre de l'Autriche-Hongrie à la Serbie. Les nouvelles les plus contradictories ont circulé sans qu'il soit possible de démêler exactement le vrai du faux touchant les intentions du Gouvernement Impérial. *Ce qui est incontestable c'est que l'Allemagne s'est efforcée, autant ici qu'à Vienne, de trouver un moyen quelconque d'éviter un conflict général*, mais qu'lle a rencontré d'un côté l'obstination du Cabinet de Vienne à ne pas faire un pas en arrière et de l'autre la méfiance du Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg devant les assurances de l'Autriche-Hongrie qu'elle ne songeait qu'à punir la Serbie et non à s'en emparer.

M. Sazonow a déclare qu'il était impossible à la Russie de ne pas se tenir prête et de ne pas mobiliser, mais que ces préparatifs n'étaient pas dirigés contre l'Allemagne. Ce matin un communiqué officiel aux journaux annonce que "les réservistes ont été appelés sous les armes dans un certain nombre de Gouvernements." Connaisant la discrétion des communiqués officiels russes, *on peut hardiment prétendre qu'on mobilise partout.*

L'Ambassadeur d'Allemagne a déclaré ce matin qu'il était à bout des essais de conciliation qu'il n'a cessé de faire depuis samedi et qu'il n'avait plus guère d'espoir. On vient de me dire que l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre s'était prononcé dans le même sens. La Grande Bretagne a proposé dernièrement un arbitrage, M. Sazonow a dépondu: "Nous l'avons proposé nous mêmes à l'Autriche-Hongrie, elle l'a refusé." A la proposition du'me Conférence, l'Allemagne a répondu par la proposition d'une entente entre cabinets. On peut se demander vraiment si tout le monde ne désire pas la guerre, et tâche seulement d'en retarder un peu la déclaration pour gagner du temps.

L'Angleterre a commencé par donner à entendre qu'elle ne voulait pas se laisser entrainer dans in conflict. Sir George Buchanan de disait ouvertement. *Aujourd' hui on est fermement convaicu à St. Pétersbourg, on en a même l'assurance, que l'Angleterre soutiendra la France. Cet appui est d'un poids énorme et n'a pas peu contribué à donner la haute main au parti de la guerre.*

Le Gouvernement Russe a laissé dans ces derniers jours libre cours à toutes les manifestations pro-Serbes et hostiles à l'Autriche et n'a aucunement cherché à les étouffer. Il s'est encore produit des divergences de vues dans le sein du Conseil des Ministres qui s'est réuni hier matin; on a retardé la publication de la mobilisation. Mais depuis s'est produit un revirement, le parti de la guerre a pris le dessus et ce matin à 4 heures cette mobilisation était publiée.

L'armée qui se sent forte est pleine d'enthousiasme et fondée de grandes espérances sur les énormes progrès réalisés depuis la guerre japonaise. La marine est si loin d'avoir réalisé le programme de sa reconstruction et de sa réorganisation qu'elle ne peut vraiment pas entrer en ligne de compte. C'est bien là le motif qui donnait tant d'importance à l'assurance de l'appui de l'Angleterre.

Comme j'ai au l'honneur de vous le télégrapher aujourd'hui (T. 10) tout espoir de solution pacifique parait écarté. C'est l'opinion des cercles diplomatiques.

Je me suis servi pour mon télégramme de la voie via Stockholm par le Nordisk Cabel comme plus sure que l'autre. Je confie cette dépêche à un courrier privé qui la mettra à la poste en Allemagne.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Ministre, les assurances de mon plus profound respect.

(gez.) B. de l'Escaille.

(TRANSLATION.)

Belgian Legation,
St. Petersburg. July 30, 1914.
795/402.

The political situation.

Sir:

Yesterday and the day before have passed in the expectation of events which were bound to follow Austria-Hungary's declaration of war against Servia. Such conflicting news was circulated that it was not possible to disentangle the true from the false concerning the intentions of the Imperial (Russian) Government. Only one thing is incontestable, and that is, that *Germany has made efforts, here as well as in Vienna, to find some means of avoiding a general conflict*, and that she has met, on the one hand, with the Vienna Cabinet's obstinacy not to yield one step, on the other hand, with the distrust of the St. Petersburg Cabinet toward the assurances of Austria-Hungary that she intended only to punish Servia and not to seize her territory.

Mr. Sazonow has declared that it was impossible for Russia not to hold herself in readiness and not to mobilize; that, however, these preparations were not directed against Germany. This morning an official communication to the newspapers declares that "the reserves have been called to the colors within a certain number of provinces." However, whosoever knows of the reticence of Russian official "communiqués," *can boldly assert that the mobilization is general.*

The German Ambassador declared this morning that he was at the end of his endeavors at conciliation, which he has not ceased making since Saturday, and that he scarcely entertained any more hope. I just hear that the British Ambassador has expressed himself to the same effect. Great Britain has recently proposed arbitration. Mr. Sazonow replied: "We have ourselves made such a proposition to Austria-Hungary, but she declined." To the proposal of a conference, Germany answered by proposing an entente between the Cabinets. One can really ask one's self whether everybody does not want war and is only trying to postpone its declaration a little in order to gain time.

England commenced by making it understood that she would not let herself be drawn into a conflict. Sir George Buchanan said this openly. Today, however, everybody in St. Petersburg is quite convinced—*one has actually received the assurance—that England will stand by France. This support is of enormous weight and has contributed largely toward keeping the war-party above water.*

During the past few days the Russian Government has left free rein to all pro-Servian and anti-Austrian demonstrations, and has in no way attempted to check them. However, there were still differences of opinion within the Council of Ministers which met yesterday morning; the publication of the order of mobilization has, therefore, been retarded. But since then a change has set in, the war-party has obtained the upper hand, and at 4 o'clock this morning, the order for that mobilization was given out.

The army which believes itself strong, is full of enthusiasm and bases great hopes upon the enormous progress that has been made since the Japanese war. The navy is still so far removed from the realization of its plans of renewal and reorganization, that it can scarcely be counted upon. Just here lies the reason why *the assurance of English support* is of such great moment.

As I had the honor to telegraph (T. 10) to you today, *every hope of a peaceful solution seems past.* That is the opinion of the diplomatic circles.

For my telegram I used the route via Stockholm over the Nordick cable, because this is safer than the other. This dispatch I am entrusting to a private courier, who will mail it in Germany.

Please accept, sir, the assurance of my most profound respect.

B. de l'Escaille.

The Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung comments on this official dispatch in the following manner:

"Today our enemies declare to the whole world deceitfully and with most practiced reversal of the true facts that the powers of the triple entente had worked until the last moment toward the preservation of peace, but through Germany's brusque attitude, which made every agreement impossible, were forced to war; Germany had, forsooth, in her wild lust for conquest, wanted the war under all circumstances. In comparison to this, the document in hand is valuable as a proof that even on July 30, two days before the German mobilization, the diplomatic circles in St. Petersburg were convinced that Germany had made the greatest effort, both in Vienna and St. Petersburg, to localize the Austro-Servian conflict and to prevent the outbreak of a world war. It is, furthermore, valuable as a proof that these same circles were already at that time convinced that England had strengthened the side of the Russian war party and hence added materially to the calling forth of the war, through her assurance that, in case of war, she would not remain neutral, but would support France against Germany. And, finally, this document is also of interest to us, because its diplomatic author believed that he should report to his government that he considered the assurance of Russia that troops were called to arms in only a few provinces, and that a general mobilization would not take place, a fraud."—Reprinted from the "News of the War in Europe," supplied by "The Fatherland," New York.

A BOER'S OPINION.

From the "Illinois Staats-Zeitung," Chicago, October 1, 1914.

Editor "Illinois Staats-Zeitung."

Sir: In reply to the German Imperial Chancellor, Sir Edward Grey, British Foreign Secretary, authorized this statement:

"The Imperial Chancellor refers to the dealings of Great Britain with the Boer republics, and suggests that she has been false therein to the cause of freedom. Without going into controversies now happily past we may recall what General Botha said in the South African Parliament a few days ago when expressing his conviction of the righteousness of Britain's cause and explaining the firm resolve of the South African Union to aid her in every possible way." He, Botha, used these words:

"Great Britain had given them a constitution under which they (the Boers) could create a great nationality and had ever since regarded them as a free people and as a sister state. Although there might be many who in the past had been hostile towards the British flag, he (Botha) could vouch for it that they would ten times rather be under the British flag than under the German flag."

This talk of Botha and his British boss, Edward Grey, about "constitution" and "great nationality" is very much like the bunk which the Czar of Russia used a few weeks ago in his proclamation to the Poles in order to gain their loyalty.

The voice of Botha is not the voice of the Boer people, who at meetings all over South Africa under the leadership of ex-President Steyn, General de Wet, General Andries Cronje and General Hertzog unanimously condemned Botha.

Boers do not want a British constitution which compels them to fight in an unjust war or throw down their positions. Nor do they want the German flag or the British flag. What they want is the free constitution of the late South African Republic and a BOER FLAG (the vierkleur of Transvaal) which freedom-loving Britain ruthlessly destroyed.

Boers also want full compensation for all the destruction wrought by British troops, and will never be satisfied with the British sops which left many of them virtual paupers.

The so-called "free" British South African constitution enables Botha and the British Governor General, Lord Buxton, to override the wishes of the Boer people and follow a megalomaniacal policy of British imperialism and British navalism, a navalism which has been a ten times greater menace to the nations of the earth than the "awful" German militarism. (Recently, when free tolls for American ships through the Panama Canal was the bone of contention, it was so menacing that even the President of the "mighty American nation" had to beg Congress to ignominiously hand-up to John Bull, no matter whether Uncle Sam was "right or wrong," rather than face and fight that awful big British navy and its faithful Japanese ally.)

KING ALBERT IN GERMAN UNIFORM
Receiving the Officers of the Regiment, whose Chief he has become as a matter of honor in peace time before the War
(By Courtesy of the "Open Court")

Under this free British constitution, General Hertzog while Minister of Justice and member of Botha's cabinet had to resign his position and was kicked out of the cabinet because he had protested against South African contributions to Britain's big navy and against the imperialism of Botha, who a few years ago said that he would help to expand the British Empire, which, according to Sir Wilfred Laurier (ex-premier of Canada, and another loyal British imperialist, who no doubt has caught the spirit of the song, "Rule Britannia, Britannia rule the waves"), is destined "ONE DAY TO RIVAL THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN ALL ITS GLORY."

What is so wonderful to me is that British liars, with the help of Botha and others, in the face of the fact that Britain's big navy bristles with more guns and other engines of destruction than are found in the combined German and Austian navies and armies, are trying to intimidate Boers with German flags and German militarism, and that even here in America they are trying to insult the intelligence and frighten the manhood of a "mighty nation" by exhibiting the old bogey, German flag and militarism, under big scare-heads in the pro-British section of the American press.

There are no Boer papers in America to contradict the many falsehoods and misrepresentations of British statesmen and others called from South Africa and England about the Boer people, so I trust you will publish this letter also, hoping it will help in the difficult task of catching and nailing a few of the numerous British lies.

Thanking you in anticipation, I remain, Sir,

Yours truly,

IOHAN P. A. DEMPERS.

A Sketch of Belgian History
Belgium Vicissitudes for a Century—Neutrality and International Law

THE NEW BELGIAN BANK COMMISSION
(By Courtesy of the "Chicago Abendpost")

WAR HYPOCRISY UNVEILED.

An Essay on the World Conflict.

By Albert E. Henschel.

(Another point of view as to Germany's cause and justice in the war. Published by Mr. F. Hansen, 170 Chambers Street, New York City. Five cents per copy. This article furnishes most remarkable evidence of the greatest political and diplomatic frame-up against Germany in history.—Editor.)

In these rancorous days when much is heard to break down the fair German name and to give a false idea of German national ambitions, when this nation is depicted as a horde of Huns and Vandals, delighting in destruction from sheer lust and malice; when their military system is held up to opprobrium—and the subtle suggestion is sought to be instilled that if they are successful, America will be next in turn to feel the lance of the invading Uhlan—it is proper that we settle down to some sober thinking and ask ourselves whether these blood and thunder stories are not part of the general warfare to destroy the credit and good name of the most powerful antagonist of the Allies.

The constant reiteration of the story of the violation of Belgian neutrality; of German militarism; of the Prussianizing of the world; of tales of cruelty and barbarism, is all intended to have a battering effect upon the unbroken amity that has characterized the historical relations between the German and American people.

The cutting of the German-American cable at the beginning of the war left the Germans helpless during the formative period of American public opinion. The English had the monopoly of press news and drew almost exclusively on their imagination. They dreamed of the multiple deaths of the German Crown Prince; of the defeat and suicide of Gen. von Emmich; of the Fall of Allenstein and Königsberg, and they were not slack in the invention of German atrocities and vandalism. It was not until a considerable time that Americans had the opportunity—which is the *sine qua non* of all justice and fair play—of "hearing the other side." Then, among others, such distinguished Americans as Professor Burgess and Professor Sloane, as well as Dr. Dernburg, who is almost an American in spirit, took up the cudgels for "fair play" to a nation of 70 millions, whose highest moral and material interests are inextricably interwoven with our own.

A False and Malignant Analogy.

Every type of virulence is still vying to exhaustion to arouse prejudice against Germany — prostituting the highest faculties "to make the worse appear the better reason." One of the more conspicuous of the scorpion-penned baiters of Germany had the nonchalant temerity to suggest to the American public, that, on the same principle that Germany deemed herself forced in self-protection to invade Belgium, she would be justified, after having captured Paris and invaded England, in invading the United States as a base of operations for the conquest of Canada. As an example of the absurd methods employed to inflame American feeling, and of the little respect that is shown to American intelligence, this false and far-fetched analogy is quite in line with the general concerted attacks upon Germany.

A True Analogy.

In place of this most unfair analogy, let us suppose that your house was afire with the only means of escape over your neighbor's roof. Would you dally over the question of the "neutrality" of your neighbor's house—considering that his home is his castle?—or would you simply go over his roof and save yourself and your family?

But what did the Germans do? Did they rush helter-skelter into Belgium without so much as saying: "By your leave"?

Justice to Belgium.

No. To the honor and dignity of Human Nature be it said, that in that time of imminent peril, they did what no other nation has ever done; they delayed sufficiently — when every moment was precious—to ask permission of Belgium and to give assurance that her integrity and independence would be protected and reparation made for all losses. The future historian will refer to this act of Germany as a manifestation of a sublime sense of justice.

When this offer was refused, Germany did what any other European nation would have done in the first

place. She went into Belgium to save herself from destruction.

There is no doubt that Belgium had the right to refuse permission and to resist invasion. But, when she made her choice, which involved war with Germany, she cannot complain of the war thus invited. When she took her position with the Allies she understood the war risks she was taking. If she had followed the example of Luxemburg she would have saved herself from calamity. If we assume that Belgium was loyal to her neutrality and did not conspire with France and England to take part in the war, it would bring home to us, "That the real tragedy of history is not the struggle of right against wrong, but the conflict of right against right."

England's Benevolence Towards Egypt.

Since we are on the subject of analogies, let us select one, not from fiction but from fact. Let us compare "German's Crime Against Belgium" with "Great Britain's Benevolence Towards Egypt."

In July, 1882, England invaded Egypt because that country thought it had the right to improve its fortifications at Alexandria. On the 6th of July Admiral Seymour demanded instant cessation of the work on the forts, under penalty of bombardment. On the 10th of July he insisted on the surrender of the forts at the mouth of the harbor as a material guarantee. The Egyptian ministers strove to negotiate, but the Admiral was firm in his resolution. Early on the morning of the 11th, eight British ironclads and five gunboats fired on the forts, and in a few hours they were battered down. The other powers did not interfere, because the British invasion of Egypt was to be merely temporary and "to secure British interests and restore order."

Mr. Bright, one of England's most noble statesmen, resigned his seat in the Cabinet because he was shocked by such brutal and uncalled-for violation of international law, and because he would not stand for governmental policies of sordid graft upon weaker nations.

On July 17th Mr. Bright entered the House of Commons and stated the reasons that impelled him to resign. His speech was punctuated by such applause as showed that the acts of the British Government were not approved by popular judgment. This came out clearly thereafter, when the British Parliament would not consent to reward Admiral Seymour with either a peerage or a pension, both having been proposed by Mr. Gladstone.

England Violates the Moral and International Law.

Mr. Bright, in part, spoke as follows:

"I have endeavored from time to time to teach my countrymen an opinion and doctrine which I hold, which is that the moral law is not intended only for individual life, but is intended also for the life and practice of States. I think in the present case there has been a manifest violation of international law and of the moral law, and therefore it is impossible for me to give any support to it. I cannot repudiate what I have preached and taught during the period of a rather long political life. I cannot turn my back upon my belief and deny all that I have taught to many thousands of others during the forty years I have been permitted in public meetings and in this house to address my countrymen. One word only more. I asked my calm judgment and my conscience what was the path of right to take. They pointed it out to me with an unerring finger, and I am humbly endeavoring to follow it."

A nation that, through her Government, has been guilty of such notorious violation of neutrality, should not be taken too seriously when she appoints herself as Guardian-in-chief of public rights and Interpreter-General of International Law. Furthermore, this "Temporary Possession of Egypt" was made Permanent in December, 1914.

German Culture.

The English seem very anxious to free the German people from the military despotism that has been grinding them into the greatest commercial and cultural power in Europe. A great mysterious fear has been aroused that the Germans are going to impose their culture on other people. What is called German culture is really the eclectic product of all the culture that may be found anywhere. It is merely the synthesis of all that can be, and ought to be, known and done, within the limits of present civilization. No man is more modest than the German professor, who seeks the light of the lamp of knowledge in the most obscure corners of the earth. Instead of trying to force knowledge on the rest of the world, the authorities have been compelled to restrict the pressure of foreign students in order that their home students may not be crowded out.

If German culture, as manifested in German life, means to give governmental aid to struggling farmers, through long-time loans at low interest—to give them agricultural instruction by which poor land is made enormously productive — to abolish the slums in the cities—to bring wholesome conditions to smile upon the abodes of the laborer—to banish the vagrant and beggar by affording every man the opportunity to work—to reward the toiler with a reasonable share of the values he helps to bring forth—to provide insurance against the shocks of fate and misfortune—to encourage out-door recreation among the people—to stimulate the sense of the beautiful by architecture and the wise planning of cities—to extend facilities for the acquirement of every kind of useful knowledge—to infuse respect for law and order—to discipline the young to habits of thrift, industry and usefulness—to plant in their hearts the seeds of kindness, courage, honor and integrity—and to inspire a love and devotion to their country that makes all Germans one family ready to sacrifice all that is near and dear for the preservation of the Fatherland—then we have a kind of culture that cannot be imposed—which springs from the heart, the genius, the virtues of a people, and cannot be attained without inward grace, labor, sacrifice and struggle.

German Leaders of Liberty.

It has been intended to create the impression that the German people are ruled by a military autocracy to which they supinely yield in terror of the ruthless fist of their government. Nothing could be farther from the truth—the suggestion of Tacitus that the ancient German peoples considered the truth as the noblest of their virtues and freedom as the most valuable of their possessions, still holds good among them. The union of German thought and aspiration always made for an advance in the cause of liberty. During our Civil War we had the moral and material aid of Germany in furtherance of the Union and of the liberation of the slaves. Kant, the great leader of German thought, traced the beginning of the State from the freedom belonging to the individual as his birthright. He opposed paternal government, the *imperium paternale* and demanded the *imperium patrioticum*, where everyone sees in the commonwealth the Fatherland whose stability must be protected by laws enacted by their collective will. He demands equality for the people as a result of the liberty that is born with them, and emphasizes the right of free speech as the palladium of liberty.

Wilhelm von Humboldt declares that the purpose of man is to attain the highest and most proportionate development of his powers as a whole, and to accomplish this, Freedom is the first and most indispensable requisite. He also was a firm supporter of representative government.

Herder demands that all the faculties of the individual, and of the people as a whole, be brought to harmonious development.

Goethe said:

"To this thought I cling, with virtue rife,
Wisdom's last fruit profoundly true,
Freedom alone he earns as well as life,
Who day by day must conquer them anew."

Schiller:

"Political and individual freedom remain ever and eternally the holiest of all possessions, the worthiest aim of all endeavor, and the great center of all culture."

German Forces of Democracy.

These writers, and others like them, are the constant forces that animate the independent, liberty and freedom-loving Germanic spirit.

Against the titanic and all pervading influence of such heroic moulders of German character and thought, the writings of Treitschke and Bernhardi are but feeble and ephemeral manifestations—not at all representative of that sturdy, peace-loving people.

The Hanseatic League — a German institution — was of great commercial and civilizing value—while the three free cities, Hamburg, Bremen and Lübeck, were German Republics. In fact, the laws and free institutions of England, upon which those of our own land are based, are essentially German in origin, for it was the German stock that came over into England, in a long-continued immigration which practically drove out the aboriginal Briton, and planted the pluck and brawn and

hardihood that constitute the strength and bigness of the English people.

In viewing German political institutions, it must be borne in mind that a country that was split up into so many kingdoms, duchies and petty principalities, could not readily develop a general freedom. It is only since 1848 that they have a constitutional form of government. Since the union of their Empire they have made giant strides in the progress of political liberty. The Germans appreciate liberty and freedom as much as any other nation. Schiller's play of William Tell, which breathes the spirit of liberty, is truly typical of their national yearning.

We are indebted to the "Yellow Book" of France, published in the "Times" of December 13, 1914 (section 9, column 3, page 1), for an elucidation of the progress of popular rule in Germany. The document tells of the state of German public opinion in April, 1914. It speaks of "the democratization of Germany and the growing force of the Socialist party." It then treats of the nobility as follows:

"Not only are its material interests threatened by a formidable movement against agrarian protection, but its political representation diminished in every legislature. In the Reichstag of 1878, in a House of 397 members, 162 were drawn from the ranks of the nobility; in the Reichstag of 1898 there were 83; in that of 1912, 57, of whom only 27 sat on the right, while there were but 14 in the center, the 7 on the left, and 1 on the Socialist benches."

This French authority indicates fairly well the German trend towards democracy, and may help to allay any possible fears that a victorious Germany is going to overturn the general freedom of the world.

German Militarism.

The militarism of Germany has never wrought itself into such a pitch of exaltation as the French displayed in casting anathema upon any one seeking justice in the Dreyfus case. A whole nation almost gone mad in behalf of a military system that protected a traitor and degraded an innocent man. After years of suffering he could get no fair play at the hands of the military courts. It remained for the civil courts to reinstate him. Do we hear a word against French militarism?

It is a patent fact that the militarism of Germany has neither oppressed their people, checked their growth, nor in any-wise undermined their prosperity. What, then, becomes of the altruistic argument of those alleged friends of the Germans who say that Germany should be defeated in order to save the good German people from the crushing weight of their militarism?

Neither the alleged evils of German militarism, nor the cruelties and barbarism now so well advertised to a gullible public—nor any of their other vices improvised for the occasion—have made Germany uninviting to the large permanent American colonies there, nor to the vast stream of American travelers who find it their profit and delight to visit and revisit Germany on every available occasion.

Germany the Only World Power That Has Kept the Peace for a Generation.

Were it not for the German military machine, which, by the way, is not disproportionate to the wealth, commerce and population it is designed to protect, Germany's independence and commercial expansion would be at the mercy of rival nations. The army and navy establishments, under existing conditions, are just as necessary to the nations as safe-deposit vaults are to banks and financiers, for protection. And it cannot be honestly said that Germany has used her military strength for any but strictly defensive purposes. If we sift all the muck and mire that has been cast upon Germany we can find nothing that stands out against the all-convincing fact—that Germany is the only world-power that in the past generation has not engaged in war. Our own President Wilson is fond of the pertinent expression, "The proof of the pudding is in the eating."

Baron Steuben's Militarism.

If the militarism of Germany is of a sort that keeps that country at peace for 44 years, while almost all others, without that pernicious militarism, have been rampant for war, conquest and spoliation of weaker territories, I am very much inclined to recommend the German brand of militarism to all countries who wish peacefully to develop their resources and reap the honest fruit of their industry and labor.

Were it not for the efficient bit of militarism "made in Germany," that Baron Steuben, as Adjutant-General, infused into Washington's army, and the militarism of a French army and navy, together with the potential militarism afforded by the monetary loans given by France and Holland, it is doubtful whether the American Colonies would have attained their Independence. Rev. Dr. Hillis in a recent article gives an illuminating account of what German militarism has done for the general physical and moral efficiency of Germany. It is quite evident, from the general conditions of that country, that its militarism has gone hand in hand with universal progress and development, and that in the matter of actual happiness and contentment of its people and their prosperity, Germany takes a front rank among the nations.

In considering the future of German militarism let us not forget that much good may be expected of a people who were the first to set up the requirement that a soldier must be a gentleman. That there are faults in the military system of Germany, as in all other systems, may be freely admitted. I hold no brief for military, or for any other kind of perfection. We must leave it to the intelligence and spirit of the German people to work out their problems.

It strikes me as absurd to ask American approval of British militarism on the sea and condemnation of German militarism on land. England has used her militarism to challenge every weak and unprotected spot on earth, while Germany has been content to use hers as a guardian of the general peace until overwhelming circumstances forced her to unsheath the sword in self-protection.

Policy of Justice to All Nations.

The world-policy which controls the German Empire was thus set down by its diplomatic founder and greatest statesman:

"We ought to take trouble and weaken the bad feeling which had been called out through our growth to the position of a real great Power, by honorable and peaceful use of our influence, and so convince the world that a German hegemony in Europe is more useful and less partisan and also less harmful for the freedom of others than a French, Russian or English. That respect for the rights of other States in which France especially has always been so wanting at the time of its supremacy, and which in England lasts only so long as English interests are not touched, is made easy for the German Empire and its policy, on one side, owing to the objectivity of the German character, on the other by the fact (which has nothing to do with our deserts) that we do not require an increase of our immediate territory and also that we could not attain it without strengthening the centrifugal elements in our own territory. It has always been my ideal aim, after we have established our unity within the possible limits, to win the confidence, not only of the smaller European States, but also of the great Powers, and to convince them that German policy will be just and peaceful, now that it made good in the *injuria temporum*, the division of the nation."

The Emperor a Lover of Peace.

This fair and honorable policy towards other nations has been followed by the present German Emperor, who frequently went out of his way to pour oil on the troubled political waters, and to preserve peace when war seemed inevitable.

These peaceful proclivities of the Emperor, if any proof were needed, are clearly attested in several of the confidential reports published in the "Yellow Book" of France.

The subjoined extracts from the Emperor's addresses embody the national aspirations of the German people, and are in line with his consistent efforts to reach an amicable understanding with France and Great Britain, and to preserve friendly relations with all other countries.

From the Emporer's Addresses.

"Germany is in no need of fresh military glory, nor does she require any new conquests, for she has already obtained once for all, on the field of battle, the right to exist as a united and independent nation."

"There is no work in the field of modern research which is not published in our tongue, and no discovery in science which we are not the first to turn to account, to be subsequently adopted by other nations. Such is the World Power to which the German Spirit aspires."

The "Yellow Book" Versus the Neutrality Issue.

The pretended reason given by England, with such flourish of trumpets, as to why she went to war, namely,

the protection of the inviolability of treaties and the neutrality of a small state, receives a knockout blow, when we read the Yellow Book of France.

Document 66 shows that before the Belgian question came up, Sir Edward Grey stated that if Austria invaded Servia "A European question would be raised and a war would ensue, in which all the powers would take part."

Document 110: Sir Edward Grey said "that if the struggle became general England could not remain neutral."

Document 143: "If the German fleet cross the Straits or go North in the North Sea in order to double the British Isles, with a view to attacking the French coasts or the French navy, or to disturbing the French mercantile marine * * * from that moment on England and Germany would be in a state of war."

Annex No. 123: Sir Edward Grey: "He (the German Ambassador) asked me whether, if Germany gave the promise not to violate Belgium's neutrality, we would engage to remain neutral. I replied that I could not say that; our hands were still free and we were considering what our own attitude should be."

These official records dispose of the pretense that Britain went to war in defense of the cause of Belgium.

The Father of International Law on Neutrality.

The oft-repeated misrepresentations of Germany's rights and duties with regard to Belgian neutrality render it desirable that the controlling principles of international law, as well as the facts to which they apply, should receive careful consideration.

Was Germany's invasion of Belgium justified?

This question is answered in the affirmative by Grotius, the recognized Father of International Law, in "Right of War and Peace" (Chapter 2, Par. 7), who quotes Seneca as follows:

"Necessity, the great protectress of human infirmity, breaks through all human laws, and all those made in the spirit of human regulations."

And then proceeds (Par. 10):

"Hence it may be inferred, that, in the prosecution of a just war, any power has a right to take possession of a neutral soil; if there be real grounds, and not imaginary fears for supposing the enemy intends to make himself master of the same, especially if the enemy's occupying it would be attended with imminent and irreparable mischief to that same power."

Belgium Bellicose.

It will be expedient to pass in hasty review the historical data selected from authentic sources, which show the march of events that finally led up to the Treaty of Neutralization. The reader should distinguish between the ordinary neutrality, that is, the normal condition of every country not at war, and the extraordinary state of neutralization imposed upon a smaller state by the great powers and requiring upon its part a studious and conscientious observance of impartiality and a scrupulous avoidance of war-like operations. At this point it may be well to inquire whether Belgium has not forsaken the paths of neutrality by sending, in 1865, a body of troops to Mexico in aid of Emperor Maximilian against President Juarez, violating the Monroe Doctrine; by participating in the war on China in 1900, during the Boxer Rebellion; and by acquiring the Congo Colonies, where the practice of atrocities upon the natives aroused general indignation and led to international friction.

Points in Belgian History.

In Roman times Belgium was part of Gaul. In 870 the portion east of the river Scheldt was made part of Germany, the western division part of France. In 1482 we find it in the hands of the Hapsburgs; in 1555 in possession of Philip II of Spain, who, in 1598, ceded it to his daughter, Isabella, when it became an independent Kingdom. On the death of her husband, Albert, it fell back to Spain. By the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, it was given to Austria. During the War of the Austrian Succession, almost the whole of it fell into the hands of France, but was, in 1748, peacefully restored to Austria by the Treaty of Aix La Chapelle. In 1790 it revolted, declaring independence. In the course of the same year Austria succeeded in regaining possession. By the War of the French Revolution peace was again interrupted. In 1794 Belgium was conquered and subsequently added to France. After the fall of Napoleon, it was united with Holland and its boundaries defined, in 1815, by the Congress of Vienna.

Without being consulted, the Belgians were placed under the sceptre of the King of Holland, no regard being paid to national history or ideals, but merely with a view to setting up a barrier against the power of France. This scheme was mainly due to the efforts of British statesmen, working in conjunction with the Prince of Orange, who was settled in England. Great Britain received as her reward the Cape of Good Hope, Guiana and other colonies, on the pretense that they were being held in pawn for a liberated Holland, while Belgium was treated as a conquered country to be disposed of by the great Powers as they pleased.

The Belgians and the Dutch did not prove to be good yoke-fellows. Disagreements between them finally led to riots and disturbances in 1830, as the Belgians complained of unequal representation and unfair apportionment of the national taxes and debt. A National Congress of Belgians convened in Brussels, which declared their independence of Holland. But Belgium was not allowed to control her own affairs. The Powers assumed a guardianship over the destinies of Belgium. On January 20, 1831, the London Conference decided that the frontier of Belgium should not be as their people desired, but should be that of 1790; that her neutrality should be guaranteed; that the navigation of her rivers should be free, and that the public debt should be divided with Holland. Luxemburg was given to Holland as part of the Germanic Confederation. These proceedings, however, did not meet with the approval of the Brussels Congress, which protested against them. Holland refused to accept the settlement made by the Powers and declared war against Belgium, whose army was beaten. Dumortier in his work, "Belgium and the 24 Articles," page 3, refers to this Treaty of 1831 as being arranged by the Powers solely with reference to their own interests, "determined to dispose of Belgium, not absolutely without her consent, but at all events, in a manner essentially opposed to the interests and wishes of the vast majority of the nation."

It was not until March 14, 1838, that the Dutch finally accepted the conditions imposed by the great Powers. Then followed the Treaty of 19th April, 1839, based on the 24 Articles of the Treaty of 1831. Article VII of the 1839 treaty, states that "Belgium, within the limits specified in Articles 1, 2 and 4, shall form an Independent and perpetually Neutral State. It shall be bound to observe such neutrality towards all other States."

At this point arises the pertinent inquiry, whether Belgium's conduct and attitude towards Germany were consistent with her duties as a neutral.

In the course of the negotiations between the great Powers, serious disagreements arose, during which an English fleet blockaded the Dutch ports and a French army besieged and took Antwerp.

Queen Victoria on Belgian Neutrality.

Queen Victoria's Letters, Vol. III, pages 218, 219, give an interesting statement on Belgian Neutrality:

"Belgium was declared a neutral State in order to make it impossible for France to annex the country, or obtain any power in it. The Belgians did not, themselves, desire to have their country made neutral, or put under the protection, which in some ways meant the tutelage of the Powers."

Treaty Conceived in Tyranny and Born in Bloodshed.

Thus was Belgium unwillingly subjected to a state of neutralization by coercion of the Powers that consulted only their own interests. From what one hears about this treaty, one would be led to believe that the high contracting parties had been inspired by some noble, altruistic resolve, that war shall be no more, and that Belgium shall be perpetually consecrated to the holy cause of peace. But that was not the motive at all. Each was afraid that the other might seize Belgium, so it was agreed that none shall have it. This was the genesis of the Treaty of 1839. Now all the guaranteeing powers are banded in groups straining to destroy each other. And this is the treaty, conceived in tyranny and born in bloodshed, the sanctity of which is to be vindicated—after the lapse of generations — by making the whole world run red with the blood of innocent peoples!

The Germany of today did not exist in 1839, but Prussia, now a part of Germany, signed that treaty. Assuming that the German Empire took over the treaty obligations of the several states forming the union, it was a blanket adoption of such foreign obligations in whatever condition of validity they happened to be at the time. Such omnibus adoption cannot be construed as strengthening or confirming the treaty obligations, which, for any cause, had become modified or obsolete.

That this treaty of 1839 had in fact become obsolete is apparent from the conduct of the parties on every occasion when the subject became of paramount interest, as, at the beginning of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, and again, at the opening of the present world-conflict. It is to be noted that, from the first, England was the power that took chief interest in Belgian neutrality.

British Interest in Belgium.

The reason for this is well explained by Col. C. F. R. Henderson in his "Science of War." He refers to the constant influence of Antwerp on the destinies of the British Isles and quotes from Alison's history, as follows:

"Nature has formed the Scheldt to be the rival of the Thames. Flowing through a country excelling even the midland counties of England in wealth and resources, adjoining cities equal to any in Europe in arts and commerce; the artery at once of Flanders and Holland, of Brabant and Luxemburg, it is fitted to be the great organ of communication between the fertile fields and rich manufacturing towns of the Low Countries and other maritime states of the world. Antwerp, moreover, the Key of the great estuary, is eminently adapted for the establishment of a vast naval arsenal, such as it became under Philip II of Spain and again under the First Napoleon. It is the point from which in every age the independence of these Kingdoms has been seriously menaced. Sensible of her danger, it has been the fixed policy of Great Britain for centuries to prevent this formidable outwork from falling into the hands of her enemies, and the best days of her history are chiefly occupied with the struggle to ward off such a disaster."

Col. Henderson then shows that it was to protect Antwerp from the French that Charles II sided with the Dutch in 1670; that Anne declared war on Louis XIV in 1704; that Chatham supported Prussia in 1742, and that Pitt fifty years later, took up arms against the French Revolution.

It is thus easy to understand why Great Britain does not want Belgium or Holland to fall into the possession of any of the great Powers and why British statesmanship is just now, so deeply solicitous about the sanctity of treaties and the protection of small countries.

UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE POWERS SINCE 1839.

Practical Interpretation of 1839 Treaty.

The way the old neutrality treaty was regarded in 1870 by the guaranteeing powers is a fair criterion of its status and value at that time. When at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War it was generally understood that neither France nor Prussia would regard the old treaty as having any binding force, what did the guaranteeing powers do? Did they protest? No. No one took up the matter except England. Even England was not of one mind; there were several members of the Cabinet who did not favor the taking of any action.

On August 4, 1870, Gladstone wrote the following to John Bright in relation to a new treaty intended to secure Belgian neutrality during the Franco-Prussian War:

"The recommendation set up in opposition to it generally is, that we should simply declare we will defend the neutrality of Belgium by arms in case it should be attacked. Now the sole or single-handed defense of Belgium would be an enterprise which we incline to think Quixotic."

This again shows what England thought of the chance of getting her co-guarantors to help her defend Belgian neutrality under the old worn-out treaty.

England then proposed a new treaty to Prussia and France, providing that if the armies of either violated the neutrality of Belgium, Great Britain would co-operate with the other for its defense, but without engaging to take part in the general operations of the war. The treaty was to hold good for twelve months after the conclusion of the war. A saving clause was added, that thereafter the rights of each shall continue to rest upon the old treaty. If there were no such rights, their reservation was, of course, only of paper value. It meant merely a reservation of any rights that might have existed at the time. That clause was an obvious formality, as is frequently put into legal documents, not to indicate the existence of rights, but to save rights that may possibly exist.

If Old Treaty Valid, No New Treaty Necessary.

If, in the future, Belgian neutrality is "to continue to rest" upon the disclosed virtues of the old treaty, does it not mean that a special treaty will have to be made every time such neutralization is to be assured?

When the new treaty in 1870 was submitted to Bismarck he assented at once, but France hesitated. After the battle of Woerth she made no more difficulty and the treaty was signed on August 9th.

If the old treaty had been in full force and effect, why did England insist on a new treaty? Is it not clear that if the guarantors under the old treaty stood ready to enforce the guarantee that it would have been supererogation to propose a new one to cover the identical purpose of the treaty of 1839, the neutralization of Belgium? Would a tenant who had a five years' lease visit his landlord after the first or second year to demand a new lease covering identical premises, terms and conditions? We have seen that when the practical test of the old treaty came in 1870, the guarantors failed to make good their guarantee. A treaty of guarantee without ready and willing guarantors, is like the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out. It is a euphemism to call such a treaty obsolete; "dead" is the proper word.

New Treaty of 1870 Does Not Revive Old Treaty of 1839.

But it has been claimed in this controversy that the new treaty of 1870, covering the war and only twelve months thereafter confirmed or revived the old treaty of 1839. This claim is untenable because a recognition of the old treaty to have any such effect would require the united act of all the original parties. Three powers cannot bind five.

The same objection was made in the British Protest of 23 Nov., 1846, against the annexation of the Free State of Cracow (declared neutral and independent by treaty May 3, 1815), by Austria, one of the guarantors. The Protest declared: "It is not competent for three of those Powers, by their own separate authority to undo that which was established by the common engagement of the whole."

The fact that all of the original parties did not see fit to join in the special treaty of 1870, or to insist on the enforcement of the old treaty, thus making a new one necessary, shows that there was no vitality left in that old treaty. Certainly it was not of a character to justify England in entering upon a world warfare.

A few days before the outbreak of the present war we find England again asking Germany what she is about to do with reference to Belgian neutrality. Some time before this Belgium made a similar inquiry and Germany then replied that the neutrality would be respected.

The chancelleries of Europe must have been aware for some time that the political situation was approaching a crisis, and that an explosion might occur at any time. * * * Germany knew full well the militant preparations that had been going on against her and realized the keen meaning and object of Belgium's inquiry at that particular time; it was not only proper but necessary for Germany to reserve to herself the true military information involved in the inquiry as to her future intentions. Germany was not bound to give points to her enemies.

France Tries to Annex Belgium in 1866.

A brilliant sidelight upon the status of this neutrality treaty is shed by the French negotiations in 1866, when Emperor Napoleon III treated with two of the guarantors themselves for the disposal of Belgium.

Morley, in Gladstone's Life, Vol. II, page 340, comments on this as follows:

"If France and Prussia agreed, how could we help Belgium, unless indeed Europe joined. But then what chance was there of Russia and Austria joining against France and Prussia for the sake of Belgium, in which neither of them had any direct interest?"

The Powers Plotting Against Belgium.

Mr. J. de C. MacDonnell, a distinguished author and publicist, in his work, "King Leopold II," page 80, speaks of the neutrality treaty as follows:

"It must be remembered that, except in so far as it rests on self-interest, the neutrality of Belgium is without a real guarantee, and must remain so as long as Belgium remains an independent State. It cannot be forgotten that, from the moment the Great Powers guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium, they all of them—with the exception of England—began to plot with one another in secret for her occupation, her overthrow, or her partition among themselves."

Enough has been shown that this old treaty, for all practical purposes, was dead.

Neutralization in Practice.

The subject of neutralization by treaty is a comparatively new thing in international law. It has been tried in only a few cases, and in these has met with little success. By the treaty of Amiens, March, 1802, Malta was neutralized but England took it and now holds it. The neutrality of Switzerland was only then respected when she was able to defend it by force of arms. When France, in 1860, took Savoy, which had been neutralized when it was part of Sardinia, the guarantee vouchsafed by the Vienna and Paris treaties was violated without much ceremony, and not one of the guarantors did aught to maintain the guarantee. The neutralization by the Vienna Congress, 1815, of the Free State of Cracow was violated by the elimination of its neutrality and independence when it was arbitrarily annexed by Austria.

An instructive illustration of the practical working of neutralization is further afforded by the following:

Russian Note, 31st Oct., 1870, denouncing the stipulations of the General Treaty of 30th March, 1856:

"His Imperial Majesty cannot admit, *de facto*, that the security of Russia should depend on a fiction which has not stood the test of time, and should be imperiled by her respect for engagements which have not been observed in their integrity."

In a further Russian Note, 1st Nov., 1870, denouncing the same Treaty of 1856, Russia speaks of "the facility with which, scarcely 10 years after its conclusion, a solemn arrangement, clothed with an European Guarantee, has been infringed both in letter and spirit, under the very eyes of the Powers who should have been its guardians."

Coming down to the present we have good reason to doubt whether England will observe the neutralization of the Suez Canal, for she has threatened to seize her enemies' vessels that were stalled, at the beginning of the war, in this guaranteed neutral waterway.

Earl Grey Says Belgium Mistrusted England in 1913.

An interesting contribution to the literature of Neutralization was made by the British Foreign Office on last December 6th with reference to the statements implying that Great Britain had ever contemplated the violation of Belgian neutrality. A record is given of a conversation which Sir Edward Grey, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, had with the Belgian Minister on April 7, 1913.

In reporting the conversation to the British Minister at Brussels, Sir Edward Grey said it had been brought to his knowledge that there was apprehension in Belgium that England would be the first to violate Belgian neutrality. Sir Edward Grey denied that England would be the first to do such a thing.

There must have been considerable apprehension in Belgium to cause it to be made the subject of diplomatic discussion. This is another sidelight upon the faith Belgium had in the efficacy of its guaranteed neutralization.

England Ready to Invade Belgium During Franco-Prussian War.

Perhaps these apprehensions were aroused by a knowledge of what was going on behind the scenes. The late King of Belgium was never overtrustful of England's intentions. That these fears of Belgium as to what English diplomacy would do, were not entirely groundless may be conjectured from the reading of a passage in Vol. II, page 339 of Jonn Morley's extensive life of Gladstone. On July 16, 1870, Gladstone wrote to Cardwell at the War Office:

"What I should like is to study the means of sending 20,000 men to Antwerp with as much promptitude as at the Trent affair we sent 10,000 to Canada."

England's willingness to violate Belgian neutrality was in no wise negatived by Gladstone's later letter saying: "It is only a far outlook which brings into view as a possibility the sending of a force to Antwerp." Conditions may have changed, but the cause for apprehension was not removed.

While all lovers of peace would welcome the success of the neutralization idea, it seems that in practice it will hold good only so long as it does not interfere with military exigency or the good-will and convenience of the guaranteeing powers. The neutrality of Switzerland was violated by French, Austrian and Russian armies during the period of the French Revolution. Neutralized Luxemburg was violated by France in the War of 1870 when her fleeing soldiers sought refuge in Luxemburg and recrossed into France and again fought with the French army.

Treaties Affected by Changed Conditions.

Hannis Taylor, a great American authority on international law, says that treaties of guarantee, like all other obligations of suretyship, are strictly construed. He shows that a treaty may become voidable through subsequent events, and says (Sec. 394, Int. Public Law) that "so unstable are the conditions of international existence, and so difficult is it to enforce a contract between States after the state of facts upon which it was founded has substantially changed, that all such agreements are necessarily made subject to the general understanding that they shall cease to be obligatory so soon as the conditions upon which they were executed are essentially altered."

Mr. Taylor (Sec. 395) cites Russia's contention as to the Treaty of Paris. He says that in 1870, when Russia determined to repudiate some of the vital provisions of the Treaty of Paris relating to the neutrality of the Black Sea—by which she had been fettered at the close of the Crimean War and which her subsequent development had rendered unbearable — she rested her case, in part upon the ground of altered conditions, asserting that "the treaty of 1856 had not escaped the modifications to which most European transactions had been exposed and in the face of which it would be difficult to maintain that the written law * * * retains the moral validity which it may have possessed at other times."

Nothing Perpetual Except Change in Conditions.

Professor Pomeroy, another high American authority, after fullest consideration, supports Mr. Taylor in a way that must carry conviction. No one really believes there can be such a thing as a perpetual treaty. There is nothing perpetual in mundane affairs except change. Change and modification make the music that beats to the march of time. The dead will not be allowed indefinitely to control the destinies of the living, nor to fetter the wings of progress or development. The English Statutes of Mortmain were passed to do away with the dead hand that gripped the land of the living. This principle, as applied to treaties, is thus explained in Pomeroy's International Law, at page 352:

"It should be remembered that the nature of treaties between nations discloses to us features which ought to distinguish these treaties from compacts between individuals. In fact, nations have an indefinite existence. All the generations to come, without having consented in person, find themselves bound, by the act of the generation which concluded the convention; the stipulations of the treaty, by the lapse of years or by subsequent changes, may become so opposed to the manners, to the situation of the respective powers, to the state of their industry, of their commerce, of their forces of every kind, that, justly, these stipulations should no longer be maintained."

In summing up the occasions when a treaty ceases to have binding force Mr. Pomeroy cites M. Pinheiro-Ferreira, one of the leading modern French writers on Public and International law, as follows:

"I speak of those treaties which governments sometimes make with the clause that they are and shall remain binding *forever*, or at least until both contracting parties agree to rescind or to modify them. Such conventions never have been, nor should they be, taken literally, for it would be absurd to suppose that the present generation could have the right to bind future generations by conventions, good or bad at the time of their inception, that the posterity of one contracting party ought to be sacrificed to the posterity of the other. Treaties bind nations only so long as the principle upon which their validity rests continues to exist."

The Right of Self-Preservation.

But, even, if it be granted for argument's sake, that the validity of the old treaty was not affected by changed conditions, Germany still has an absolute and incontrovertible defense in the supreme law of self-preservation. The German ultimatum to the Belgian government, Aug. 2, 1914, referring to the intended French invasion of Germany through Belgium, declares, "It is Germany's imperative duty of self-preservation to forestall this attack of the enemy."

Germany invokes this rule, which is not only sanctioned by the principles of International Law, but which is divinely fixed in the instinct of every

thing that lives—the impulse of self-protection and of self-defense.

It will be seen from the following expressions of the most eminent authorities on International Law, that the right of self-preservation precedes and underlies every other obligation. All treaties are subordinated and subject to this basic and inherent right. It is implied, and read into, every treaty and contract, anything to the contrary said, notwithstanding. This primary right of existence cannot be lost or bargained away. It is unalienable.

Cyrus French Wicker, in his work "Neutralization," says, at page 49: "French enemies, would no doubt be justified in invading Savoyard territory, *even though neutralized*, if it became evident that France were utilizing the resources of the province for military purposes and there were any advantages to be gained from the attack."

British Authorities on Law of Self-Preservation.

1. Phillimore, Int. Law, Chap. 10 (CCXI):

"The Right of Self-Preservation is the first law of nations, as it is of individuals. * * * It may happen that the same Right may warrant her in extending precautionary measures *without* these limits, and even in transgressing the borders of her neighbor's territory. For International Law considers the Right of Self-Preservation as prior and paramount to that of Territorial Inviolability, and, where they conflict, justifies the maintenance of the former at the expense of the latter right."

Twiss, Int. Law, page 3:

"The State or Nation is thus under a primary obligation to preserve itself; in other words, Self-Preservation is a primary duty of National Life."

Page 4:

"The right of Self-Preservation accordingly gives to a Nation a moral power of acting in regard to other Nations in such a manner as may be requisite to prevent them from obstructing its preservation or its perfection. (Vattel L II C4 Sec. 49.) This Right is a perfect Right, since it is given to satisfy a natural and indispensable duty."

Hall, Int. Law, 4th Edn., p. 281:

"In the last resort almost the whole of the duties of states are subordinated to the right of self-preservation."

L. G. C. Laughton (United Service Mag., Vol. 29 (N. S.), 1904, page 226, in a very interesting article on "Belligerents and Neutrals," says:

"It is an axiom of international law that a State has the right to take measures to secure its existence."

The Right of Self-Protection Nullifies Treaties.

Pomeroy, Int. Law, 351, cites Martens, Droit des Gens, Vol. II, Ch. II, Sec. 52:

"* * * Nevertheless, the right of self-preservation authorizes a nation to *recede from a treaty* which it cannot fulfill without causing its own destruction; and this faculty is even a tacit condition in all treaties, and especially in alliances."

Ortolan is then cited:

"Nevertheless, some publicists have observed that when a treaty leads directly to the destruction of the state, that state has the *right to treat it as null.* This is an evident and incontestable fact, based upon the right of self-preservation. For moral beings, as well as for individuals, there can be no obligatory promise when this promise is of suicide."

Reasons Justifying Belgian Invasion.

We shall now consider the facts upon which the German claim of self-preservation is based.

At this point it may be well to recall that Germany's plea of self-defense was frank, direct, immediate, and not an afterthought. The German Chancellor, in his speech of August 4th, said:

"We knew that France was ready to invade. France could wait, we could not. A French attack on our flank on the lower Rhine could have proven portentous for us. * * * Whoever is threatened as we are and battles for all that is sacred dare only consider how he will hack his way through. * * * We have assured the English Government that as long as England remains neutral, our fleet would not attack the northern coast of France and that we would not interfere with the territorial integrity and the independence of Belgium. * * * We battle for the fruits of our peaceful labor, for the inheritance of a great past, for our future."

Let us now consider the situation that confronted Germany at the beginning of this war. Were the conditions such as to justify her belief that it was necessary for her to use Belgium for the transit of her troops against France? If the German Chancellor is correct, then there can be no question that it was necessary to pass through Belgium in order to anticipate an attack from France through this same territory. Since that time, however, authentic plans and documents have been found in Brussels proving the correctness of the German Chancellor's information. Pursuant to a secret agreement of April 10, 1906, entitled "Intervention Anglaise en Belgique,"* England and Belgium agreed to a "united operation of a British army of 100,000 men with the Belgian army against Germany." The plan was approved by the Chief of the British General Staff, Major-General Geierson. But, even if we assume that Germany's information as to the French intent was not positive at the time, it was by all means her duty to take all precautions to defend herself from this peril. It was necessary to take this step, as a measure of self-defense, because of the great delay that would be involved in the attempt to invade France across the strongly fortified French-German frontier. When a nation finds herself on the brink of a contest with a *congeries* of nations such as Germany would expect to confront, immediate and quick action is the essence of possible success. Any delay, any hesitation to do everything to circumvent her enemies, would have been tantamount to suicide or insanity. The preponderance in financial resources, material wealth and population of Germany's enemies must have been present to the German mind when it came to decide upon the case of Belgium. Germany could not afford to make any mistake. Such errors as may be committed must be on the side of safety. The allies could expect, by the freedom of the seas, constantly to fill the gaps that their losses or errors might produce; while Germany, to have a reasonable chance to win at all, must be on the right and safe side practically from the outset to the end. It would, therefore, have been criminal folly to omit even the slightest precaution or advantage that the necessity of the situation imposed. I believe that, under the circumstances of a country hemmed in and surrounded by enemies as Germany was, it would have been in the nature of treason for the German staff to have respected a contract with the very enemies that were trying to get at her throat. The justice of Germany's conduct can only be judged by her motive. If Germany was truly persuaded that her national existence was in danger, she is absolutely absolved and vindicated.

*English Intervention in Belgium.

Historical Instances of the Plea of Self-Defense.

When the British invaded the United States during the Canadian Rebellion in 1838 and boarded the steamer Carolina and sent her adrift down the Falls of Niagara, the excuse was self-defense. Lord Ashburton, British Plenipotentiary, wrote on this matter to Secretary of State Webster, July 28, 1842:

"There are possible cases in the relations of nations, as of individuals, where necessity, which controls all other laws, may be pleaded."

The same plea of self-defense was made by Great Britain, when in 1807 she demanded that Denmark, a neutral country, shall turn over to her the Danish fleet for use against France. When Denmark refused, an English army landed at Copenhagen and laid siege to the city and in that way compelled the Danish government to surrender its entire naval force as the price of safety.

The government of the United States likewise has had occasion more than once to appeal to the right of self-preservation.

Kant for Perpetual Peace and European Federation.

As to the imminence of the danger to Germany there can be no question from the expressions of the leaders of public opinion among the great powers now at war with Germany, to the effect that Germany must be destroyed. For years English, French and Russian newspapers and periodicals were studiously employed in breeding hatred and jealousy against Germany. Of course, the German press retaliated, and thus, there was prepared that feeling of hostility which culminated in the war. The declarations of various statesmen, particularly the English, that this is a war in which the nations are fighting for the survival of the fittest, corroborate the German conviction that they were in a struggle for existence.

It is becoming more and more recognized that the way to have peace is to encourage sentiments of kindness, justice and helpfulness among the peoples of the world. A survey of history teaches us that we can find no hopes

for peace in the parchment and seals of treaties. Even the plan proposed by the great German philosopher, Kant, who sought his ideal of permanent peace in a European federation, seems hardly practicable, though its desirability admits of little question.

Germany in Self-Defense.

The immediate cause of the war was the refusal of Russia to demobilize the troops she was massing against the Austrian and German borders. Germany was engaged in the effort to mediate between Russia and Austria and had made some progress, when Germany became aware that the time she was being induced to consume in trying to preserve the peace of Europe, was taken advantage of by her enemies in warlike preparations against her. It has been claimed that mobilization is not a cause for war, but an absolute right of a sovereign state. Nevertheless, the massing of troops against a neighbor's boundary has ever been regarded as a menace calling for explanation. It is equivalent to what would be the raising of a club by one individual against another. That would be an assault. The attack with the club would be the battery. Usually assault and battery follow in quick succession and the person threatened by the raising of the club is not required to wait until he is struck before defending himself. Thus, while it is true, that Germany stands before the world ostensibly the aggressor by declaring war against Russia, the fact is that in the forum of law and conscience, the blame for the starting of this war justly falls upon Russia and her allies.

Lieber, Vol. II, page 447, in his work on "Political Ethics," says:

"A war may be essentially defensive, and yet we may begin it; for instance, if we must prevent an invasion which is under preparation."

Also Bentham in Vol. X, page 531, proclaims the same principle.

A point of minor importance, but still worthy of consideration, is, that the occupation of Belgium was necessary to furnish an extended area for the deployment of the unprecedented number of troops that would be engaged. Germany also required the Belgian railroad connections as a means of transit into France and as a general base of operations. Moltke, in his work on the Franco-Prussian War, describes the difficulty of the mobilization of the French troops by the clogging up of their roads. In 1870 it was possible for Germany to carry the war directly into France; since then a fortified barrier has been created by France on her eastern frontier, which made the use of Belgium by Germany an absolute necessity in an offensive campaign against France. General Picquart of the French Staff years ago prepared plans anticipating this situation. England's preparation for the landing of troops in Belgium is a corollary to this proposition.

Neutralized State Must Be Impartial and Beyond Suspicion.

It has been contended that the recently published documents on the British-Belgian compact, do not violate Belgium's neutralized character, because they are to be effective only in case Germany invades Belgium. This argument shows a total lack of understanding of the idea of neutralization.

The first and indispensable prerequisite for a neutralized state is, that its *character for impartiality must not be open to doubt*—it must be beyond all reproach and suspicion. It may have no favorites. As soon as it confides, as it were, the combination of the safe containing its military secrets, to one or more of the guaranteeing powers, but not to all, it has violated the faith that it owes to all, and becomes recreant to its neutral obligations.

Morand (R. G. I. S. 522) lays down the rule of strict and perfect impartiality required of a neutralized state, as follows:

"La politique de l'Etat neutre doit s' inspirer d'un spirit de parfaite impartialite." ("The character of a neutral state must assure even the spirit of impartiality."—Editor, "War Echoes.")

The British Government Wanted War—Not the British People.

As the English, the Germans and the people of the United States are strongly inter-related in blood and in the common aims of their culture and civilization it is our special duty to bring out good will and harmony among them.

Let us hope that the German people —who were among the first to recognize the merits of great Englishmen like Shakespeare, Darwin and a galaxy of others—shall likewise recognize the full worth and value of the great English people, and realize that their rank and file are not to be held responsible for the British precipitation into the war—that those members of the British Cabinet, in closest touch with the English people—not only did not want the war, but resigned their seats as a protest against it.

Germany Had No Desire for War.

The German people are entitled to universal admiration for the way in which they have borne themselves in this, the supreme trial of their national life. They stand together with a singleness of spirit that has rarely been equalled.

Their unanimous conviction that they are engaged in a purely defensive war thrust upon them by the machinations of their enemies cannot be predicated upon the theory that they are spell-bound by some hypnotic illusion. They are too practical a people to chase after military glory and risk the assets at hand. No prospect could have been more promising or satisfactory than the continued peaceful operations that yielded such valuable dividends in everything that can make a people prosperous and happy. She was an acknowledged cultural center of the world. Her universities, art schools and art treasures attracted students from everywhere. Her manufactures reached every part of the globe, and her commerce, in rate of progression, was unsurpassed. In judging whether Germany was desirous of putting a quietus upon such a splendid *status quo* and risking the loss involved in war with the great world powers, we should reason upon normal probabilities and give such a people credit for more than a modicum of common sense.

Such rushing into war against a world of enemies, except for self-defense, is unthinkable.*

* A final topic of this article was removed to Chapter V of *War Echoes*, under *Emerson on the Philosophy of Victory*. Turn to the Reference now, in order to get the complete article.—Editor, War Echoes.

Belgium's New Life since that Nation's Liberation from Holland in 1839
Neutrality Guaranteed, Treaties Made and Broken

A BREACH OF NEUTRALITY AND THE WAR.

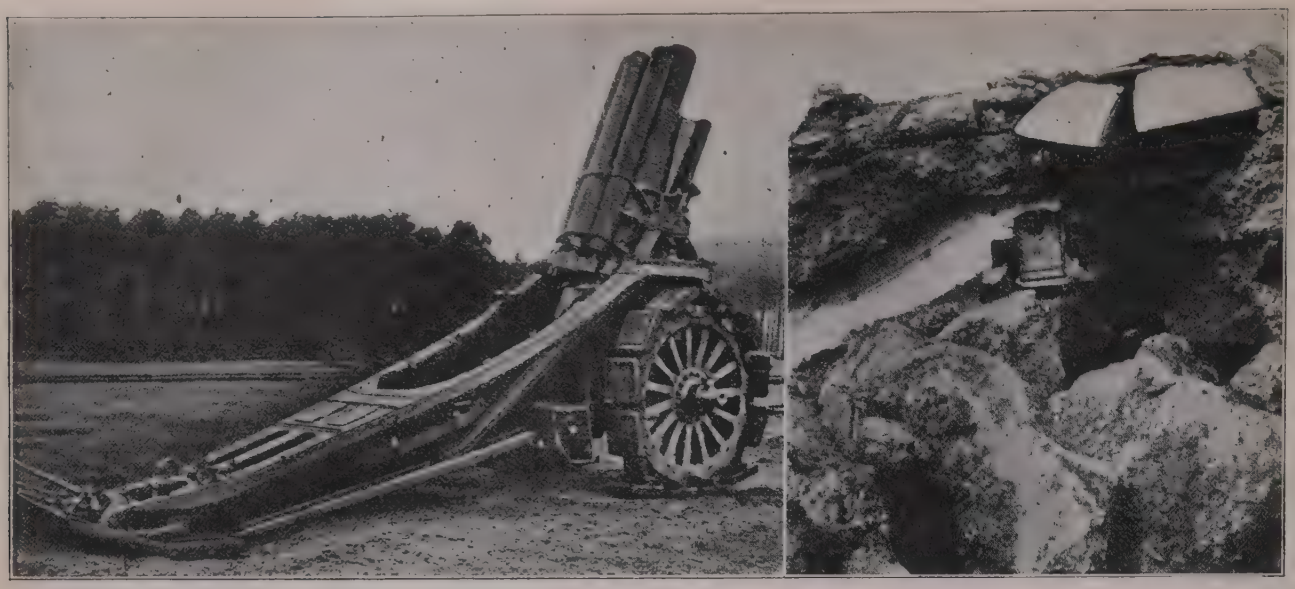
This is the second article of a series on THE EUROPEAN WAR, which appeared in the October Number of THE OPEN COURT, under the title "A Breach of Neutrality," written by the Editor, Dr. Paul Carus.

Consult the INDEX for the complete series, and, in order to see where, in the various Chapters of the book, the different articles of this treatise may be found, look for EUROPEAN WAR (THE). In this way the reader may read the entire series of articles in their original order, if he chooses to do so, while the present arrangement still gives him the advantage of bringing the various articles under their proper, respective Chapter-headings of the book.

This is a series of exceptionally fine articles on the subject in question, and they bear a unique and important relation to each other. Be sure to read them also in their original order.—Editor, "War Echoes."

Germany's breach of neutrality in Belgium was England's official and ostensible reason for war, but even in England the feeling prevails that this is a mere pretext, not the real and ultimate motive, for England herself has too often broken neutrality in her past history, to take a breach of neutrality seriously.

Think of the unjustifiable bombardment of Copenhagen by Nelson, of the annexation of Dutch colonies, especially the seizure of Capetown and other unexpected attacks upon peaceful nations. Who believes that the English would have declared war on France, if soon after the beginning of the war the French had broken through Belgium to outflank the German army? Did Great Britain find fault with Japan for disregarding the neutrality of China? The United States too belongs to the signatory friends of the Chinese empire, and we have reason to dislike the Japanese policy, but we have preserved our attitude of "watchful waiting."



"BUSY BERTHA"

One of the German 42 Cm. Type of Mortar Siege Guns, humorously nicknamed, "Busy Bertha," the name of the heir to the colossal Krupp Estate, Bertha Krupp.—Note the Mischief "Bertha" has done at one of the Belgian Forts

At the beginning of the Boer War, the English broke the neutrality of the Portuguese colony, the state of East Africa, by landing their troops in Delagoa Bay solely because the British army wanted to save going the roundabout way through British territory. There was no other excuse, no urgent need, no threat that the Boers had conspired with the Portuguese, or could break neutrality later on. In the Encyclopedia Britannica (11th ed., s. v. "Neutrality," Vol. XXXI, p. 131) the incident is called "an important precedent."*

What an atrocity of Germany not only to begin hostilities against France at once as soon as the war was plainly in sight, but even to trespass on Belgian territory and become guilty of a terrible breach of neutrality! What an atrocity! But there is one advantage for the English. As a result they were furnished with an excuse to justify their declaration of war, and the Germans, at the same time, had also to face the army of Belgium.

There is no need of discussing the atrocity of a breach of neutrality, because it is an acknowledged principle that in case of war the natural law of self-preservation demands of every power the completion of the war that has arisen or is about to arise, with the utmost dispatch and by the easiest method. In the present case the Germans have carried the war through Luxemburg and Belgium because that was to them the straightest and safest way of attack. They would have been satisfied to have the Belgians assent to their march though the country and would have gladly paid every penny for food and forage or occasional destruction of property; but the Belgians refused and joined the French.

We do not know all the secret occurrences of European politics, but the probability is that the Belgians had agreed to allow the French to march through Belgium without any objection at whatever moment it would suit them; and that the Belgians intended to favor the French is fully proved through facts, mainly through the presence of French officers, prior to the declaration of war, in Liège, where they helped their Belgian neighbors to modernize the Belgian fortifications and acted as general advisers for the approaching hostilities.

Under the consideration that Belgium would be drawn into the war at a moment when it would suit the French best, it was preferable to the Germans to anticipate the French move and take Belgium first, and it is probable that the Germans were prepared to find the Belgians absolutely on the side of the French.

The neutrality treaty of Belgium had been signed by England, France and Prussia, not Germany, for the present German empire did not exist at the time. But since Germany has inherited Prussia's policy, we are told that it was very objectionable for Germany to become guilty of this breach of neutrality.

Indeed! But why should Germany keep this treaty concerning the Belgian neutrality under conditions so obviously changed? When Germany recognized this treaty, the German authorities believed that Belgium would try to be truly neutral and the hostility of Belgium seemed to be excluded. On the other hand, the mere suspicion of a Franco-Belgian *entente* is sufficient to attack France through the territory of the Belgian frontier. There is no diplomat who denies the established right of any power to break all peace treaties in case of war—especially if conditions have changed to such an extent that to keep them would be dangerous.[1]

The duty of neutrality toward a buffer state like Belgium presupposes in its turn also the duty of a strict neutrality on the part of Belgium. Belgium has not maintained a rigorous neutrality but concluded a friendship with the Triple Entente, especially with France, and this canceled Germany's obligations. Nevertheless, Germany was ready even then to respect Belgian independence, provided Belgium would allow the German army a free passage through the country into France. If England had been fair and if she had first of all considered the welfare of Belgium, she would have advised Belgium to abstain from war under these circumstances and to be satisfied with a formal protest. The attitude of Belgium during the war has justified German suspicions.

The German side of the question is set forth in a German telegram addressed to Prince Lichnowsky, the German Ambassador at London.*

"Please impress upon Sir E. Grey that the German army could not be exposed to French attack across Belgium, *which was planned according to absolutely unimpeachable information.*[2] Germany had consequently to disregard Belgian neutrality, it being for her a question of life or death to prevent French advance."

Why, when Germany, as stated in this message, claimed to know that the French were about to break Belgian neutrality, did not England then guarantee Belgian neutrality? Germany might not have believed England, but it would have been worth proving whether England was serious on this point of preserving the independence of Belgium. However, England gave no such assurance in time, for the declaration of Sir Edward Grey came too late.

Afterwards Sir Edward Grey declared in his answer to the German Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg that

* The author of the article is Dr. Thomas Barclay, vice-president of the International Law Association.

[1] Note here Mr. Roosevelt's criticism of peace treaties which under serious conditions will have to be broken or might become disastrous.

* Quoted from the British "White Book."

[2] Italics are ours.

England would have fought France to save Belgium but even Englishmen will find it hard to believe this statement of their leading statesman.

Would the king of Belgium be ready to deny on his royal word of honor the fact that French officers had visited Belgium and had been in collusion with Belgian officers? Facts are becoming known which indicate that even the English themselves have broken neutrality. Dr. David S. Schaff of Allegheny, Pa., one of the leaders of Protestantism in the United States, who like myself, had been a friend of England, writes to "The Independent" (Sept. 21, 1914) as follows:

"On August 1 the British ambassador was asked a second time whether England would remain neutral in case Germany respected the neutrality of Belgium and guaranteed the integrity of France and also her colonies. Here England again said she must be free to act.

"And, if the letter of the staff correspondent of the New York 'Evening Post' in London is to be accepted for the statement that Lord Kitchener was in Belgium two weeks before the war began 'to make disposition for English troops'—was not Belgian neutrality broken in principle?

"An American student just returned tells me that he saw two trains of prisoners and wounded passing through Marburg the first days of the siege of Liège and Frenchmen were mingled with the Belgians, having been there before the declaration of war.

"I was intensely adverse to Germany at first, threw up my hat when England declared war, but I have changed my mind. Mr. Carnegie's second dispatch to the 'London Times' is in the right direction."

Both France and England had broken Belgian neutrality before the Germans. What right have they to complain about it?

In the present instance the Germans did not do the English government the favor of being beaten as easily as was expected of them, and as a result official explanations have been proclaimed, how England had "the choice only between war or dishonor," and "was bound to fight for Belgian independence." Sir David Lloyd-George in a reference to the case of Servia, quoting Czar Nicholas as having boasted to the emperor of Austria, "I will tear your ramshackle empire limb from limb," and, added Sir David, "he is doing it." These are the *ipsissima verba* of Great Britain's chancellor of the exchequer!

It is commonly believed that England stirs others to war but is careful to keep out of it herself.

In 1864 the English encouraged Denmark to resist Prussia and Austria on account of Schleswig-Holstein, and the Danes, relying on English assurances refused any compromise, the result being that they lost the duchies. A Danish friend of mine expressed himself very vigorously in condemning British statescraft, saying that the warfare of Prussia was square and honest, but the attitude of England was unpardonable. The English did not want Prussia to lay the foundation of a naval power, so they proposed to protect the Danes, but they did not do it. If the English, said my Danish friend, were not willing to fulfill their promises they ought not to have made them.

The British "White Book" gives us a psychological insight into the manner in which the Russian minister induced Sir Edward Grey to join the French-Russian alliance. We read there that according to Russian opinion, the Germans would never believe that the English would fight. The English had supported Servia in diplomacy, and the Russians hinted that after all the English would not be credited with making good by joining the fight, and it seems that the Russian suggestion helped to bring the English into line. The Russians remembered that the English had encouraged the Japanese to fight Russia but the English kept out of the fray.

A stray notice in the North German Gazette states on the authority of the Belgian ambassador at St. Petersburg that Russia did not venture into the war against Germany until England had given a definite promise to take an active part in it.

This time the English meant war and were ready to join France and Russia. England's intentions can not have been very pacific, for according to a statement published in the French paper "Gil Blas" of February 25, 1913, England had stored in the fortress of Maubeuge large deposits of ammunition for the English artillery in case of a Continental war. Maubeuge is situated between Paris and the Belgian frontier, and what was the purpose of this unusual act?

There is another objection hurled at the Germans; it is this: that they should not have started the war and should not have mobilized their army before the first enemy had dared to trespass on German territory. But such criticism can be made only by people who do not know that priority of attack may decide the whole war and the advantage of a position may save the lives of hundreds of thousands. If the Germans had waited until the French had joined the Belgians and surprised the Germans by a sudden and unexpected attack on Treves and Cologne, the first situation of the war would have presented greater difficulties to the general staff of the Kaiser, and being confronted by other foes in the east might easily have led to ultimate defeat.

We ought to add here that later reports announce that Russians trespassed upon Prussian territory on the day before the declaration of war; and how did they behave? One Russian general, now a prisoner in German hands, had the whole male population of a Prussian village slain, and some Russian officers had adopted the custom of carrying on their persons the fingers of their slain enemies, both male and female.

It has become apparent that the Germans anticipated the French plan of campaign. A newspaper clipping on the subject reads thus:

"We may assume that the French, just as did the Germans, during times of peace prepared a complete plan of campaign, and when hostilities began they naturally attempted to carry out this plan, in order to be able to fight their battles on territory selected by themselves, which always means a considerable advantage over the adversary.

"That such a plan was in existence is certain, and, as has been declared repeatedly from Berlin since the beginning of the war, the German general staff has proofs that this plan not only included a march through the alleged neutral territory of Belgium, but also that a real military convention with the Belgian government was in existence under which Belgium granted free passage through her country to the French, but was going to resist by force a passage of the German troops, the French promising help in such a case. If this original plan of the French general staff had been realized, Germany actually would have been in a very bad position. Progress of the French to the Rhine could not have been prevented and the German troops certainly would have been compelled to evacuate Alsace-Lorraine.

"Contemporaneous with the passage of the French forces through Belgium an attack upon Alsace and later upon Lorraine had also been planned.

"The grand success of the German army is based upon the fact that its leaders succeeded in throwing over the whole plan of campaign so splendidly elaborated by the French, by appearing first on the place where the Frenchmen intended to be in Belgium. The French mobilization probably did not proceed quite as smoothly as the German.

"For, instead of bringing help to their hard pressed allies in Belgium, their southern neighbors kept back for weeks and gave sufficient time to the Germans to make that country the base of their operations. The advance of the Germans showed itself as so strong that the approaching French armies and reinforcements were not able to withstand the attacks, but were pushed back step by step.

"The knowledge of the French plan of campaign possessed by the German general staff, the preparedness of the German army and the irresistible momentum of the German masses put into the field suddenly ended the hopes of the French general staff, right at the beginning of the war, for the realization of their own plans and indirectly enforced very soon the evacuation of Upper Alsace by the French, without any larger battles at that point.

"Notwithstanding all the apologies for the facts, as they have been offered by the French commander-in-chief, Gen. Joffre, the French have been restricted to a defensive war policy at nearly all points right from the beginning of the war. The Germans have fought their battles exactly where they intended to, have driven their opponents where they wished to and will succeed in further driving them to a place where they can defeat them in the easiest manner. Upon the execution of this plan the splendid success of the German

FORT LOUCIN OF LIÈGE

It is nothing short of bewildering to try to think of how any movable instrument can throw a missle weighing almost a ton and find its target in a most effective manner, as this picture clearly shows. This is only one of many similar wrecks made of the Forts of Germany's Enemies.

(By Courtesy of the "Koelnische Zeitung")

army is founded; upon the inability of the adversary to see beforehand the moves of the enemy or to cross them, the reverses of the French find their explanation."

A Breach of Neutrality.

And here is Mr. Jourdain's reply to the Editor's discussion of this subject.—Editor, War Echoes.

The Editor claims that on the part of England, Germany's breach of neutrality on Belgium was only an official pretext for the war, "not the real and ultimate motive." This certainly does not represent the attitude of England towards the neutrality of Belgium or Holland. Their independence had been for centuries considered as one of the strongest means for securing peace in Europe, as their position and conformation rendered them the natural battlefield of Northern Europe; of this their troublous history is sufficient proof.

"If it was made impossible for great powers to invade them, war would become increasingly difficult and dangerous. With the growth of the idea of a fixed system of international law founded on treaties, the neutrality of Belgium had been devised as a permanent safeguard to this end. As such it had been consecrated by two international treaties signed by all the powers, and recognized by two generations of statesmen."[7] As Sir Walter Raleigh says, it was a matter of common knowledge in England that one event would make it impossible for England to remain a spectator in a European war,—that event being the violation of the neutrality of Holland or Belgium.[8] There was never any secret about this and it was well known to many people who took no special interest in foreign politics. The stress laid upon the importance of Belgian neutrality in speeches by Lord Granville in the House of Lords (August 8, 1870) and Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons (August 10, 1870) is emphasized again in Sir Edward Grey's speech in the House of Commons on August 3 last.[9]

The wrong done by Germany has no parallel in the instances of earlier breaches of neutrality quoted by the Editor.[10] The only recent instance quoted is the landing of British troops in Delagoa Bay at the beginning of the Boer war. Portugal is an old ally of England, and conceded permission to the British consul at Lorenzo Marques to search for contraband of war among goods imported there, and accorded free passage to an armed force under General Carington from Beira through Portuguese territory to Rhodesia.

"The Portuguese government exposed itself to no international difficulty through allowing a belligerent, whose final victory was certain and of necessity entailed total suppression of the conquered belligerent, to cross its colonial territory,"[1] and this incident cannot be compared with Germany, one of the guarantors of Belgian neutrality, invading Belgium when that country, conscious of its duty, was "firmly resolved to repel aggression by all possible means."

The earlier instances of breaches of neutrality instanced are the seizure of Capetown and the annexation of Dutch colonies. The Dutch colony of New Netherland was seized by England in time of peace, in 1664—a discreditable action—but this and other political measures of the seventeenth century are no precedents for us to-day. Late in the eighteenth century, when the organization of the united Netherlands was abolished, and they were transformed into the Batavian republic, in close alliance with France, the Dutch participation in the wars of the Revolution naturally brought with it the enmity of England, and the seizure of all the Dutch colonies by the English.

Further, the Editor writes that there is no use discussing the atrocity of a breach of neutrality "because it is an acknowledged principle that in case of war the natural law of self-preservation demands of every power the completion of the war that has arisen or is about to arise, with the utmost dispatch and by the easiest method. In the present case the Germans have carried the war through Luxembourg and Belgium because that was to them the straightest and safest way of attack."[2] It is significant to recall here that von Bethmann-Hollweg, the German imperial chancellor, in his speech to the Reichstag on August 4, while laying stress on Germany's "state of necessity," confesses openly that the invasion of Luxembourg and Belgium is "contrary to the dictates of international law," a wrong committed.

"It is true that the French government," he said, "has declared at Brussels that France is willing to respect the neutrality of Belgium as long as her opponent respects it. We knew, however, that France stood ready for the invasion. France could wait, but we could not wait. A French movement upon our flank upon the Lower Rhine might have been disastrous. So we were compelled to override the just protests of the Luxembourg and Belgian governments. The wrong—I speak openly—that we are committing we will endeavor to make good as soon as our military goal has been reached. Anybody who is threatened as we are threatened, and is fighting for his highest possessions, can have only one thought—how he is to hack his way through."

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[7] "G. B. and the E. C.," p. viii.*

[8] "Might is Right." Oxford pamphlets, 1914, p. 6.

[9] "G. B. and the E. C.," p. 93.

[10] "O. C.," p. 601.

*See Jourdain in Index for complete reference.—Editor.

[1] "Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th ed., Vol. XIX, *s. v.* "Neutrality," p. 477.

[2] "O. C.," pp. 601-2.

The Imperial Chancellor was, we see, unaware of this "acknowledged principle" of the Editor's. As Mr. Lloyd George has said, "treaties are the currency of international statesmanship," and it is obviously to the interest of each country to see that such international treaties are valid not only in peace (when nobody proposes to break them) but also in war. An apology advanced by the Editor is that Prussia and Germany had signed the neutrality treaty of Belgium, the present German empire not then existing, and Germany need not respect the treaty "under conditions so obviously changed." Prince Bismarck in 1870, when there was war between France and Germany, "confirming his verbal assurance, gave in writing a declaration which he said was *superfluous in reference to the treaty in existence*—that the German confederation and its allies would respect the neutrality of Belgium." Bismarck here speaks not of Prussia but of the German confederation, representing the German empire of to-day. The present conditions appear closely parallel to those of 1870, and it was for such an event as a Franco-German war that the neutrality of Belgium had been devised as a safeguard. The Editor considers an important change in the conditions was created by "the suspicion,"[3] the "probability" of a Franco-Belgian *entente*. "Suspicion in the German mind is not sufficient to justify such a breach of international law. No serious evidence is advanced of a Franco-Belgian *entente*, while, on the other hand, we have the French government's assurance that it would respect the neutrality of Belgium in answer to Sir Edward Grey's inquiry:

"The French government is resolved to respect the neutrality of Belgium, and it would only be in the event of some other power violating that neutrality that France might find herself under the necessity, in order to assure the defense of her security, to act otherwise. The president of the republic spoke of it to the king of the Belgians, and the French minister at Brussels has spontaneously renewed the assurance to the Belgian minister of foreign affairs to-day."[4] France could have no object in alienating the sympathies of England by violating Belgian neutrality, and Belgium on her side (August 1) intended to maintain her neutrality to the utmost of her power.[5] On August 3[6] she even refused the five French army corps offered her through the French military attaché for protecting her neutrality against the Germans, and did not "propose to appeal to the guarantee of the powers."

In the face of these facts we must discount unsupported stories such as that French officers were present prior to the declaration of war, in Liège, that "Lord Kitchener was in Belgium two weeks before the war began,"[7] if the letter of the staff correspondent of the "New York Evening Post" in London is to be accepted. The presence of English and French officers in Belgium before the Germans invaded that country has been officially denied by the Belgian government. Assuming that England and France planned how they would act if Germany did precisely what she has done, "to say that it was a violation of neutrality for England and France to plan in advance how, if necessary, they would perform the duties put upon them by the treaty establishing Belgian neutrality is to insult their intelligence."[8] A German plan of campaign against the United States of America has recently been published, which has not yet caused that country to attack Germany on suspicion of hostile intentions.

The argument that it was "preferable to the Germans to anticipate the French move and take Belgium first" errs like the German manifesto "To the Civilized World" in assuming an unproved and improbable French violation of Belgian neutrality. But even granted that this contention were true, what does it amount to? That Germany hurried to violate a law before some one else could do so; and "if anybody was going to murder Belgian neutrality she was going to be first at the job."*

"A stray notice in the 'North German Gazette,'" "later reports," "a newspaper clipping" from a German paper, cannot be considered serious evidence. Information supplied from these doubtful sources is on its face doubtful. The statement[9] that large deposits of ammunition were stored by England in the fortress of Maubeuge before the continental war, is officially denied. The giving of wide publicity to absurd stories such as the "later reports" that "some Russian officers had adopted the custom of carrying on their persons the fingers of their slain enemies, both male and female" is to be deprecated. Stories of atrocities are circulated by all the combatant nations without exception; and it is impossible to accept any without a careful preliminary investigation.

The Editor quotes from the "Independent" (September 21, 1914): "On August 1 the British Ambassador was asked a second time whether England would remain neutral in case Germany respected the integrity of France and also her colonies. Here England again said she must be free to act." This correctly summarizes Sir Edward Grey's earlier communication (July 30) in which a similar proposal[10] is declared unacceptable. "For France, without further territory in Europe being taken from her, could be so crushed as to lose her position as a great power and become subordinate to German policy."[1]

It is difficult to see where the Editor has gained "psychological insight into the manner in which the Russian minister induced Sir Edward Grey to join the French-Russian alliance. The English had supported Servia in diplomacy, and the Russians hinted that after all the English would not be credited with making good by joining the fight,[2] and it seems that the Russian suggestion helped to bring the English into line."[3] The suggestion that England acted from mere pique is naïve and unsupported. The facts are that on July 24 and 25 M. Sazonoff, the Russian minister for foreign affairs, pressed Great Britain to make a declaration of solidarity with Russia and France, adding that "unfortunately Germany was convinced that she could count on your neutrality." On July 29, Sir Edward Grey outlined to Sir F. Bertie, British ambassador at Paris, a conversation with the French ambassador in London, in which he says clearly in what circumstances England would not intervene,[4] i. e., not in a dispute between Austria and Servia, nor in a dispute between Russia, Servia and Austria. Even if "Germany became involved and France became involved, we had not made up our minds what we should do; it was a case that we should have to consider."[5] We see Sir Edward Grey moved by English interests and obligations.

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[3] "We do not know all the secret occurrences of European politics, but the *probability* is that the Belgians had agreed to allow the French to march through Belgium....*Mere suspicion* of a Franco-Belgian *entente* is sufficient to attack France through the Belgian frontier." "O. C.," p. 602. The italics here used for emphasis were not in the original.*

[4] "G. B. and the E. C.," pp. 93-94.

[5] "Ibid.," p. 67.

[6] "Ibid.," p. 75.

*See Jourdain in Index for the complete reference.—Editor.

[7] "O. C.," pp. 602 and 603.

[8] "The Nation" (New York), October 29, 1914.

*Mr. Jourdain seems to overlook the fact that Germany was first concerned in saving her own; and this point alone is sufficiently recognized to warrant refraining from an attempt at giving further reason for the time being.—Editor, War Echoes.

[9] Published in "Gil Blas," February 25, 1913.

[10] Except that in this case the French colonies were not safeguarded.

[1] "G. B. and the E. C.," p. 55.

[2] For the discussion of England's attitude during the Schleswig-Holstein complication ("O. C.," p. 604) see below section on the "Foes of Germany."

[3] "O. C.," p. 604.

[4] "G. B. and the E. C.," pp. 9, 16.

[5] "Ibid.," p. 46.

By James O'Donnell Bennett.

[War Correspondent of The Tribune.]

AIX LA CHAPELLE, Germany, Oct. 6.—After spending ten days in covering the great triangle of farming country, forests, cities, and villages bounded by lines reaching from Aix la Chapelle in Germany to Laon in France, from Laon to Brussels, and from Brussels back to Aix la Chapelle, **I am in a position to expose a few more of the lies which have given an unprecedented touch of horror to the hostilities now convulsing Europe.***

The extent of my right to speak with conviction may be indicated by the fact that I have for the second time moved day and night within the German lines and often have talked with French prisoners and French villagers while no German officer was standing by.

In northern France many of the peasants expressed satisfaction at the coming of the Germans because they were thus relieved of the presence of the French colonial Turcos, whom they dread more than they dread the enemy.*

French Civilians Peaceable.

The German columns which are moving like iron fingers through northern France have encountered practically no resistance from the population. The result is that the punitive measures which laid waste

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*Emphasized in bold type by the Publisher of "War Echoes."

many Belgian villages, where franc-tireurs fired upon German troops from cellars, garrets, hedges, and church towers, have not been necessary, and you may see more destroyed houses along the country roads east of Louvain in Belgium than I saw in the French cities lying between the Belgian frontier on the north and Reims on the south. In fact, the burned dwelling of a French civilian was the rarest of sights on the French countryside.*

I spent hours in at least six German military hospitals in Belgium and France and observed that German and French wounded were treated precisely alike, receiving the same food and the same attention. Of the signal tenderness of a German doctor to a severely wounded Frenchman I shall give details in another dispatch.

Germans Capture Dumdum Bullets.

The use of dumdum bullets has added a fresh and dreadful element of suffering and hatred to the hostilities. In Maubeuge I saw boxes containing 60,000 dumdum cartridges. One of these boxes, selected at random, I helped to open and photograph. The thirty-two boxes bore French labels and they fell into German hands when the forts at Maubeuge were captured.*

In one night at Maubeuge a German nurse attended sixty Germans who had been wounded on French soil. Of these cases she believed twenty were the result of dumdum bullets. The sister was careful to add that the next night she received only two dumdum cases. Her diagnosis of the wounds as having been inflicted by dumdums was supported by a German surgeon.

In Chimay, Belgium, I assisted at the photographing of two wounds apparently inflicted by dumdums. The nature of them was hideous beyond description. John T. McCutcheon, who has observed the effect of dumdum bullets on African game, said that it was his conviction that the two wounds, which he also assisted to photograph, were inflicted by dumdums.

Reims Cathedral Not Wrecked.

Reports of the destruction of the noble cathedral at Reims are premature by what seems likely to be another 500 years. I have studied the cathedral through field glasses while I was standing on heights three miles from the city.

The towers, which, it has been said, the Germans blew down, are standing and seemed intact, but I thought I could observe that the parapet of one tower was a little damaged. The rest of the church stood four square to the wide plain as it has for so many centuries.

A German officer told me that the roof of the nave had been burned as a result of brands flying from houses near by. These brands had caught in the wooden scaffolding erected for the purpose of carrying on repairs and had ignited the roof. The houses had caught fire from the explosion of shells from German batteries.

*Emphasized by the Editor.

German officers of high rank said that the French had been requested to cease using signals on the towers. Two German officers sent as parlementaires were taken prisoners. As a final warning the Germans blew down a smoke stack near the cathedral. Then extra thin shrapnel was fired against the towers so as to injure them as little as possible, but drive away the men who were signaling.*

*Emphasized by the Editor.

GERMANY'S APPEAL TO AMERICA.

Chancellor Von Bethmann-Hollweg Asks Impartial Judgment.

The war is a life and death struggle between Germany and the Muscovite races of Russia, and was due to the recent royal murders at Serajevo.

We warned Russia against kindling this world war. She demanded the humiliation of Austria, and while the German Emperor continued his work in the cause of peace and the Czar was telegraphing words of friendship to him, Russia was preparing for war against Germany.

Highly civilized France, bound by her unnatural alliance with Russia, was compelled to prepare by strength of arms for an attack on its flank on the Franco-Belgian frontier in case we proceeded against the French frontier works. England, bound to France by obligations disowned long ago, stood in the way of a German attack on the northern coast of France.

Necessity forced us to violate the neutrality of Belgium, but we had promised emphatically to compensate that country for all damage inflicted.

Now England avails herself of the long awaited opportunity to commence war for the destruction of commercially prosperous Germany. We enter into that war with our trust in God. Our eternal race has risen in the fight for liberty, as it did in 1813.

It is with a heavy heart that we see England ranged among our opponents.

Notwithstanding the blood relationship and close relationship in spiritual and cultural work between the two countries, England has placed herself on the side of Russia, whose instability and whose barbaric insolence have helped this war, the origin of which was murder, and the purpose of which was the humiliation and suppression of the German race by Russian pan-Slavism.

We expect that the sense of justice of the American people will enable them to comprehend our situation. We invite their opinion as to the one-sided English representations, and ask them to examine our point of view in an unprejudiced way.

The sympathy of the American nation will then lie with German culture and civilization, fighting against a half Asiatic and slightly cultured barbarism.—From "The Independent," New York, August 24, 1914.

ASQUITH SAYS TALES AGAINST GERMANS LACK CONFIRMATION.

Tales of alleged German atrocities are announced in big headlines on the front page, news items favorable to the Germans are relegated to the fourth page and presented in small type.—Editor.

Here is a sample:

From the "Chicago Evening American," September 15, 1914.

London, Sept. 15.—Premier Asquith has told the House of Commons that no official information had reached the Ministry of War concerning the repeated stories that German soldiers had abused the Red Cross flag, killed and maimed the wounded and killed women and children.

He added that this subject was under consideration and that an inquiry was being made. He assented to the suggestion made that, with the view of obtaining greater credence of any reports on the subject which the British government might issue, the American Embassy and Consulate would be communicated with, with the object of getting them to publish the full facts.

THE "OUTLOOK" JUSTIFIED GERMANY'S RETRIBUTIVE ACTION IN BELGIUM.

From "The Fatherland," New York, November 4, 1914.

The majority of newspapers in this country have so far denied that Germany's retributive action was provoked by the Belgians themselves. We are pleased to find in the "Outlook" of October 21st, an article by Sasha Kropotkin which fully justifies the punishment meted out to Louvain. Mr. Kropotkin speaks with evident admiration of the "heroic" act of the Belgian women "who defended their homes against the German invaders, resorting to boiling water when their ammunition gave out." This, coupled with the authenticated cases of the young German soldiers whose eyes had been gouged out after they lay wounded and helpless on the battlefield, makes one wonder at Germany's moderation in the treatment of Belgian "heroes."

RESOLUTIONS OF CITY GERMANS.

(Reprinted from "The Chicago Tribune," August 6, 1914.)

RESOLVED, That we, German-American citizens of Chicago, assembled in mass meeting and representing all elements of the great German population of this city, deplore and abhor from the depth of our hearts the fearful war which has broken out in Europe and which threatens to destroy hundreds of thousands of innocent lives and the riches gained in decades of peaceful work and development, threatens to set back civilization a hundred years.

BELGIAN NEUTRALITY
HER GUARANTORS AND NEIGHBORS

Firmness in the Position of the Teutonic as against the Non-Teutonic Nations
Spain, Bulgaria, Greece, Roumania—England on the Wrong Side
The United States and the War

The Teutonic Nations and Belgium
The Deeper Meaning of the Alignment of Nations in the War

"THE CASE OF BELGIUM" AND THE UNITED STATES.

An Analysis of the "Proofs" Submitted to President Wilson by the Belgian Commission.

By M. W. B. in the "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung."

Reprinted from "The Fatherland," New York, November 11, 1914.

Of the 120 octavo pages of "The Case of Belgium in the Present War —An Account of the Violation of the Neutrality of Belgium and of the Laws of War in Belgium Territory,"† not more than sixty-three and a half pages are devoted to the testimony of the witnesses examined by the official Commission at eight sessions.

Eighteen witnesses—or twenty-three per cent of the whole number —give only hearsay testimony. Two of the statements, the most important of all, are anonymous; two others are not signed; seven are contained in letters sent the Commission during the examination, and two in manuscripts containing statements made prior to the examination and signed by the Commission. Only forty-eight witnesses, or sixty per cent, have affixed their bonafide signatures to their statements after the same had been carefully arranged and edited by the secretary of the Commission, and the majority of these claim to have received their information concerning the alleged atrocities from neighbors and relatives.

Only five persons were examined in regard to Louvain, and among these is a witness whose name is not given and who visited the city after its partial destruction for only a few hours. Of the witnesses vouching for the reported cruelties, whose exact address is frequently given, not one testifies in person. Repeatedly the statements of one witness were read to the next witness and by him signed as correct, a proceeding not likely to create confidence in the accuracy of the testimony, as in the instance of a Belgian colonel who vouches for the testimony of his own orderly.

Let us analyze in detail this remarkable, translated protocol, which is not a stenographic record, but a carefully edited document. To dispose of one of its findings, it contains many probably unintentional admissions that the German troops acted not without provocation: Thus two members of the Commission admit, as the result of a visit to a hospital, that the treatment of prisoners by the Germans evidenced "no characteristic breach of civilized warfare." Further it is stated (p. 57): "Some neighbors opened their doors, the Germans went through the houses without doing any harm." Page 58: "As nothing was found (in the form of arms) they did nothing to the house and did not commit any violence." Page 64: "A German soldier told me that they were not allowed to touch the women." (Testimony of a girl 23 years old from Aerschot.) Page 69: "A German non-commissioned officer said that it grieved him to act in this way (destroy houses), but that the Belgians were to blame as they started it." Page 80: "The Germans, at first, behaved properly in the town"; page 97: "I do not know of any deeds of violence perpetrated on women; the Germans behaved quite well at first." (Until fired upon by the civilians.)

The first hearing covered "the massacre of Aerschot." The first witness (female) testified that her house was searched for arms, but does not mention whether any were found. Her husband, who as she herself testifies, acted as a guard at the railway station (surely not without a gun), was shot, and the same fate meted out to four others, according to her statement based upon assertions of a police constable (page 51.) The police constable names six (page 57.) A Commandant Gilson declares that during the fight between Belgian and German soldiers, four women and their children passed along the street which divided the opposing forces (the famous case covering the charge that the Germans shielded themselves behind women and children.) "Everything seems to indicate that they were pushed ahead of the German troops to prevent the Belgian troops from firing upon them" (page 53.) Why charge this against the Germans? Why not the Belgians?

A priest from Aerschot at first testified that his housekeeper was outraged in Heresselt and afterwards drowned; but two days later he was compelled to admit that he "cannot affirm for sure that this has taken place, but she was found drowned the next day," the mayor of the town having meanwhile testified that the girl had committed suicide in a panic of fear by leaping into a well (page 72.) Witnesses who fled to their cellars and hid themselves at the approach of the Germans testify circumstantially to things going on at a hundred different places in other parts of the town. One testifies that the mayor had ordered all weapons to be turned in before the arrival of the Germans. Another declares (page 59); "The mayor then told us (after the assault on the German troops and the consequent arrest of many citizens) that we might return home, subject to depositing our arms. * * * Nothing was found on me and they being unable to testify to any outrages by the Germans, left me alone."

The station master was "unable to testify against Germans." His assistant "knows nothing of what happened at Aerschot," but "was told" that his sister had been burned alive in her house while hiding in the cellar with her husband and child; but that her husband and child had escaped. (Strangely, this hero who left his wife to perish in the flames, was not examined to verify the truth of this report.)

The number of dead varies with each witness. The statements as to the time of certain occurrences also conflict, which is not to be wondered at, seeing that in many cases two and three weeks elapsed between what happened and the date of the examination. On every page statements are repeated, such as: "I was told," "Neighbors informed me," "Citizens said," but nowhere were the original witnesses cited before the Commission or judicially examined, presumably because it was feared that otherwise the inconsist-

ency of the rumors would be too apparent.

One Vicar affirms that they destroyed all the furniture of one of the members of his cloth (who is not examined), that it was soaked in paraffine and that they tried in this way, to set fire to the church, failing five times in the attempt. At the same time another witness speaks of hose filled with chemicals which the German troops were carrying with them, the flames of which no amount of water was able to extinguish.

Every witness declared that it was untrue that the German troops had been fired upon by civilians, either having no knowledge of it, or because the mayor had previously given orders not to do so. But a wine merchant from Aerschot admits (page 77): "A Belgian soldier, living Rue de Malines, dressed himself in citizens clothes in a house and went on shooting." Rev. Van Roye denies that the German troops entering the town were shot at from the church; but on page 80, Rev. M. Meens, dean of Aerschot, affirms that "some Belgian soldiers fired from the tower of my church."

German reports positively affirm that a higher officer was shot down in the house of the mayor of Aerschot by the latter's son. The immediate execution of the guilty ones is described by a witness on page 92: "An officer of high rank approached the burgomaster and accused him of being responsible for all that was happening. Mr. Tieleman protested, taking his fellow citizens as witnesses of his perfect innocence. Some of them confirmed his words." So even where their word might eventually have saved two lives the majority of the citizens hesitated to substantiate the executive head of their community.

These are the "proofs" of the atrocities of the German troops in Aerschot, fired upon in violation of the laws of war from the church tower and by a Belgian soldier disguised as a civilian.

But let us examine the "proofs" in the case of Louvain, where—quite apart from the unanimous testimony of wounded German soldiers and officers invalided, at home—the investigation of an English correspondent in the London "Daily Mail" of September 13, surely not influenced by friendship for Germany, resulted in establishing the fact that citizens under the burgomaster and Belgian officers on the evening of August 25 opened a cannonade from machine guns on the German soldiers in the streets and used the Church of St. Pierre as a veritable fortress.

As mentioned above, the total number of witnesses from Louvain were just five. Aside from this, the name of the principal witness is withheld for reasons of policy. His testimony, however, is regarded of such importance that it is printed twice in different parts of the pamphlet, and in the form of contradictory translations, indicating crass negligence, to say the least, if not actual forgery on the part of the Commission. In support of the latter theory it may be mentioned that

GERMANS DISTRIBUTING FOOD TO THE BELGIANS
(By Courtesy of the "Open Court")

special emphasis is laid in the general summing up of the report on the testimony of this witness (page 45), but an eye-witness is mentioned who is said to have left Louvain only on August 30. But according to his own statement (page 113), he did not go to Louvain until August 30 at the solicitation of the Countess Bethune and left it the same day, so that he could not have spent more than six or eight hours in the city, which according to his testimony was still burning, contrary to the statements of the others.

The second witness from Louvain reports an outrage committed upon a young girl in a vacant house (hence without substantiating witnesses), and a subsequent public assault upon his own niece by five or six German soldiers. In both cases the parents of the victims, as well as a priest are named as witnesses of the outrage; but the Official Commission did not consider it necessary to summon any one of them to establish the truth of this terrible assertion. The third and fourth witness contradict one another. According to the first (page 90), the German train came in wild flight into Louvain from the direction of Malines, whereupon a fierce fusilade begun in the streets (in which the Germans are alleged to have fired upon their own light gray troops without being able to distinguish them from the dark blue uniformed soldiers of the Belgians!) According to the other, the train had been in the city for some time and bolted as a consequence of the fright of the horses when the attack began.

For the truth of the German bestialities, witness No. 4 cites two priests, including an American, but prudently, perhaps, without mentioning names. Witness No. 5, finally, pays a high tribute of praise to the German aviator squadron, the first to arrive in the city. He places the date of the fight with the civilian population, which the others fix as Tuesday, August 25, at Thursday the 27th. He is the only one to testify to seeing the dead bodies of German soldiers in the streets, and his conclusions are very interesting. Held as a hostage and warned that he would be shot at the next attack of the population, he declared when told by his guard that the firing was continuing incessantly from the burning houses: "The reports we heard were only those of the cartridges exploiding in the fire" (page 107), omitting to explain why and wherefore these cartridges were in the houses of peaceable citizens.

In Sempst was found the half-charred body of a man who, according to the affirmation of one witness (page 77) had both legs cut off, and according to another (page 98) had both legs still intact. Regarding the fighting around Linsmeau one witness (page 79) testified that the dead German officer, on whose account the Germans instituted retaliatory measures, had been killed by soldiers of the Liège Civil Guard passing in a motor car, which the Germans did not see. On the next page the commander of a mounted corps of Civil Guards declares that his men shot down the officer in full sight of the Germans.

At Vise and Lixhe, the same witness reports hearing firing on the right bank of the Meuse, "which was not due to war weapons," an unintentional and interesting confirmation of the German assertion that the civilians had taken part in the fighting (page 80). A similar lapsus lingua happens to a witness from Herent, who declares that he was forced "to bring up all the arms which had been deposited in the cellars of the Town Hall behind cases," and this after all weapons were alleged to have been delivered up (page 94); and again when a Belgian captain admits that he fired at a German field hospital flying the Red Cross flag and destroyed it, be-

cause a patrol had seen German soldiers with a machine gun near the house (page 99). At Boischot the Germans did not resort to reprisals until, according to the testimony of the burgomaster of the place, the fourth Uhlan had been shot dead. And the servant of the mayor, confesses: "I heard people say that this one had been killed by a civilian hidden in the mill" (page 107)!

This is the sort of evidence filling the sixty-three pages of testimony. Page after page of stories based on hearsay evidence carried from one to another, and colored to suit the fancy, contradictions and unguarded admissions. This is the Belgian evidence trumped up to support the charges of German atrocities! It is not intended to charge all the witnesses with perjury. Many perhaps told their tales of horror in good faith; but any one at all familiar with judicial proceedings knows to what extent surmises become firm convictions, rumors become facts, and hills mountains; how diverse impressions become blended; how the fancy exaggerates momentary impressions, and how even a simple fact recited by twenty witnesses takes on twenty different forms, especially when considerable time elapses between an event and the trial.

This does not apply to the Commission, which in its introduction and various "findings" deliberately twists the terms of the Hague Convention, makes it appear that an undefended and a fortified city are one and the same thing, and repeats the proven falsehood that all the art objects in Louvain Cathedral were destroyed, whereas the truth is that German officers personally removed them during the fire from the endangered church to the security of the City Hall. It defends the guerilla warfare of the civilians, provided arms are carried openly. It regalvanizes the exploded lie that the bombs thrown by a Zeppelin balloon at Antwerp were aimed at the royal family; it publishes four pages of "official findings" concerning the alleged atrocities of Linsmeau and Orsmael, but nowhere in the minutes does the examination itself appear with the signatures of the witnesses, as it has done in other cases, even in the edited form.

In short, the Commission employs every expedient of deceit and cunning. These are the proofs which they had the audacity to submit to our President, "proofs" whose falsity and perversion of facts in all their ramifications are a positive insult to the intelligence of neutral America. True, pictures of destroyed Belgian cities have been shown, but even these pictures, as recently demonstrated, regarding the discovery of fraud in Termonde,* are deceptive.

The only thing that is not fraudulent, and that which the whole Belgian Commission is unable to lie out of existence, is the fact that Belgian men and women committed indescribable atrocities upon helpless German wounded, cases authoritatively investigated by the German government and I hope to be published with photographic representations of the deplorable victims. Then the world will be staggered, as in the Congo revelations, by the evidence of bestial cruelty unexample since the days of Attila and his Huns.

*Read: "Journalistic 'Dum-Dums,'" reprinted in this book, with pictures which prove a deliberate "fake" of "The New York Times," the German hater with the proud motto "All the news that's fit to print."—Editor.

THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES UPHOLDS GERMANY'S ACTION IN BELGIUM.

If "Collier's Weekly" vents its spite on Germany, we are not surprised, for "Collier's Weekly" is essentially provincial in its mental complexion. The editor of "Collier's Weekly" may know a good deal about Congressional politics, but in the field of international politics, he loses his bearings. We had, however, expected a degree of fairness in the "Outlook." Its editors are much traveled men, and their long association with Colonel Roosevelt should not have terminated without profit to them.

Yet we find in the "Outlook" an article on Prussia as opposed to Germany that is so childish that, at any other time, the ignorance of the author would merely arouse a smile of derision. In a time like the present articles of this type are, however, distinctly mischievous. What makes matters worse is that article merely accentuates the anti-German policy of the "Outlook," which a few spasmodic attempts every now and then to present the German view can only feebly disguise.

Recently both Dr. Bernhard Dernburg and the German Ambassador officially disclaimed any intention on the part of Germany to violate the Monroe Doctrine. "In view of the way in which Germany regards its treaty obligations when they appear to be inconsistent with its own interests," the "Outlook" comments on this frank disavowal, "such statements as these by Dr. Dernburg and Count von Bernstorff are naturally not regarded as restraining Germany from taking any action which she has the power to take. *The significance of these utterances is to be found in the fact that Germans of high station regard as a possibility worthy of serious discussion the acquirement by Germany of power to take territory in the Western Hemisphere if she wishes it.*"

The "Outlook" sees a sinister significance in Count von Bernstorff's denial of Germany's intentions. If Count von Bernstorff had said nothing on the subject at all, in spite of the fact that it has been widely discussed, especially in the West, the "Outlook" would have found an equally sinister significance in his silence.

While the majority of American newspapers have come to the point where they are willing to grant fair play to Germany, the "Outlook," in spite of its air of moral superiority, refuses to grant her a hearing. The "Outlook" cannot see the German point of view, because it does not wish to see it, because it is mentally and morally oblique where Germany is concerned. Germany is the blind spot in the "Outlook's" field of vision.

Germany has never been accused of breaking any treaty, except in the case of Belgium. We deny that a treaty existed; if it existed it was of the most shadowy substance. But even if it had been iron-bound, the conspiracy between Belgium, England and France utterly destroyed its validity. We will go even further than that. Granted that it did exist, and that it was not broken by Belgium, *it was, nevertheless, Germany's solemn duty to tear it like a scrap of paper.* If the editor of the "Outlook" saw three burglars attack his venerable father at some distance from his house, he certainly would come to his rescue *by the shortest route*, even if the road should lead over a neighbor's field where trespassing was forbidden. Germany made the dash through Belgium in order to save, not one venerable man, but a thousand. Her action protected the lives of a hundred million people dwelling in the territory of the Dual Alliance.

The present generation of Germans refused to sacrifice the blood of their wives and their children to shadowy agreements made by dead men. They struck at the dead hand of the past to save the living present. In doing so, Germany has the approval of our own legal tradition. We call the attention of the editors of the "Outlook" to the decision of the Supreme Court, found on pages 581-611, volume 130, of United States Reports, recently quoted by von Briesen.*

In this famous decision the Supreme Court held that it was lawful and just of Congress to pass a law that nullified a solemn treaty entered into between the United States and China. The result of the Supreme Court's ruling was to deprive Chinese subjects of the right to visit and to reside in this country. Of course, the great question involved was whether we could violate a treaty which we had made in good faith with another nation. The exact wording of the decision makes interesting reading today when we hear so much about the sacredness of treaties. On page 600 appear these very pertinent facts:

"The effect of legislation upon conflicting treaty stipulations was elaborately considered in the Head Money Cases, and it was there 'adjudged' that so far as a treaty made by the United States with any foreign nation can become the subject of judicial cognizance in the courts of this country, it is subject to such acts as Congress may pass for its enforcement, modification, or repeal." 112 U. S. 580, 599. "This doctrine was affirmed and followed in Whitney v. Robertson, 124 U. S. 190, 195. It will not be presumed that the legislative department of the government will lightly pass laws which are in conflict with the treaties of the country; but that circumstances may arise which would not only justify the Government in disregarding their stipulations, but demand in the interests of the country that it should do so, there can be no question. Unexpected events may call for a change in the policy of the country."*

*Compare with a similar statement by Gladstone in regard to treaties in general, and in particular the Prussian treaty with Belgium.—Editor.

THIRD CHAPTER

THE BIG HUMAN FAMILY

GROUPED INTO MANY LARGE, VITAL NATIONAL FAMILIES
VITAL SELF-INTERESTS—VITAL INTER-RELATIONS

THE BELLIGERENT NATIONS
INTER-RELATION OF BELLIGERENT NATIONS

Their Ambitions, Ideas, Ideals, Mutual Interests and Welfare
Life: Competition—Grow or Die

GREAT BRITAIN, THE "TRIPLE" ENTENTE, AND OTHER ALLIES
England, France, Russia—Belgium, Japan, Portugal
The Irish Cause, Egypt, The Boers

GERMANY, THE "TRIPLE" ALLIANCE, AND OTHER ALLIES
GERMANY, AUSTRIA, ITALY
Turkey in the War on her own Account—A Bone of Contention: The Dardanelles
The Central Empires and the Neutrals

THE NEUTRAL NATIONS—THEIR INTERESTS AND RIGHTS
THE EUROPEAN TEUTONIC NATIONS LOYALLY NEUTRAL—ENGLAND EXCEPTED
The European Non-Teutonic Nations generally not firm in their Neutrality
Some Laudable Exceptions—Spain, Greece, Bulgaria
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WHY WE ARE AT WAR

The Underlying Vital Causes of England's Participation in the Conflict
England's Domestic Troubles and Outlook

INTRODUCTION

J. RAMSAY McDONALD

WHY WE ARE AT WAR.

(By Courtesy of *The Open Court.*)
By J. Ramsay Macdonald.

[The labor parties of the world have been growing almost from year to year not only in numbers but also in political influence, and they give fair promise of becoming an international power which will make for peace in the world.

The labor party in Germany is democratic and socialistic. It is a strong peace party, and its leaders were in favor of supporting the peace movement with all their strength. But at the outbreak of the war, after an investigation of the case, the German labor leaders saw clearly that the present war was forced upon Germany with the obvious intention of crushing her for the benefit of her rivals, and they stood by the government and voted in favor of the subsidies for war. They stated their reasons in speeches and published articles, and there can be no better argument for the justice of Germany's cause.

The labor party in England was branded as unpatriotic, and Mr. John Burns resigned his position in the cabinet, while the leader of the advocates of peace in the French labor party was even more quickly and directly disposed of by being shot, the murder being acquiesced in by the public to the extent of letting the assassin escape punishment. There was not even a serious attempt made at investigating the crime or prosecuting the criminal.

The laborers of different countries have formed an alliance which is called "the International," and if it had been only a little stronger it might have been able to prevent the present war; but Germany was the only country in which the labor party was well organized, and there they did not veto the war because they saw that for Germany it was but a war of self-defense.

We here republish from "The Continental Times," of December 4, 1914, a short article by J. Ramsay Macdonald, M. P., leader of the English labor party and a man well conversant with the inside of English politics. The article is little known, almost unknown, even in England. So far as I know it has never been printed in the United States, and yet it ought to be read. Mr. Macdonald knows whereof he speaks. He states facts, and in the light of these facts he places the responsibility for the war.—Editor of "The Open Court."]

On that fatal Sunday, the second of August, I met in Whitehall a member of the Cabinet and he told me of the messages and conversations between foreign secretaries and ambassadors which were to be published for the purpose of showing how we strove for peace and how Germany immovably went to war. "It will have a great effect on public opinion," he said, and he was right. It is called "Correspondence respecting the European Crisis," but is generally referred to as "The White Paper." I wish to comment upon it for the purpose of explaining its significance.

It begins with a conversation between Sir Edward Grey and the German ambassador on July 20 regarding the Austrian threat to punish Servia, and finishes with the delivery of our ultimatum to Germany on August 4. From it certain conclusions appear to be justified, the following in particular:

1. Sir Edward Grey strove to the last to prevent a European war.

2. Germany did next to nothing for peace, but it is not clear whether she actually encouraged Austria to pursue her Servian policy.

3. The mobilization of Russia drove Germany to war.

4. Russia and France strove, from the very beginning, both by open pressure and by wiles, to get us to commit ourselves to support them in the event of war.

5. Though Sir Edward Grey would not give them a pledge he made the German ambassador understand that we might not keep out of the conflict.

6. During the negotiations Germany tried to meet our wishes on certain points so as to secure our neutrality. Sometimes her proposals were brusque, but no attempt was made by us to negotiate diplomatically to improve them. They were all summarily rejected by Sir Edward Grey. Finally, so anxious was Germany to confine the limits of the war, the German ambassador asked Sir Edward Grey to propose his own conditions of neutrality, and Sir Edward Grey declined to discuss the matter. This fact was suppressed by Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Asquith in their speeches in Parliament.

7. When Sir Edward Grey failed to secure peace between Germany and Russia, he worked deliberately to involve us in the war, using Belgium as his chief excuse.

That is the gist of the White Paper. It proves quite conclusively that those who were in favor of neutrality before the second of August ought to have remained in favor of it after the White Paper was published.

That Sir Edward Grey should have striven for European peace and then, when he failed, that he should have striven with equal determination to embroil Great Britain, seems contradictory. But it is not, and the explanation of why it is not is the justification of those of us who for the last eight years have regarded Sir Edward Grey as a menace to the peace of Europe and his policy as a misfortune to our country. What is the explanation?

Great Britain in Europe can pursue one of two policies. It can keep on terms of general friendship with the European nations, treating with each separately when necessary and cooperating with all on matters of com-

mon interest. To do this effectively it has to keep its hands clean. It has to make its position clear, and its sympathy has to be boldly given to every movement for liberty. This is a policy which requires great faith, great patience, and great courage. Its foundations are being built by our own International policies, and if our Liberal Government had only followed it since 1905 it would by this time have smashed the military autocracies which have brought us into war.

But there is a more alluring policy — apparently easier, apparently safer, apparently more direct, but in reality more difficult, more dangerous, and less calculable. That is the policy of the balance of power through alliance. Weak and short-sighted ministers have always resorted to this because it is the policy of the instincts rather than of the reason. It formed groups of powers on the continent. It divided Europe into two great hostile camps—Germany, Austria and Italy on the one hand; Russia, France and ourselves on the other. The progeny of this policy is suspicion and armaments; its end is war and the smashing up of the very balance which it is designed to maintain. When war comes it is then bound to be universal. Every nation is on one rope or another and when one slips it drags its allies with it.

As a matter of practical experience the very worst form of alliance is the *entente*. An alliance is definite. Every one knows his responsibilities under it. The *entente* deceives the people. When Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey kept assuring the House of Commons that we had contracted no obligations by our *entente* with France they said what was literally true but substantially untrue. That is why stupid or dishonest statesmen prefer the *entente* to the alliance; it permits them to see hard facts through a veil of sentimental vagueness. Had we had a definite alliance with France and Russia the only difference would have been that we and everybody else should have known what we had let ourselves in for, and that might have averted the war. Italy could keep out of the turmoil because its membership in the alliance imposed only definite obligations upon it; we were dragged in because our *entente* involved us in an indefinite maze of honorable commitments.

It is interesting to gather from Sir Edward Grey's speech of August 3 and the White Paper how completely the *entente* entangled him. There were first of all the "conversations" between French and British naval and army experts from 1906 onwards. These produced plans of naval and military operations which France and we were to take jointly together. It was in accordance with these schemes that the northern coasts of France were left unprotected by the French navy. When Sir Edward Grey evoked our sympathy on the ground that the French northern coasts were unprotected, he did not tell us that he had agreed that they should be unprotected and that the French fleet should be concentrated in the Mediterranean.

These "conversations" were carried on for about six years without the knowledge or consent of the Cabinet. The military plans were sent to St. Petersburg and a Grand Duke (so well-informed authorities say) connected with the German party in Russia sent them to Berlin. Germany has known for years that there were military arrangements between France and ourselves, and that Russia would fit her operations into these plans.

We had so mixed ourselves up in the Franco-Russian alliance that Sir Edward Grey had to tell us on August 3 that though our hands were free our honor was pledged! The additional mix-up for Grey, through secret "Conversations with Belgium" would make us appreciate better his dilemma, since he has yet to appear as Belgium's Guardian!

The country had been so helplessly committed to fight for France and Russia that Sir Edward Grey had to refuse point blank every overture made by Germany to keep us out of the conflict. That is why, when reporting the negotiations to the House of Commons, he found it impossible to tell the whole truth and to put impartially what he chose to tell us. He scoffed at the German guarantee to Belgium on the ground that it only secured the "integrity" of the country but not its independence; when the actual documents appeared it was found that its independence was secured as well. And that is not the worst. The White Paper contains several offers which were made to us by Germany aimed at securing our neutrality. None were quite satisfactory in their form and Sir Edward Grey left the impression that these unsatisfactory proposals were all that Germany made. Later on the Prime Minister did the same. Both withheld the full truth from us. The German ambassador saw Sir Edward Grey, according to the White Paper, on August 1—and this is our foreign minister's note of the conversation:

"The Ambassador pressed me as to whether I could not formulate conditions upon which we could remain neutral. He even suggested that the integrity of France and her colonies might be guaranteed."

Sir Edward Grey declined to consider neutrality on any conditions and refrained from reporting this conversation to the House. Why? It was the most important proposal that Germany made. Had this been told us by Sir Edward Grey his speech could not have worked up a war sentiment. The hard, immovable fact is that Sir Edward Grey had so pledged the country's honor without the country's knowledge to fight for France or Russia, that he was not in a position even to discuss neutrality. That was the state of affairs on July 20 and did not arise from anything Germany did or did not do after that date.

Now, the apparent contradiction that the man who had worked for European peace was at the same time the leader of the war party in the Cabinet can be explained. Sir Edward Grey strove to undo the result of his policy and keep Europe at peace but, when he failed, he found himself committed to dragging his country into war.

The justifications offered are nothing but the excuses which ministers can always produce for mistakes. Let me take the case of Belgium. It has been known for years that, in the event of a war between Russia and France on the one hand and Germany on the other, the only possible military tactics for Germany to pursue were to attack France hot foot through Belgium, and then return to meet the Russians. The plans were in our war office. They were discussed quite openly during the Agadir trouble, and were the subject of some magazine articles, particularly one by Mr. Belloc.

Mr. Gladstone made it clear in 1870 that in a general conflict formal neutrality might be violated. He said in the House of Commons in August, 1870: "I am not able to subscribe to the doctrine of those who have held in this House what plainly amounts to an assertion that the simple facts of the existence of a guarantee is binding on every party to it, irrespective altogether of the particular position in which it may find itself at the time when the occasion for acting on the guarantee arises." *

Germany's guarantees to Belgium would have been accepted by Mr. Gladstone. If France had decided to attack Germany through Belgium Sir Edward Grey would not have objected, but would have justified himself by Mr. Gladstone's opinions.

We knew Germany's military plans. We obtained them through the usual channels of spies and secret service. We knew that the road through Belgium was an essential part of them. That was our opportunity to find a "disinterested" motive apart from the obligations of the entente. **It is well known that a nation will not fight except for a cause in which idealism is mingled. The "Daily Mail" supplied the idealism for the South African war by telling lies about the flogging of British women and children; our government supplied the idealism for this war by telling us that the independence of Belgium had to be vindicated by us.*** Before it addressed its inquiries to France and Germany upon this point, knowing the military exigencies of both countries, it knew that France could reply suitably whilst Germany could not do so. It was a pretty little game in hypocrisy which the magnificent valor of the Belgians will enable the government to hide up for the time being.

Such are the facts of the case. It is a diplomatist's war, made by about half a dozen men. Up to the moment that ambassadors were withdrawn the peoples were at peace. They had no quarrel with each other; they bore each other no ill-will. Half a dozen men brought Europe to the brink of a precipice and Europe fell over it because it could not help itself. Today our happy industrial prospects of a fortnight ago are darkened. Suffering has

*Emphasized by the Editor.

come to be with us. Ruin stares many of us in the face. Little comfortable businesses are wrecked, tiny incomes have vanished. Want is in our midst, and Death walks with Want. And when we sit down and ask ourselves with fullness of knowledge: "Why has this evil happened?" the only answer we can give is, because Sir Edward Grey has guided our foreign policy during the past eight years. His short-sightedness and his blunders have brought all this upon us.

I have been reminded of one of those sombre judgments which the prophet who lived in evil times uttered against Israel: "A wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land: The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means, and my people love to have it so; and what will ye do in the end thereof?"

Aye, what will ye do in the end thereof?

England's Domestic Troubles and Outlook

CHICAGO IRISH LEADERS DENOUNCE RECRUITING IN IRELAND.

Miss Anna Nolan, a Representative of the Irish-American of New York, Interviews Several of the Irishmen of Prominence in Chicago in Order to Gauge the Depth of Feeling and to Get Their Views on the Political Situation in Ireland—As the Result of Several Interviews, She Gave Expression to the Following For Her Paper and the Irish Voice.

The Irish Voice, March 4, 1915.

As she has always done in other matters, Chicago is taking a decided and clear-seeing view of the Irish situation. Naturally the men who have consistently been carrying on the campaign for complete national freedom of Ireland have lined themselves up as pro-German in their sympathies. Not that they are looking for better government from Germany, should Germany by the fortunes of war take a goodly grasp of the British Isles, for these men have no intention of letting any foreign power govern them, but because their hatred of England has lost none of its freshness after years and even generations of residence in this country. They find it difficult to comprehend the situation wherein a leader of any Irish party, forgetting the past centuries of coërcion, and treachery on the part of England towards Ireland, could enthusiastically head a campaign to enlist the young blood of Ireland for the spilling of it on foreign battlefields towards the advancement of their ancient enemy who now is fighting the supreme fight of her life.

But the group of Irishmen who have hitherto pointed with pride to their leader John Redmond are the most pathetic figures in this great disorganization of Irish matters. Loyally, in spite of the mutilated thing called the Irish Home Rule Bill, have they not stood for John Redmond against the critics who censured him? For years they have been giving up their money for the cause of Home Rule. They believed in Home Rule and they had full faith in the men who were engineering the bill through the House of Commons. With what heartfelt joy they had shouted for John Redmond and his "full steam ahead" for Home Rule but a year ago when the bill seemed to be nearing the port. Possibly these men began to realize the astuteness of their enemies and the actual facts of the case when the officers of the British army refused to coërce Ulster. But whether they were prepared or not, it was a hard pill for them to swallow, when our morning papers told the story of John Redmond's sudden blossoming into a recruiting officer for the army that would not take orders from Parliament and fight the breed of covenanters up in Ulster.

To their credit be it said that these men needed no command, no counsel, no "doped-out policy" of their organization but took their stand according to the dictates of their Irish hearts. Peculiarly Irish was this sudden transition from the compromising parliamentarian into the original Irish "rebel," the radical who will not be hoodwinked by opponent or leader, the individualistic man of the Gael.

For the Irish in America this upheaval in the affairs of Ireland means something that is gradually showing itself—the binding together of all Irishmen without respect to political organization. Here in Chicago we may witness the friendly meetings of the Clansmen with men of the United Irish Societies. Old animosities are buried in the earnest desire for Ireland's welfare. They have at last found a common ground, and one and all they stand united against the sacrifice of Ireland's youth for the sake of saving England from a well-merited drubbing.

For some of these Irishmen it is hard to refuse aid to France and the brave little Belgians, but after all is said and done, the crushing of Belgium and the sacrifice of France would really be satisfactory to England were it not for the fact that these nations have been her saving buffer against German invasion. And if we believe what the records of the battles tell us France might have gotten along as well without England's barbarians and England's incompetent army officers. The fight is between Germany and England for commercial supremacy. This fact must be kept apart from the sentimental features of the war that has cost a brave little country so dearly and that is changing the very soul of France. The gigantic struggle has not really begun. England is still behind the skirts of the French and the Belgians. Meanwhile she is preparing for what her statesmen believe to be the inevitable invasion. She wants to use what is left of Ireland's men for gunfodder.

By stupid economic management, she who has constantly cried out that Ireland is not fit to govern herself, finds now that her own citizens are neither willing nor physically fit for army purposes. On December 21st there were three football games held in London. These games attracted an attendance of 35,000 young men of military age. Recruiting agents and members of parliament harangued these 35,000 British hopefuls, pleading with them to enlist and crying out that the "life of the empire was at stake." According to the London correspondent of the Chicago Evening Post, just one English patriot enlisted—one recruit out of a mob of 35,000! Surely the Boer War has taught the British public the value of a good job on an under clerk's high stool or behind the counter in comparison with a glorious death for the Empire!

Whether Redmond has sold his country, or whether he has done the best he could, or whether he is suffering from that affliction which often comes suddenly upon leaders, "cold feet," is a matter to be decided at closer range. But Mr. Redmond is, according to his former friends here in Chicago, stretching the point a bit t o far when he shouts enthusiastically for the enlistment of O'Briens and O'Donnells and O'Neills and all the other O's and Mac's whose ancestors and clansmen were wont to get enraged at the sight of a redcoat. It is just this feature of the Irish situation which has flabbergasted the Irish of Chicago. How a regiment composed of Irish boys whose grandfathers and greatgrandfathers once found joy in the killing of a hated redcoat now go forth to fight under the Union Jack in the same redcoat and shouting God Save the King is hard for the men with the traditional Irish spirit to understand. One might call it Ireland's nightmare.

ENGLAND'S TREASON TO THE WHITE RACE.

Hindus, Sikhs, Turcos, Mongols, Khirgise, Fiji Islanders and Representatives of Other Colored Races Fighting in the English Ranks—The Danger of Arming and Drilling Savages to Fight Europeans—A Menace to the Future of Christian Civilization—A Country That Hires Savage Mercenaries to do Her Fighting Should Not be Called a Civilized Power—Imperilling the Supremacy of White Race.

(From the Continental Times, a Journal for Americans in Europe.)

There has appeared of late a tendency in a limited section of the papers, published in America and England, to excuse and apologize for the introduction of the hordes of barbarians which Great Britain has

LORD ROBERTS INSPECTING RECRUITS IN LANGLEY PARK, ENGLAND

(By Courtesy of the "Open Court")

pressed into service in her effort to destroy the Christian civilization of Germany.

Public opinion, in the neutral states, is also beginning to criticize and condemn the conduct of the British officers in pushing these unfortunate Asiatics and Africans in the front of the battle line. The truth of this has been vouched for by American correspondents, who have also corroborated the official German statements to the same effect. Moreover, the appalling losses among the black troops in northern France and Flanders, as compared with those of the supporting English, give substantial evidence that John Bull is true to his old traditions in utilizing other races to do his hard fighting.

In the beginning of the war the Irish and Scotch regiments were always in the posts of danger and led the attack. But they have been practically annihilated so that now the exotic nations of Africa and Asia are pushed to the front to bear the brunt of the German attack.

Some English papers contend that England is justified in importing these barbarians because Turkey has joined in the war on behalf of Germany and Austria. This argument is neither reasonable nor logical. In the first place Turkey did not commence hostilities until several months after outbreak of the war and then only after an attack upon her fleet by Russia and after England had seized two of her warships, for which she had paid in full.

Some of the Deviltries of England's Black Soldiers.

In the second place Turkey has been in Europe for over 500 years, her Ambassadors have been received on an equality in all Christian courts and she has been a valuable and respected ally of England, also against Russia. If Germany should import Mohammedan tribes from the jungles and deserts of Asia and Africa and introduce them on the Continent to defend her cause, there would be some merit in England's argument. But Germany is too noble a **power to invoke the aid of savages and heathens in her wars and does not believe in imperiling the supremacy of the white race.**

American correspondents have informed the public as to the fiendish practices and barbaric cruelties of these heathen mercenaries of England. They have told us that they delight in hacking the wounded with their knives and gouging out their eyes, and that they cut off the ears and noses of their victims, which they treasure as keepsakes. The correspondents have also warned Americans as to the danger involved in the introduction by these savages of Asiatic and African diseases into Europe through their filthy habits and their entire ignorance of the elementary ideas of hygiené.

Cannibals Don the English Uniform.

Some 200,000 of these heathens have already been imported into Europe. **The illustrated London newspapers have recently displayed, actually with pride and jubilation, pictures of Fiji Island cannibals, under the training of British officers, who, they stated, have volunteered for the front and have been accepted by Mr. Harcourt, the Assistant Secretary of War. As a concession to public opinion they announced that they had abandoned their cannibalistic practices and become methodists.**

A country which will call to its aid such mercenaries to bolster up her fighting forces is unfit to be classed as a civilized power and merits the unmeasured derision of humanity. These refined English gentlemen absolutely refuse to travel in the same railway car with a colored person and treat that entire race with unutterable contempt. Nevertheless they are glad to make use of them to protect their own precious bodies from their white enemy. However, we must not forget that it is only 100 years since the same English hired the red Indians to scalp the American colonists.

How low has the mighty British Empire fallen! Is not King George the ally and friend of the regicide and assassin Peter of Servia?

Civilization at Stake.

Ah, Civilization, how thy name has been polluted! In the name of civilization, the Allies have, so far, brought into the field to fight against Christian white races, such types of uncivilized mercenaries, as savage Senegalese, negroes of various wild types, callous, heartless Hindus, Sikhs, Turcos, Mongols, Khirgise and other colored and untutored people, not even omitting the Fiji Islanders, notorious for their partiality for human flesh, as food. This introduction of barbarians into European wars would seem worthy of the attention of the civilized nations at the next Hague Conference. It must be borne in mind, that the yellow races alone, have a population three times the number of that of Europe, that they multiply at the rate of one hundred per cent every twenty years, whereas the white races only double in number every eighty years. Arm those colored people, teach them the art of modern warfare, how to kill the white men, and, it is easy to realize how quickly they will begin to act upon their own initiative, rise en masse and exterminate the hated Giaour.

Note.—It is important, here, also, to understand that Turkey is in the war, not as an ally of Germany and Austria, but on her own account, to defend her rights.—Editor.

EXTRACTS FROM THE CRIME AGAINST IRELAND.

The Crucible.

By Sir Roger Casement.

(Written in September, 1912.)

Who can doubt that the greater patriotism and stronger purpose must inspire the man who fights for light, air and freedom, the right to walk abroad, to learn, to teach, aye, and to inspire others, rather than him whose chief concern it is to see that no one but himself enjoys those opportunities? The means, moreover, that each combatant will bring to the conflict, are in the end, on the side of Germany. Much the same disproportion of resources exists as lay between Rome and Carthage.

England relies on money, Germany on men. And just as Roman men beat Carthagian mercenaries, so must German manhood, in the end, triumph over British finance. Just as Carthage in the hours of final shock, placing her gold where the Romans put their gods, and never with a soul above her ships, fell before the people of united Italy, so shall the mightier Carthage of the North Seas,

in spite of trade, shipping, colonies, the power of purse and the hired valor of the foreigner (Irish, Indian, African), go down before the men of united Germany."

I read but yesterday, "Few people realize that the trade of Ireland with Great Britain is equal to that of our trade with India, is £13,000,000 greater than the whole of our trade with the United States." How completely England has laid hands on all Irish resources is made clear from a recent publication that Mr. Chamberlain's "Tariff Commission" issued towards the end of 1912.

This document, entitled "The Economic Position of Ireland and Its Relation to Tariff Reform," constitutes, in fact, a manifesto calling for the release of Ireland from the exclusive grip of Great Britain. Thus, for instance, in the section "External Trade of Ireland," we learn that Ireland exported in 1910, £63,400,000 worth of Irish produce. Of this Great Britain took £52,600,000 worth, while some £10,800,000 went either to foreign countries, or to British colonies, over £4,000,000 going to the United States. Of these £11,000,000 worth of Irish produce sent to distant countries, only £700,000 was shipped direct from Irish ports.

The remainder, more than £10,000,000, although the markets it was seeking lay chiefly to the West, had to be shipped East into Great Britain and to pay a heavy transit toll to that country for discharge, handling, agency, commission, and reloading on British vessels in British ports to steam back past the shores of Ireland it had just left. While Ireland, indeed, lies in the "line of trade," between all Northern Europe and the great world markets, she has been robbed of her trade and artificially deprived of the very position assigned to her by nature in the great tides of commercial intercourse.

A victorious Germany, in addition to such terms as she may find it well to impose in her own immediate financial or territorial interests, must so draft her peace conditions as to preclude her great antagonist from ever again seriously imperiling the freedom of the seas. I know of no way save one to make sure of the open seas. Ireland, in the name of Europe, and in the exercise of European right to free the seas from the overlordship of one European island must be resolutely withdrawn from British custody. A second Berlin conference, an international congress must debate, and clearly must debate, with growing unanimity the German proposal to restore Ireland to Europe.

The arguments in favor of that proposal would soon become so clear from the general European standpoint that, save England and her defeated allies, no power would oppose it.

Considerations of expediency no less than naval, mercantile, and moral claims would range themselves on the side of Germany and a free Ireland. For a free Ireland, not owned or exploited by England, but appertaining to Europe at large, its ports available in a sense they never can be while under British control, for purposes of general navigation and overseas intercourse, would soon become of such first rank importance in continental affairs as to leave men stupefied by the thought that for five hundred years they had allowed one sole member of their community the exclusive use and selfish misappropriation of this, the most favored of European islands.

Ireland would be freed, not because she deserved or asked for freedom, not because English rule has been a tyranny, a moral failure, a stupidity and a sin against the light, not because Germany cared for Ireland, but because the withdrawal of Ireland from English control appeared to be a very necessary step in international welfare and one very needful to the progress of German and European expansion.

An Ireland released from the jail in which England had confined her would soon become a populous state of possibly 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 people, a commercial asset to Europe in the Atlantic of the utmost general value, one holding a unique position between the old and new worlds, and possibly an intellectual and moral asset of no mean importance. This, and more a sovereign Ireland means to Europe. Above all it means security of transit, equalizing of opportunity, freedom of the seas—an assurance that the great waterways of the ocean should no longer be at the absolute mercy of one member of the European family, and that one the least interested in general European welfare.

The stronger a free Ireland grew the surer would be the guarantee that the rôle of England "consciously assumed for many years past, to be an absolute and wholly arbitrary judge of war and peace", had gone forever, and that at last the "balance of the power" was kept by fair weight and fair measure and not with loaded scales.

IRISH CRIMINAL CLASSES ALL IN THE BRITISH ARMY.

The Right Hon. the Recorder, addressing the Grand Jury at the adjourned Dublin City Sessions, paid the following tribute to the almost crimeless state of the city:

"In the record of Grand Juries in Dublin I think the smallest number of cases ever presented to a Grand Jury will be presented to you, namely, 5. Certainly in the memory of any living man it is the smallest. It is a great credit to the city that crime has almost reached a vanishing point in our midst."

Reviewing the cases to go to the Grand Jury, his lordship said they were: Larceny, 2; false pretenses, 2; assault, 1; malicious damage, 1.

Some time ago, the Presiding Judge at the Belfast Assizes said that the records showed that all the Irish criminals must have transferred the scene of their operations to the Continent and were house-breaking in France or Belgium instead of in Ireland.

If it is the intention of the allies to lure Germany on, they are certainly succeeding.

COST OF RIDDING IRELAND OF LANDLORDISM.

A question having been put in the House of Commons in regard to the financing of the Irish Land Purchase Acts, Mr. Birrell, Secretary for Ireland, gave the following interesting statistics:

The total amount advanced under the Irish Land Purchase Acts, 1870-1909 up to the 1st of January, 1915, was £91,768,450 ($458,842,250), and a sum of £1,584,516 ($7,922,580) was lodged in cash by the purchasing tenants, making the total purchase money £93,352,966 ($466,764,830), the sum advanced during the year ended January 1st last, being £5,764,412 ($28,822,060). The estimated purchase money of lands for the sale of which proceedings had been instituted and were pending on that date, including lands for the purchase of which the Congested Districts Board were in negotiation but had not yet acquired, was £30,137,120 ($150,685,600). The total amount advanced under the Act of 1909, up to the 1st of January last, was £5,132,033 ($25,660,165), and the estimated purchase money of lands pending for sale under the Act on that date, including pending Congested Districts Board sales, was £8,037,929 ($40,189,645). The figures as to purchase annuities and interest in lieu of rent collectible by the Land Commission under these Acts and the arrears are not classified and abstracted up to the date mentioned in the question; but it will be seen from the annual report of the Land Commission for the year ended 31st March, 1914, that during that year a sum of £2,658,550 ($13,292,750) was collectible in purchase annuities, and £1,212,591 ($6,062,955) as interest in lieu of rent in pending sales, and that the arrears on 1st July last in respect of these sums was only £12,499 ($62,495) and £11,638 ($58,190) respectively. These arrears have since been considerably reduced as the result of legal proceedings instituted.

The Average Number of Years Purchase.

The average number of years purchase of all classes of rents (including Judicial, Non-Judicial, Leasehold, etc.), of holdings vested by the Estates Commissioners in direct sales under the Acts of 1903 and 1909, is 22.4 and 20.3, respectively. Detailed particulars as regards the number of years purchase under the Acts prior to 1903 are given in Parliamentary Paper 90 of 1903. The rental of the lands sold is not available in all cases, but such particulars as are available are given in the tables relating to the various classes of sales appended to the annual reports of the Irish Land Commissioners. On the basis of the estimate submitted in Parliamentary Paper 6930 of 1913 the purchase money of lands which have not yet but which may become the subject of proceedings for sale under the Land Purchase Acts, may be estimated at a sum not exceeding 60 millions ($300,000,000).

ENGLAND AND HER DEAR IRELAND.

England's action in urging little Belgium to the formation of secret treaties and then leaving her in the lurch, is not the first proof we have had that Albion's highest duty consists of fighting for the welfare and independence of smaller countries.

England had performed this honorable duty for centuries past in Ireland, although the latter has shown the determination rather to die Irish than to live in corruption as English. But that Ireland is going to ruin, and most hopelessly, if some power does not come to her assistance, may be shown by citing a few of the most disgraceful events in British colonial history.

Since the fourteenth century, the Thirty Years' War has continued unintermittedly in Ireland. Sir Carson and the men of Ulster, descendants of Cromwell's soldiers, who never were Irishmen but English colonists, have nothing to offer in opposition to Home Rule, but the continuation of this frightful struggle has fortunately ceased for the rest of Europe.

England's attempts at "rendering Ireland happy" began with the famous "Statute of Kilkenny," which contained the pleasant legal principle that any Englishman might slay any Irishman to be found in Dublin, the capital of Ireland. This proved, however, not to be so simple in the execution, so the English had to be satisfied until 1873 with a law prohibiting Catholics (in other words, Irish) from taking any academic examinations.

This talented race was held down and kept in ignorance, at a time when the rank and file of other lands were enjoying their rights. Two hundred years previous to this time, the cotton laws were enforced, a less choice method of destruction. In order to do away with the Irish aristocracy, at that time the natural leaders of the people, John Bull conceived the practical idea of confiscating all genealogical history and family trees, so that soon no one knew who his grandfather was. An equally simple method was found for destroying the more important gentlemen merchants amongst whom the textile industry had become flourishing and who became dangerous competitors. A law was made forbidding the manufacture of Irish wool or the export of raw wool to any other country than England, where only the very lowest prices were paid. When the Irish, as a last alternative took up the manufacture of linen, this was also forbidden and the life of agriculture was crushed by an enormous export tax. Thus from the days of Cromwell's brutal butchery down to the modern subjugation, by means of a sanguinary industrial policy, Ireland has been brought to ruin and her resources exhausted, often under the hypocritical mask of benevolence, but oftener with direct brutality and no attempt at palliation. The result is that today two-thirds of Ireland consists of the domains of English Lords and one-third of territory inhabited by poverty-stricken Irish.

The families of 40,000 Irish farmers were from 1849 to 1867 driven from house and home by the English aristocracy, because the "Irish laws" allowed the eviction of the tenant should he once fail to pay the abnormally high rent. Within sixty years, four and one-half millions of Irish left their Fatherland, but the culminating point of hypocrisy was reached in 1909 when England appropriated 125 million pounds sterling, in order to give to the Irish tenants the ownership of the land which was cultivated by them. It was, of course, impossible for the Irish, after centuries of subjugation, to be in a position to take up agriculture in a day. Beside this, the most arable land had been reserved by the English aristocracy for their parks, therefore the appropriated money will gradually sift back into the city's pockets. The Irishman resumes his position as tenant without rights and England will have perpetrated her master stroke. She has played the part of benevolence and at the same time has reaped the profit. One thing England has evidently not considered is, that this system of oppression would only serve to unite a multitude of Irish in North America, who, hating England with a passionate hatred, will surely revenge the Emerald Isle some day, if England's bloody account is not settled during the present world war.

ENGLAND'S FALL.

By Rt. Rev. Dr. England.

Oh! who that has not wandered far
From where he first drew vital air,
Can tell how bright the visions are
Which still surround his fancy there?
For, oh! 'tis sweet 'round memory's throne,
When time and distance gild the way,
To cite the scenes that long have flown
And view them o'er on Patrick's Day.

Though distant from our native shore,
And bound by Fortune's stern decree
To tread our native land no more,
Still, Erin, we must think on thee.
Is there a heart of Irish mould
That does not own the magic sway
That tempts the generous patriot soul
To celebrate our Patrick's Day?

No nation e'er at Freedom's shrine
Has sacrificed more rights than we;
Our blood has flown in every clime
That raised the shout of liberty.
But, oh! will Freedom never smile
Nor shed one bright, one cheering ray
To cheer our own lov'd native isle,
And raise our hopes on Patrick's Day?

Thy gallant sons have nobly bought
Columbia's gratitude for thee;
In Freedom's cause they nobly fought,
And shed their blood for Liberty.
Then sing, my Harp! and speak, my soul!
Let tyrants grumble as they may;
The wish we'll speak is—"England's Fall,"
And Erin's joy on Patrick's Day.

AFTER THE WAR—WHAT?

The German hatred of England, born by the latter's perfidious policy and her cruel treatment of civilian prisoners, is the most dreadful fruit which any war has ever brought forth, and it is also the one great obstacle to a sensible adjustment of the questions *of the future*, questions greater than any involved in the present war.

As Professor Burgess said in 1907:

"The present and future civilization of the world politically lies in the hands of the three great Teutonic States of the world, Germany, England and the United States, and the welfare of the world requires that these three shall move and work in harmony. The welfare and progress of the world can be substantially and permanently promoted in no other way. All the international congresses and conferences which can be assembled will remain practically barren and worthless unless these three great Teutonic States stand together."

We believe that the German hatred is not directed against individual Englishmen, but against the government and its foolish and wicked policy, domestic as well as foreign. Common sense tells us that a policy which is based on unfairness and deceit must sooner or later lead the country, where it prevails, to moral and political bankruptcy. Unfortunately such has been the policy of England—with honorable interruptions—ever since Elizabeth the Fickle bestowed honors on her buccaneering and pirate captains because they filled her treasure chambers; Elizabeth who gave with one hand only to take away with the other and who was constitutionally unable to keep her word or know her own mind.

The English domestic policy has been a lamentable failure and its results have kept back true civilization all over the world because in only too many countries—even in America—it has served as a pattern. As our great novelist, David Graham Phillips, recently said: "We have inherited a little from France; unfortunately, more from England."

England considers herself and is considered by most observers a democracy. To the students of history and social economy, however, she is no more a democracy than a mirrored image is a reality, or a man's reputation is his character.

A democracy is a government by the people (all the people) for the people (all the people) and if this definition is correct, England's claim of being a democracy cannot be allowed.

As Frank Harris, former editor of the London "Saturday Review," recently said, there are 49 per cent. of the workmen of England disfranchised, and the whole spirit of the English Government is to still further increase inequality. Can that be called government by the people, all the people?

"You have one-eighth of the population enormously rich," Mr. Harris continues, "one-third in the gutter, too poor to lead human lives and a small middle class in between. England has no right to stand for any ideal freedom today. The person who says so *is either a fool or a liar.*" Can that be called a government for the people, all the people?

In Germany it has been recognized, *and acknowledged* that *every* citizen in a democracy is part of the government, that the whole has its duties to *every* part, just as *every* part has its duties to the whole, and that for the whole to be strong and healthy *every* part must be strong and healthy. This has been accepted as a principle and in recognition of it Germany has enacted laws for compulsory insurance against sickness, accident, invalidism, old age, for pensioning widows and orphans and for the safeguarding of her workmen. "In the last twenty years," as Mr. Harris says, "Germany has done more for humanity than any other nation on earth."*

As long as legislation favors the wealthy, and deprives numberless units of her population of the right of determining their fate, as it does in England; it is absurd to speak of a democracy, and just so long will it be a tyranny to *a part of the population.* The slums of London, Liverpool and other large cities in England are not only a denial of her claims to democracy, but also a constant reproach to her ruling classes, a blot on England's escutcheon, and a disgrace to the body politic which in the end must bring about its complete decay—if not treated and cured in time.

Sitting thus uneasily on a volcano which may become active at any time, England has shown no more fair dealing and real understanding of the problems which are confronting her in her foreign than in her domestic policy. Living, like a wastrel, from hand to mouth, she has, it is true, had a policy which has run through the centuries and connected ever a shameful past to a present which was vainly struggling to break the bonds with which this policy enchained it. This policy was determined by her insatiable desire for an increase of material advantages, and has unceasingly overshadowed her longing for moral advancement. Her greed for riches made her land-hungry and as she was too penurious to be willing to pay for large armies she—and that has for centuries been her policy—has ever allied herself with some other power whom she knew how to inflame and do the work for her, she herself getting all the net profits.

England's century old desire—riches, and ever more riches; England's century old policy—to stir up strife, to be able to umpire the game and to accord itself the spoils of the war.

So she has done now! Germany growing too strong as a competitor in the world's markets, she has incited France and Russia to fear and hatred of her and hung prizes before their passion-dimmed eyes which their souls could not resist. Indifferent to moral considerations as well as to the ties of blood, blinded by her greed to the ultimate consequences of her act, she allied herself with three nations, foreign to her and two of them her hereditary foes, France, the Latin, Russia, the Cossack, and Japan, the Mongol.

Was there ever such a combination: Mongols, Muscovites, Latins and Teutons of the British sideline? With interests only temporarily alike in one direction, but as a rule diametrically opposite, how long will the glue of hatred and envy hold such a combination together? Already one of the partners has turned the necessities of the rest to his advantage—Japan, seizing the opportunity when neither England nor Russia was in a position effectually to oppose her, has tightened her grasp on China with a jiu-jitsu strangle hold. Already a storm is brewing where the Dardanelles forts are defending Constantinople from the half-hearted attacks of the English and French fleets, for the disposition of the Turkish capital, in the improbable event of its capture, forms the most puzzling problem of the many puzzling problems of this most stupid of all wars. Russia, more than anything else, wants Constantinople, England wants it nearly as badly, Greece wants it quite as badly, Bulgaria wants it badly, and not one of them nor France wants any other to have it. The seeds of future wars lie in the capture of the city of the Golden Horn and recognizing this the efforts of the English and French fleets are but half-hearted, just sufficient to satisfy the Russian demands for a determined sea campaign against Turkey, and just not sufficient to make the Greek demands for the possession of Constantinople acute. The Turkish Empire as mistress of the Dardanelles is no great danger to Roumania, Bulgaria or Greece; with Russia in possession of this key to the Black Sea the independence of these three kingdoms would be of short duration, for the Bear's paw is reeking with the blood of smaller adversaries and his maw is insatiable.

And that is exactly why Sir Edward Grey's policy has been not only small and contemptible, but—a much worse crime—short-sighted, that he did not recognize that the true salvation of England lay in a close alliance with Germany and the United States, instead of with Russia and Japan. Politically England had from Germany and the United States nothing, from Russia and Japan everything to fear, and the strengthening of the latter two countries politically would also strengthen them immeasurably commercially. The only points of contention between England on one, and the United States and Germany on the other side are the struggle for commercial and industrial supremacy, and England should have been wise and great enough to bring them to an issue without the crude means of a world-war.

After the war—what? Peace, yes, but what kind of a peace? A peace based on violence, written in blood and tears, and voicing the hatred of untold millions of human beings? A peace which can but be the starting point of another and more bitter struggle which will throw us back still further towards the dark ages? God forbid! such peace would be worse than absolute annihilation and therefore we hope for the victory of Germany because she, with her ally, is the *only* nation *great-hearted and large-minded* enough to strive for a peace which will not further estrange the warring countries, but bring them together for a better understanding, for a wider viewpoint, for honorable endeavors, for a policy of friendship and mutual respect, for aims of the welfare of all human kind.—From "The Crucible," April 10, 1915.

*See the Index for a complete article from Mr. Harris, especially sent by him for this book.—Editor.

AFTER THE WAR: A FORECAST.

Extracts from an Editorial in "The Independent," New York, August 24, 1914.

* * * So Austria and Germany are likely to have no partners; the rest of Europe is against them—Russia, France, Great Britain, and all the minor powers, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland in sentiment solid against two nations that have dared to open the most tremendous and momentous war the world has ever known. It is practically all Europe against Germany and Austria; and not all Europe alone, but all the British dependencies of Asia, Africa, Australia, and America as well, not to speak of those of France, which more than balance those of Germany.

"On the face of it, considering population and wealth and armies and navies, the heavier battalions ought to win. But in favor of the nations is the fame of the German army. It is said to be the most admirable, the best trained and equipped fighting machine in the world. It is not forgotten how like a tornado it swept to Paris in 1870, and carried back with it two French provinces. But the German generals and soldiers are not gods; they are men. They have the advantage of confidence, **but perhaps they are too mechanical; and perhaps there will be more passion, more dash, more vengeance with the French soldiers. For forty years the children in French schools have been taught never to forget Alsace and Lorraine.**† * * *

†Emphasized in bold type by the Publisher of "War Echoes."

ENGLAND THREATENED BY STRIKES.

Special Cable Despatch to the "Sun."

London — The London "Times" gives prominence to the threatened labor troubles in the British coal fields.

The Miners' Federation meets on March 17th to consider the reports compiled by local agents in the field on the question of immediate action to obtain an increase in wages in view of the high price of coal.

If a satisfactory agreement is not reached with the coal mine owners the most dangerous situation possible will develop. The Times elsewhere in its columns refers to labor difficulties as now hampering the efficient prosecution of the war more seriously than most people are aware.

It prints a despatch from Berne to the effect that Germany is flooding neutral countries with reports of serious strikes in Great Britain, pointing to British degeneracy in contrast to the unity of Germany.

British Policy and Its Character in the Making

WHO PROVOKED THE WAR?

Incidents Showing Historical Progress of Events Toward Inevitable Clash.

The Fatherland, New York.
Frederick E. Schrader.

On December 1, 1913, Vienna was made acquainted with the revelations touching Russia's treaty with the Balkan states, prior to the war with Turkey, and the publications created the most profound excitement. For it furnished the evidence that almost all the arrangements, without exception, among the contracting parties were directed against Austria-Hungary. These arrangements covered the precise number of troops which each state was to furnish as well as the precise time when the warlike operations were to begin. According to these revelations, supported by authentic documentary evidence, Russia obligated herself to supply the war material and all obtainable information regarding the plans of Austria-Hungary. Besides this, she undertook to support the Balkan states by guaranteeing to protect their war against Turkey and Roumania.

Antedating this, when in 1911 England unaccountably projected herself into the Morocco muddle, the war fever in London reached fever heat. In Germany this interference was regarded as a provocation for war, and the London dispatches quoted "one of the wealthiest men in Berlin, closely associated with the foreign office and high in the emperor's confidence":

"No matter where we seek to advance, we find England blocking our progress. It is a case of an irresistible force coming in contact with an immovable object, and the only possible result of such a collision is chaos—that is, war."

In London, at the Naval and Military club and the United Service club, "officers, old and young, look upon war as a practical certainty in the near future." In the September before—this was in December—"every naval officer on leave was recalled by telegram and even the able seamen at Portsmouth and Plymouth were prepared for the worst." (London dispatch, Dec. 1.)

France was tranquil. Foreign Minister de Selves delivered France's contribution to the German-British debate and made some additions to the revelations commencing the Moroccan crisis, before a crowded house in the chamber of deputies. He said among other things (Paris dispatch, Dec. 14) that "there had been a moment of tension due to the excessive demands of Germany. Reasonable negotiations ensued upon this, and he denied that Germany had become irritable and had tried to start a conflict. On the contrary, he said, her attitude had been conciliatory."

July 13, 1912, there appeared in the New York World a London cable dispatch, as follows:

"The first lord of the admiralty, (Winston Churchill) according to his political confidants, will not take the offensive, but the radicals fear he may seize any German provocation to plunge England into war. He is said to be obsessed with a feeling of Britain's naval might and is delighted at a bare prospect of demonstrating that might at Germany's expense."

Germany did not give the provocation, and matters drifted on. England and Russia had divided Persia between them. The czar was already directing the policy which England was to follow in her blind hatred of Germany. When you are in Rome you must do as the Romans do. England stood by in silence while Russia was inaugurating a reign of terror in her sphere of Persia.

The dissident Liberals opened a campaign against Sir Edward Grey's foreign policy. But Grey was of one mind with Churchill as to war with Germany, and showed no signs of checking Russia. He was attacked by the influential "Nation," which showed "our allies in Persia assisting in deeds which roused all England when the Bashi-Bazouks, instead of Cossacks were their authors." Photographs of the inhuman outrages were printed. Some were unprintable. "It remains to be seen," said the correspondent of the New York Times under date of Sept. 14, 1912, "whether a McGahan or a Gladstone will arise to arouse the country to flame, such as that which followed the Bulgarian atrocities and altered the map of southeastern Europe."

The McGahan developed in the person of G. T. Turner, "who sent to the Manchester Guardian an article, charging the Russian troops with the indiscriminate shooting of men, women and children in Tabriz, as well as with unspeakable atrocities by their Persian governor, including beating men to death, sewing up the mouths of Constitutionalists, nailing horseshoes to men's feet, and driving them through the bazaars, and with a general hanging vendetta against all who were even supposed to favor the new Persian constitution.

"Prof. Browne also wrote to the Manchester Guardian, stating that he had obtained photographs which left no doubt of the horrible character of the atrocities perpetrated in Tabriz. Two of these photographs are so dreadful that publication is impossible.

"A correspondent of the "Nation" wrote, demanding their publication, so that Englishmen might understand the price, paid in blood and national honor, for the Anglo-Russian alliance."—(Cable New York Times, Sept. 14, 1912.)

Even the Daily News of London, usually a whole hogger as far as the present administration of Mr. Asquith is concerned, could not swallow the vile imperialistic dose and spoke out as follows:

"No man who believes that the honor of his country as an asset worth preserving or who is concerned for the security of our Indian empire can be indifferent to the policy by which Russia, without consent, is obliterating a free people whose independence we have agreed to protect, and is preparing to advance her frontiers to those of our Indian empire. There is no one in any party in this country today who does not deplore the attack on Persian freedom, who does not admit that it is a deliberate breach of the covenant of 1907, and who does not know that it is profoundly prejudicial to our business and imperial interests. To the plain man the fact that these things should be happening with our sanction is unintelligible. They are unintelligible until we realize that the sacrifice of Persia is only an incident in a scheme of policy which includes, among its other manifestations, the Moroccan crisis, Mongolia, Tripoli, and the general breakdown of the moral law of Europe.

"We have turned treaties into waste paper, we have deserted the little peoples who looked to us at least to keep our word, we have endangered the future of our most vital interests, and we have involved ourselves in an expenditure on armaments without parallel in the history of the world. And the result is that Europe is seething with unrest and that the air is thick with rumors of impending disaster, the reason for which no man can specify. This is the situation to which Sir Edward Grey's policy was brought this country and Europe."

Sir Edward Grey, however, was content to see England accused of every violation of solemn treaty obligations, and turn a deaf ear to the evidence of inhuman cruelty for the sake of holding Russia for the eventual blow against the German empire.

Distinguished Englishmen spoke their minds freely on the subject of friction with Germany, and severely rebuked Sir Edward for his persistent policy of nagging and thwarting the German striving for expansion. R. B. Cunningham-Graham, representing, as the New York Times admitted, "a rapidly growing opinion in England," a former member of parliament, said, February 10, 1912:

"I am in favor of an entente cordiale with Germany. I advocated it in parliament and publicly after the Fashoda incident, when it was unpopular with the British public. I am in favor of an entente with the great or small in Europe and America, although I confess that when I think of the 178,000 political prisoners now destined in Russia and Siberia, there is one international entente that has, perhaps, been a little premature.

ENGLAND'S DECLARATION.

Illinois Staats-Zeitung, Chicago.
Editorial, H. L. Brand, Chicago.

England declared war upon Germany ostensibly because of the violation of Belgian neutrality.* The later reason as given out by England is, that militarism as exemplified by the German army must be forever annihilated. Back of this declaration from England lies—in plain view—the third and probably the all important, although not publically acknowledged reason, namely: the desire to destroy Germany's fleet of warships and of merchant-ships.

This article concerns itself only with England's declaration that militarism must be destroyed in the interest of peace and humanity.

Let us, citizens of the United States, view this declaration unbiasedly.

Germany's vast army—or war-machine, as it is called—was built up as a sequence to the Franco-Prussian war. Since then it was a dreaded power and a powerful factor in maintaining or destroying the peace of Europe. Up to the month of July, it was used only to maintain the peace of Europe. But it existed—a dreadful menace in the eyes of other nations.

Why did it exist?

In the control of treacherous, scheming or warlike men it might have been used, many times prior to July, 1914, to plunge Europe into war. But Europe remained at peace. Does this not prove that the German government used its powerful war-machine to maintain peace instead of for the purpose of warring upon other nations?

Why, then, have this huge war-machine?

Geographically, Germany lies between two powerful countries—Russia and France. France has the wealth and Russia the men. France cherishes hopes of revenge and Russia cherishes dreams of expansion and conquests. France formed an alliance with Russia. Both will gain by reducing Germany's importance and power. France will wipe out an old score and perhaps get Alsace and Lorraine back. Russia will advance the sphere of influence of Slavism and perhaps gain some territory. Thus, Germany lies uneasy between two foes who are moreover banded together by an alliance. Should Germany have looked quietly on while French money and genius was not only developing a superior army of Frenchmen but was also building a most formidable war machine in Russia?

Let us ask calmly: What would the United States have done in a similar case?

Let us take the hypothetical case of Canada and Mexico. The Mexicans do not like us any too well. England, in the past, has been our greatest enemy. England is allied with the Japs. Suppose they receive English money and English genius and then the Japs start the Mexicans on the path of building up an immense war-machine: Suppose, further, that Mexico's population was more than half as large as ours (as is the proportion between the population of France and Germany). Would we need any other factors in order to start the building of a United States war-machine?

But another factor exists in the case of Germany. And it is the most important factor. It is the slav-power of Russia.

Let us suppose that Canada was settled by a race alien to ours. By slavs, for instance. Canada is larger than the United States, just as Russia is larger than Germany—but Russia can carve twenty Germanys out of its domains, while Canada is not even twice the size of the United States.

Still another factor!

Russia's population is many times as large as Germany's, while Canada's is but one-tenth as great as ours.

And another factor!

Russia has wonderful natural untouched wealth, vastly greater than Germany's. Canada's natural wealth is greatly inferior to ours.

Therefore, to state a parallel case, we must bless Canada with several million people and untold natural, untouched wealth.

This formidable sleeping giant on our north receives English gold and English genius with which to build up a monster war-machine. (It is proven that French gold and French genius, for years previous to the last French loan of $500,000,000 per year for 5 years was given Russia, has been poured into Russia for the purpose of making it a dangerous neighbor for Germany and a valuable aid to France when all was ready to strike down the conqueror of 1870).

In this hypothetical case, what would this nation of ours do?

But we forget another factor. France and Russia are allied for defensive and offensive actions.

Therefore, we must further assume that Canada and Mexico have formed a defensive and offensive alliance.

What then?

Would the United States idly look on while all the cards were being stacked against her?

Or would the United States (like Germany) look with distrustful eyes upon the friendship between Canada and Mexico: with fearful heart upon the growing army in Canada and the increasing wealth of Mexico?

And would not the United States (as Germany did) strain every muscle to build up a gigantic war-machine so as to prevent a successful invasion from north and south?

We are Americans. Let us be fair. Let us not condemn Germany because of its war-machine but only because of the possible use of it in starting war. It is conceded by fair-minded men generally, that Germany did not use its war-machine to start war, but rather to compel peace.

Let us be fair. Let us not join in England's cry that England's cause is a holy one because militarism must be destroyed. Let us look deeper and discover why militarism in Germany exists today and then decide if England's declaration is sincere, justifiable and humane.

*Read also, "Has Germany Violated Belgian Neutrality?" reprinted elsewhere in this book. Consult also the *Index* and the *Table of Contents* on Militarism.—Editor.

George V—King of Great Britain

SAYS CAP FITS BRITISH.

(From "The Chicago Tribune," October 15, 1914.)

Chicago, Oct. 10.—[Editor of "The Tribune."]—The statement by famous British authors is characteristically British. They accuse other nations of daring to do the very things which they are doing, and say that other nations have no rights.

These famous British authors accuse Germany of holding that "German culture and civilization are so superior to those of other nations . . . that the ordinary rules of morality do not hold in her case." This is just exactly the way the English feel and act; and then the authors say rightfully: "The views inculcated upon the present generation of Germans by many celebrated historians and teachers seem to us both dangerous and insane." Could not the English people apply this to themselves?

And where can you find displayed more brazen audacity than when these authors state: "We cannot admit that any nation has the right by brute force to impose its culture upon other nations."

Why do not the English apply this to their own government? How about the Boers, the Egyptians, the Hindoos, the Zulus, and lastly the Irish in Ireland?

EUGENE F. O'RIORDAN, M. A.,

HALL CAINE'S APPEAL TO NEW YORK IN THE GREAT WAR.

(The following opening paragraphs of Mr. Hall Caine's appeal to the United States are reprinted from the first page of the "Chicago Examiner" of Sunday, September 20, 1914. The appeal continued for several columns on Page Seven. The second part of this firebrand appeal to the United States to help take the chestnuts out of the fire for outraged England who is trying so hard to civilize the "German barbarians" occupied three columns in the "Examiner" of September 21. At the end of this precious article the "Examiner" said: "Hall Caine's next article will discuss what America should do. It will be published tomorrow."

Did you read it? We saved our penny!—The Publisher of "War Echoes."

By Hall Caine.

(The Famous English Novelist and Publicist.)

We in England hear of women going in procession in New York under the symbol of the white flag, and we are not surprised.

We hear of powerful leading articles, powerful sermons and powerful speeches in America denouncing the theory of war as a means of settling international disputes in general, and of our present dispute in particular, and we are neither astonished nor offended.

It would be strange, indeed, if the United States, sitting in its geographical aloofness across 3,000 miles of ocean, should not feel that the spectacle it is now called upon to witness in the theater of Europe—the spectacle of two groups of highly civilized nations tearing themselves to pieces by all the devilish arts of mechanical warfare, involving the limitless outpouring of blood, the murdering of hundreds of thousands of men, the destruction of villages, the burning of historic cities, the impoverishment of the well-to-do classes, the starvation of the poor, the destitution of women with child and the outraging of young girls—is a spectacle of deeper and crueler irony than any other of which the history of man in this world has record.

Limitless Self-Deception or Abject and Degrading Hypocrisy.

It would be still more astonishing if America, with its ever-conscious religiosity, should not feel that the fact that these two groups of nations should claim to be Christian nations and should be praying at the same time to the same God for the success of their opposing armies, ringing their church bells to celebrate their victories or to lament their defeats, singing on the one hand their Te Deum and on the other their Miserere, and all in the name of Him who said "Resist not evil," is proof beyond dispute that man is a creature capable either of limitless self-deception or of the most abject and degrading hypocrisy.

And, feeling like this, it is perhaps that you in America should do your best to persuade yourselves that you have neither part nor lot in the hideous European saturnalia, and that your President has done wisely in recommending to you an attitude of personal as well as national neutrality.

Inhuman and Wrong for America to Remain Neutral, Author Argues.

But is your neutrality possible? Is it human? Is it right? In the face of the appalling spectacle of a great part of the family of man in the death throes of a struggle which must surely affect for good or ill the very foundation of human society, is it conceivable that 90,000,000 enlightened people in the United States bound to the belligerents by the closest ties of blood, intellectual interest, religious sympathy and material welfare, can sit at the other side of the Atlantic Ocean and say to each other: "This bloody business is none of ours; so, for God's sake, let us keep out of it?"

It is because I think it is not possible, not human and not right for America to adopt even passively an attitude of neutrality, that I am making the present appeal to you—an appeal that is intended to assert with whatever power I possess, your responsibility under the moral law for the present state, the continuance and ultimate outcome of this frightful European struggle.†

Does this strike you as an audacious aim,* seeing that you in America had nothing on earth to do with the making of the accursed war?†

Have patience with me and I think I may be able to show that neither had we in England anything to do with the making of the war; and yet we are in it and were compelled to be in it by every clause of the moral code which regulates the relation of nation to nation or yet man to man.† * * *

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*We wonder whether this appeal struck President Wilson "as an audacious aim" and whether the Chief Magistrate of this strictly neutral country appreciates the way in which the Hon. William Randolph Hearst is trying to live up to the President's appeal for STRICT NEUTRALITY.—The Publisher of "War Echoes."

†Emphasized in bold type by the Editor.

THWARTING THE PRESIDENT'S PEACE PLANS.

(From "The Fatherland," New York, September 30, 1914.)

If President Wilson can bring about peace in Europe, he will shed lustre upon his administration and add to the undying glory of the United States. There can be no doubt that, both for ethical and for practical reasons, the people of the United States would like to see the end of fratricide in Europe. Even Mr. William Randolph Hearst, the most unrelenting antagonist of the President, rallies to the support of his plans for mediation.* The American people are united, irrespective of racial sympathies and political differences of opinion, in their desire for peace. But our pacific demonstrations lose the ring of sincerity, if we sell powder and rifles to the belligerents by the back door while we shout for peace from the house tops.

In spite of the President's proclamation, a number of American firms are selling even now huge war supplies to the Allies.

Japan buys field guns and ammunition through Mitsui and Company.

Japan, moreover, purchases dynamite from the Hercules and from the Giant Powder Company in all available quantities.

The Winchester Arms Manufacturing Company has furnished since August 5th, 500,000 rifles to a London Armory.

Russia has bought from the Powder Trust (Dupont Company) 1,000 tons of cannon powder and 1,000 tons of gun powder, delivered by way of San Francisco.

No wonder the Allies are unwilling to discuss peace terms. Every rifle in their hands means a prolongation of the war. Every ton of powder means new sacrifices of life and property.

It has been stated that the decided stand taken by Americans of foreign extraction for the countries of their affiliation has handicapped the President's efforts. Nothing that has been said or done by any American of foreign extraction weighs as heavily in the balance against peace as one pound of powder or dynamite furnished by American concerns to any of the belligerents. How long will the Government permit the greed for profit on the part of a few traffickers in ammunition to stand in the way of the noble endeavor of the President and the fervent wish of the entire nation for peace?

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*If interested to know how the Hon. William Randolph Hearst rallies to the support of the President's plans for mediation, consult index for "Sit Down On Hearst."—Editor.

FAIR PLAY WAS DENIED THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

What Might Have Occurred Had Justice Been Accorded the Muscovite.

Britain's Tardy Yielding.

Momentous Utterances Made by Sir Edward Grey in the House of Commons.

From "Chicago Daily News," Feb., 1915.

The "eastern question" that for nearly a century has unsettled the politics of all Europe is reaching final dissolution—not solution, but dissolution.

The millions of money and thousands of lives that Great Britain has sacrificed during the past fifty years to keep tottering Turkey upon the

map of Europe have been worse than thrown away. Had Russia been allowed to go to Stamboul, instead of being attacked on the Crimea, a series of wars that have distracted central Europe never would have occurred. Had she been permitted to remain at the Bosporus in 1878, when her soldiers had fought their way thither, the Russo-Japanese and Balkan wars would not have taken place.

Russia would have expanded toward the warm waters of the Mediterranean instead of toward the frigid shores of Kamtchatka; Manchuria never would have attracted the attention of her statesmen; Japan would have lived in peace with all the world except China; every citizen of the Russian empire, poor or rich, would have stood higher in the social scale; Germany would have been content to absorb Austria and possessed two fine ports in the Adriatic almost as near to the United States and much more serviceable for her colonization schemes in Africa and the far east.

Had Russia Received Justice.

In short, Fulton Chambers writes in the "Brooklyn Eagle," had Russia been accorded the fair play to which she was entitled all the world would be different!

Sir Edward Grey, British secretary of foreign affairs, rose in the house of commons the other day and announced formally that Great Britain is now "entirely in sympathy with the aspirations of Russia to go to Constantinople"! He declined to admit that Russia's foreign minister, M. Sazanoff, had declared the czar's intention to permanently occupy the city at the Golden Horn, but said, in so many words, England would no longer oppose objections thereto. How momentous!

Although fully expected, this is great news for humanity. It means the ultimate amalgamation of Roumania and the Balkan states into a great kingdom, of which Hungary will ultimately become a part.

Russia will sweep over Armenia and Anatolia—satisfied to allow the Bulgarians to repossess Adrianople. She will be content with Turkish territory as far west as the Tchataldje lines of defense, the Gallipoli peninsula, which safeguards the Dardanelles, and complete dismantling of the present forts on the Asiatic side of that waterway.

War's Most Important Outcome.

Brusa has practically reassumed the aspect of the Turkish capital. Thither the official records and contents of the treasury, much or little, have been removed from Stamboul.

Russia will absorb all ports along the Asiatic coast of the Black sea. Turks given to agriculture must seek the rich soil of Mesopotamia or return to the undefined but arid wastes east of the Caspian sea, from whence they originally emerged to blight all eastern Europe for 700 years!

Nobody in all this earth cares where the Turks go, if they keep away from the habitations of civilized mankind. Eight bells have rung for Turkey!

Realization of Russian ambition to have unrestricted access to the sea through the Bosporus is far and away the most important outcome of the tremendous struggle now convulsing Europe. And the curious feature about its concession is that it develops naturally out of the fortunes of war!

Whether or not Germany holds Russia safe on the frontier of East Prussia matters little to her now assured destiny!

All things are possible for her now! She will cease wasting her energies on conquests in Central Asia. Projected irrigation of the vast Kizil and Kaa deserts lying east and south of the Aral sea will be deferred indefinitely.

Glorious Prospects for Russia.

The Black sea, classic Propontus, will be converted into a Russian lake. It never freezes and nothing stands to prevent Russia from becoming one of the maritime nations of the globe.

Situation matters little if a nation's ports have behind them a hinterland capable of supplying cargoes for their argosies! Venice was the mightiest of sailor nations for nearly two centuries, although the location of her chief port was as wretched as could possibly be imagined.

It is a safe prediction that Russia's capital will be removed to Moscow and that Petrograd will become a port of little more importance to the empire than Archangel, Odessa, Sebastopol and other Black Sea cities of less importance will welcome merchant steamers from all parts of the world. * * *

BEARDS BRITISH LION IN HIS DEN.

George Raffalovich Dares to Write for London New Age of Hypocrisies.

From the "New Age," London.

(By George Raffalovich.)

Let me make one more attempt to bring before your readers the reality of the tragedy of the Ukraine. One does not expect much from Mr. T. P. O'Connor, but his last dictum, that we are fighting the cause of the small nationalities, makes sad reading to me. It is so utterly untrue. While we are fighting, two nations at least are being crushed to death by Russia. Finland is moribund and the Ukraine movement loses its Piedmont. I am only concerned with the latter case because of the tremendous spiritual and intellectual possibilities I believe to lie in a free Ukraine.

Dr. Dillon, in the Telegraph, assured us that the Ruthenians were Russians at heart. I know that is contrary to the truth. It is so much easier to take the work of Russian Nationalist journalists.

It is useless to say that the Little Russians are Russians, unless you concede at the same time that the Russians are not Russians. Let me explain. The word Rusj was used centuries ago to describe the inhabitants of the Ukraine. Muscovy absorbed them later on, and the name of Muscovy was dropped and that of Rossia, a very similar one, adopted for the whole. If you ask a Ukrainian what he is, he will use the word Rusiky to describe his language and Rossiysky for that of the Great Russian.

Another argument is that the Ukrainians are as happy as they are. Yes, so did the seventeenth century landlords say that the peasants of France were pleased to be treated as cattle. But they were not cattle and proved it. That is the great trouble of the Ukraine. It is a criminal offense in the Russian Ukraine to teach the Ukrainian language. Letters addressed in Ukrainian are not delivered.

Only the worst and least moral of Ukrainians will engage to teach Russian to their pupils, and the whole population is thus gradually demoralized. But the great-little Wellses go to Russia, others of the same stripe go to Galicia; they question, being strangers, the only people they can question, an ambitious priest, a dissatisfied official, a land owner of Polish or Jewish or Muscovite race, or a few peasants, carefully selected by their guide, in carefully selected districts.

I do not imagine them; I know them, and after months of hard, and I can assure you, wholly disinterested work on their behalf, I have been able to reach the heart of those Ukrainians of Russia who dared to speak. I have spoken with scores of them, poor and rich.

The truth is that the people of England do not believe in their hearts in the rights of small nationalities.

Take the Belgian case. The violation of Belgium as an argument used against Germany is weak. We know very well that Prussia will not retain Belgium after the war, even though Sir Roger Casement and the Albanians are said to have sided with the Kaiser. We have had a good deal of evidence showing that the Belgian government and ours knew long ago that Germany had altered her war plans to fit in with the Franco-Russian alliance and meant to pass through Belgium willy-nilly.

Let us forever drop this silly prattle about helping small nations. We allow Russia, our ally, who depends today on our staff officers for the brains of her army and on our Chancellor of the Exchequer and our German-Jewish financiers for several million pounds monthly, to establish her government (save the mark!) over Europeans who are not Russians.

Our ears will be closed, our eyes will be shut. What the Ukrainians need is a friendly statesman with two million bayonets behind him. This they will never get from England until it suits England's book. Cease then to rave about chivalry. Do not insult our intelligence by prating about the sacred cause of smaller nationalities. Or else help them all alike!

It's about time somebody were sitting down on Hearst, and sitting down hard.

Only a few weeks ago he was using his newspapers to attempt to force this country into war with Mexico and brutally cartooning President Wilson and Secretary Bryan.

THE "BARBARIAN" HALLUCINATION.

The General Suggestion About Germany the War-Seeker.

By L. Niessen-Deiters, Bonn.

Motto: "Hier tut sich das Entsetzliche auf: Die Lüge wirkt genau so stark wie die Wahrheit, denn sie wird geglaubt!" "Here the monstrous fact becomes evident; a lie has the same power as the truth, for it is believed." (War Essays by Houston Stewart Chamberlain; Bruckmann, Munich.)

On a previous occasion there has been a general suggestion which spread from one country to another like an infectious disease, raging most wildly in the name of Culture just against the most progressive elements. The civilized humanity of today looks back upon it with a painful feeling of shame, and even the poorest scavenger shrugs his shoulders in disgust at people who were once capable of believing such nonsense. And yet, at one time statesman and beggar took up friendly party for this shameful absurdity; for this hallucination of the witches.

Today, in this enlightened twentieth century, we have something new. A new general suggestion:—the barbarian hallucination.

Can there be anything more grotesque or stupid than to stamp one of the most progressive nations of the world, with printer's ink, as dangerous barbarians who must be killed in the name of Culture? Can there be anything more absurd than this; the only country that has nothing to gain by a war, but has all the fruits of forty-three years' labor to lose, just this country is said to have caused the war? And yet, statesman and beggar are again taking up friendly party for this new shameful absurdity—for this barbarian hallucination!

But this new madness is something more than merely shameful; it is malicious. Though its supports are, as on the previous occasion, lack of knowledge and fear, still its origin is different; it has been bred in full consciousness in a criminal manner, and it is being criminally nourished in full consciousness. What they deserve is told us with refreshing clearness by the author of the above motto: "Liars who destroy the peace of Europe ought to be hanged!" Houston Stewart Chamberlain, an Englishman, says so as the result of a cutting criticism of the English Harmsworth Press, that newspaper trust, the most widely read paper of which everybody knows is the "Times." In France and Russia they could erect gallows with an equal right.

Even during the darkest period of the belief in witches there were a few independent minds that kept aloof from this general suggestion of the barbarian hallucination. Houston Stewart Chamberlain, the historian and ethnologist who wrote "The Rudiments of the Nineteenth Century," is one of them. A short time ago he published six "War Essays," all independent of each other and treating on six different subjects. But through all six runs like a red streak the parrying off of the barbarian hallucination and the very clear knowledge as to who, though modestly and in secret, has not only prepared and fanned into flame the barbarian hallucination, but in reality the whole war as well. On the very second page of his book he says quite openly, "From the very start England has been the moving power. England wanted the war and has brought it about; England has effected the estrangement of Russia from Germany; England has been constantly inciting France." We must agree, however, that it is not the English people, who have been disgracefully deceived both by their famous Harmsworth Press and by their ministers, not the English people who cold-bloodedly decided upon this course some years ago in furtherance of material interests, but a mere handful of men.

True enough, the incitement of the English has been very successful; just as successful as the incitement of the whole world. On this subject Chamberlain says: "On my last visits to England, in 1907 and 1908, I found everywhere a startlingly blind hatred towards Germany, and the impatient expectation of a war of destruction." On the other hand, he gives proofs, based on his forty-five years' thorough knowledge of Germany, that nowhere in the whole of Germany during all this time he has found any inclination whatever for war: "In the whole of Germany there has not lived a single man during the past forty-three years who has wanted the war; no! not one! Anyone who declares the contrary lies, either knowingly or unwittingly!"

Still (as every child knows), it gradually became more and more difficult for Germany to preserve the peace that was so necessary and for which she so much longed. Mr. Chamberlain, the Englishman, credits the Emperor with having most persistently preserved it under the most trying circumstances: "Wherever during the last ten years the situation became incompatible with Germany's honor—and England took care of this possibility—he it was, the Emperor, who invariably maintained peace."

Political Germany—the post-Bismarck one—is sharply criticized in one of the six essays. By the way, it is a criticism which every real patriot ought to read attentively. Seen from the standpoint of "barbarian hallucination" even this severe criticism almost becomes a compliment. It proves that Germany—that peace-destroying and all-threatening Germany—has not known how to bring forth men who were a match for the warlike intrigues of a Grey, an Iswolsky or a Delcassé. And this is a fact much to be regretted. In a previous article I have already said, "It was a master stroke of English politics to push onto Germany, that had struggled for peace up to the very last moment, to all outward appearances the hated rôle of the attacker." Amongst people who are incapable of forming an opinion of their own, this one fact will long be nourishment for the barbarian hallucination: He who declares the war begins it; Germany issued the first declaration—consequently Germany caused the war! Witches have red eyes—that man over there has red eyes—consequently he is a sorcerer! The logic of the two is about on an equal level; but when was there logic in general suggestion? The logic of a fanatical crowd has always been: "Crucify him!"

Chamberlain fully believes Germany, that stands so much in need of political reform, to be quite capable of carrying out these reforms, but when speaking of German culture and German liberty his tone increases to admiration. As regards the latter quality, in particular, he expresses himself in a manner constituting the biggest possible contrast to all the catchwords now being bawled into our ears; he attacks most energetically one special type of barbarian hallucination—the madness about the German bondage.

Well! The disciple of Kant goes deeper and more thoroughly into the idea of "freedom" than on the half-mouldy commons of *Egalité* and *Fraternité*, or the permission to walk on the lawns in public gardens. To him freedom, the *summum bonum* of culture, is not a political phrase handed down to us by our forefathers, but an idea. He looks for freedom in the inner truth, not in the outward slackening of the reins; freedom is not free will, but truth! And he finds it not in the street, but in that internal freedom of thought common to great reformers and to the greatest thinkers. "A non-German freedom is no freedom!" is therefore his watchword. And now compare this with a few examples of the freedom so clamorously eulogized nowadays. "There is no need to talk about the freedom Russia can give; what freedom poor misguided and dissipated France—that land of political corruption and hollow phrases—can offer us, needs just as little explanation. But the English idea of freedom is the right of might, and this for herself alone; in the whole of England's vast colonial empire not a single spark of intellectual life can be pointed to; there is nothing but cattle-dealers, slave-holders, storers of goods, mining exploiters, and everywhere we find that unconditional despotism and brutality holding sway which crop up everywhere where the culture of mind does not permanently banish them." As regards the English "culture of the mind" he sarcastically quotes the words of the Swedish writer Steffens: among the English there was "a superstitious fear of the mind taking any part in the working out of human affairs."

He, the Englishman, cannot be deceived like the foreigner by that tiny clique of highly intellectual and independent men of letters, nor by that equally tiny clique of political and financial giants that rule over and

push into the background all the rest of the people. He, the Englishman, has his own opinions about the ever-repeated phrase about English freedom. He inquires: "Where is the freedom of a people that is under the absolute control of such a tiny minority? Where is there freedom in this oppressive uniformity of public life?" All of the same stamp! The same pants, the same hat, the same scarf, the same craze for sport, the same false reading matter, the same political opinion—the last-named after the motto: "If you won't be my brother I'll crack your skull for you!" Chamberlain relates how, on an occasion, he was the only one to wear liberal colors, which resulted in his getting a good thrashing for it at the hands of a paid gang. He adds, not without a certain sense of humor: "On that day I learned more about English constitution and English ideas of freedom than I ever learned later on from the books of Hallam and Gneist."

In the German idea of freedom he sees, on the other hand, an intellectual possession that has been acquired little by little during centuries of hard fighting, both with the intellect and with the sword—characterized by the conscious subordination of quite unique and independent individuals to the welfare of the whole. This conscious and intentional action in place of the mechanical repetition of the village greens, a repetition which often enough proves to be of the darkest possible origin—as in the case of the barbarian nonsense—this is "freedom" to him. And in this sense "the survival and further development of freedom on earth depend on the victory of the German arms and also on Germany's remaining true to herself after the victory."

Chamberlain, who is proud of being an Englishman, has not arrived unthinkingly at this condemnation of his native country. He gives his reasons for it in a historical study of the career of the present political England, which he significantly introduces with the following quotation from Ruskin: "The Englishman no longer avows, 'I believe in God the Almighty Father and Creator of Heaven and Earth,' but, 'I believe in the Father Dollar, the all-powerful.'" From the conquest of Anglo-Saxon England by the Normans and the consequent breaking up of the people into two classes, by way of the great "turning-point which, from about the sixteenth century onward, made merry agricultural England into a sea-faring, imperious trading England—by way of Lord Bolingbroke's policy, which is upheld to this day, according to which, on the one hand England is to have a strong fleet, whereas on the other hand it is in the interests of England to let the continental powers fight against each other without having to support an army herself, by way of England's development into a state, uncommonly like the present-day one, which carries on the cruel slave trade as long as it is profitable to her, but which discovers it to be her duty to enter a moral protest as soon as she has need of the unfortunate negroes herself"—by way of this slow transformation of the national character he at last comes to what he calls "a day on which history and character cut each other" and we suddenly get a peep into its innermost depths.

Such a day was the one on which Warren Hastings was acquitted by the House of Lords.

Warren Hastings, the man who nearly doubled the income of the East India Company, who started the opium trade, never committed a crime himself. But he attained his ends by permitting and provoking horrible and inhuman deeds the likes of which were never since heard of till — as Chamberlain says — "the charming Belgians occupied the Congo Territory." Against this monstrous immorality for the sake of enrichment to England, the honest and respectable part of the country once more raised objection in the person of Burke. For ten years all manner of tricks were employed to prolong the trial of Hastings. For six whole days Burke spoke on behalf of England's honor. "My Lords," said he, "if you close your eyes to these horrors you will convert England into a nation of receivers of stolen goods, a nation of hypocrites, a nation of liars, a nation of sharpers!" It was of no avail! Hastings was acquitted—Burke lost; England's honor was lighter than her moneybags.

Alongside the new England stood on that day the modern statesman, the man of irreproachable character in private life, but who for the sake of England's moneybags is capable of any lie, any treason, any perjury—capable of tolerating any crime and every meanness. Chamberlain adds, "Just such a man is Sir Edward Grey."

That is the political England and these are the men who, in consideration of the carefully prepared war of destruction against Germany, have for years been preparing and supporting this general suggestion of barbarian hallucination! These are the men who for several years have shunned no lie, no perjury, no treachery to poison the public opinion against Germany, who supported behind the scenes any anti-German tendency, who were never tired of secretly inciting, provoking, encouraging—who publicly occupied the chair at the peace conferences so that, as Chamberlain says, "the war might be sure not to be avoided," the war that was to give back to England all those rich markets which an intelligent and industrious brother-tribe had begun to conquer.

Warren Hastings has found many disciples, but those of Burke have died out. For even Chamberlain, that Englishman who has the courage today to stand up for the truth, no longer believes in the honor and truthfulness of his native country. He has so little faith in it that he openly expresses his fears lest Germany, political Germany, should one day again permit herself to be misled by England. "This might be disastrous. Therefore I, an Englishman, must have the courage to speak the truth. Nothing can rescue us all, but a powerful, victorious and wise Germany."

It is out of conviction that Chamberlain, an Englishman, most severely attacks that nonsense about barbarian hallucination. "Where," he asks, "is the country of which even a Napoleon could say he had devastated and impoverished it by taxation; that he had not lost in Germany in all those years a single soldier by murder, i. e., by franctireurs? Where is the army that takes with it expert artists to see to the preservation of works of art even in the enemy's country?" Where have the German soldiers—the "only ones that are reliably disciplined"—wrought havoc like barbarians? The American reporters said "in the next village." The family that had suffered, that complained on its own behalf, has never been found. "Yes, we! We were lucky, we had good people but at this place or at that one it must have been awful!" Always rumors, never facts! And yet the ineradicable belief in Heaven knows what sort of horrors! Chamberlain says of this, "We may see how true it is that human fancy leads human reason by the nose!" And under the conditions of the present day press one can only add, "especially when human fancy is led by the nose itself."

The disciple of Kant treats with biting irony the reviling "cultured," something after the style of Jacques Dalcroze (or is he called Jacob Dalkes?). "It is always an advantage to know that about which we are to form an opinion," says he. "Most probably, for instance, Jacques Dalcroze does not know much more about Germany than that she has a liberal purse, and supposes in all earnest that with his musical gymnastics he has taught the first elements of culture to the country of Dürer, Bach, Kant and Goethe." And he compares this man of hue and cry with his fellow-countryman Carlyle who, just because he had thoroughly investigated not only the intellectual life, but also the career of the German nation, loved Germany from the bottom of his heart, the whole of Germany, including both Prussia and the army. Chamberlain says, "Today the army is, and deserves to be, the backbone of the German nation; the German army is today the most important moral school in the world." Including "militarism"—and I should like to wager that not one in a thousand foreigners is capable of forming anything like a positive idea of what this word really means. The whole of Germany, right down from Goethe to the General Staff—not that nebular Germany of Messrs. Haldane & Co. "A single Carlyle outweighs a thousand confused Haldanes," exclaims Chamberlain, "not to mention every leader-writer in the world! How stupid envy and hate make men! Three great nations have been equipping themselves for years and forming a criminal plot to invade and destroy Germany, that peace-loving and hard-working country which threat-

ened nobody. And now, because Germany, the wise, smart and brave Germany, defends herself, and that with a giant strength that had never been suspected, she is affronted with being the den of a supposed militarism and recommended to the hatred of all. It is just the same as if burglars were to complain because the police were baffled in their well-laid plans and to become morally disgusted in consequence. Sometimes it strikes us as if we were dealing with stupid youngsters who had not yet had practice enough to make two ideas fit into each other."

Here Mr. Chamberlain makes a mistake! There are a few youngsters among them who are generally quite smart, but they have neither the courage nor the strength to rid themselves of this general suggestion—at present they are hopelessly under the spell of this great nonsense—this barbarian hallucination.

Chamberlain goes a step farther and says, "The foreigner who does not love Germany does not know the nation." And the causes of this lack of knowledge seem to be such as the present "defenders of culture" will least care to hear. **"About ancient Germany they knew nothing,"** says he, **"and for modern Germany they themselves are too ancient**—let us employ their favorite word in the right sense for once:—**they are too barbarian to be able to understand it.*** For these quarrelsome graybeards, who walk about on rotten crutches of abstract 'freedom' and 'equality,' cannot comprehend that freedom is only to be obtained by sacrificing their own personal despotism, and equality only by a general subordination of all to one common head, and not by promoting every soldier to the rank of Field-Marshal, as is done on the Island of Hayti."

Will there come a time when this general suggestion dies away? Will the time come when people look back upon the craziness of this artificially-bred barbarian hallucination with feelings similar to those with which they look down upon that nonsense about witches?

We Germans do not know. We have to put up with this humbug and work on unswervingly — at that culture for which people were formerly burnt at the stake, and for which nowadays others would like to kill them—at that serious, stern, enlightened and sacred culture of intellect which idler nations find too troublesome and too uncomfortable.

Chamberlain carries his hopes much further. He prophesies, not only the day on which this hallucination about barbarianism will be shaken off—on the strength of his own feelings he believes in a good deal more. He believes there will be great change and says:

"The present generation will no longer live to see this great transformation from hatred to love. But the day will come. I, as a foreigner, predict it out of the depths of a universal, well-founded and imperturbable conviction."—Hamburger Fremdenblatt.

*The Editor of "War Echoes" emphasizes these phrases.

British Principles and Character in Action

WHO IS AMERICA'S ENEMY?

Translation of Editorial.
Illinois Staats-Zeitung, Chicago.

We are bound to turn once more to the editorial of the London Times we were dealing with yesterday.

True enough it is bestowing too much honor upon the London Times, but we feel obliged not as Germans, but chiefly as citizens of this country, to save our fellow citizens from drinking out of the public wells which are poisoned by the London Times day by day.

We appreciate fully that the London Times is not in love with that Germany which since 1870 with reference to industry, to commerce and especially with reference to her export trade became a rival to England to be reckoned with. And we do not blame the London Times for having some ill feeling because Germany succeeded in building up a mighty navy to safeguard her commerce. And if the London Times deemed it proper to sound eternally war against Germany civilized mankind will regret the actual outbreak of the war, but will admit, as we readily admit, that it is quite comprehensible, viewed from the standpoint of English national and commercial policy, that England is anxious to shove aside a progressive and, therefore, the more disagreeable competitor.

But what has that war to do with the United States? Why does the London Times turn constantly to this country, which measures the situation from the height of a solemn neutrality? Why does the London Times try and try again to stir the people of America against Germany? Why does the London Times waste an ocean of ink in the vain effort (let us hope) to convert Americans to the belief that a victorious Germany is going to crush the United States as a world power?

Where are the moral, where the economic motives, that ever could or would induce Germany to throw the war glove into the face of this Western giant. It seems as if the suspicion that the London Times endeavors to arouse feeling against Germany is to be converted to the proverbial "stop thief" of the thief.

Not a victorious Germany, but a victorious England whose supremacy on the waves will be confirmed in case of victory, is liable to constitute a danger for the United States.

Let England first become the sole and omnipotent ruler of the waves and she will use her power immediately to revive a past that she never has buried. She will be seized by the insane ambition to become once more ruler of the world, which was ruled by her once.

Just 100 years ago England was forced by the United States to a peace treaty. It means that England was in war with this country. We were forced by England to shed blood first for our political and later for our commercial independence. And England never ceased to plot against the United States. Then the Indians were stirred against us, then England put her finger in the pie of the civil war in the hope to see her interests furthered. And in the still unsettled Mexican question it was once more England who joined the opponents of this government. * * *

"There," said a famous German diplomat, pointing to a box marked **Made in Germany,** "is the Briton's grievance against us. Too many things are made in Germany."—From "The World's Work," September, 1914.

WHEN WASHINGTON WAS CAPTURED ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

Capital Was Burned by British Naval and Military Forces Under General Ross, in War of 1812.

(From "The Boston Herald," August 23, 1914.)

Fly, Monroe, fly! Run, Armstrong, run!
Were the last words of Madison.

One hundred years ago a newspaper, alluding with grim humor to some of the ridiculous scenes which attended the capture and burning of Washington by the British, remarked that if within the next century some eminent poet should see fit to write an epic on the battle which produced panic in the capital of the United States, he might fittingly conclude his lines with the above couplet.

It will be just 100 years ago tomorrow, August 24, that the capital of this country was ignominiously captured and ruthlessly sacked by a force of British soldiers and sailors under the command of Gen. Robert Ross and Admiral George Cockburn. In many respects it was one of the most spectacular events of the war of 1812, the last military struggle in which two English-speaking nations have been engaged.

The treaty of Utrecht, which closed that half-hearted conflict, was signed in December, 1814, but, as cable and wireless were then lacking, news of the peace treaty did not reach America until February, 1815. The peace celebration program, planned for different localities, has been suddenly disarranged by the unlooked-for Eu-

INDIA PACATA
By Verestchagin
(By Courtesy of the "Open Court")

ropean war, which has involved England, but the committee has announced that it intends to carry out so much of the original program as circumstances will permit.

The uncomplimentary lines on President Madison suggested by the editor for the use of some future poet had some basis in fact. In the more politely worded records of that affair it is stated that when Madison, with his secretary of State, James Monroe, who became the next President, and his secretary of war, John Armstrong, rode out to the field of Bladensburg, where the battle was fought which decided the fate of Washington, he found things so hopelessly confused that he turned to his cabinet aids and said:

"I think it is best to let the military commanders attend to this thing, and we had better retire to the rear. * * *"

Leaving the Capitol in flames, Ross and Cockburn went to the White House. They found nothing of value except the notes sent to Mrs. Madison by her husband, which had been left in a desk drawer, and the British officers carried them away in great glee. The soldiers did the rest, smashing the furniture and then setting fire to it.

The treasury building was next set on fire, and to these conflagrations was added that of the navy yard, ignited by one of the American officers. On the next day the buildings occupied by the departments of state and war were burned, in addition to two or three private houses. The only public buildings that escaped the fury of the invaders was the wooden structure used for the postoffice and patent office.

Late in the afternoon one of the severest storms in the history of Washington broke over the city. Trees were torn up by the roots, roofs ripped off houses and other damage done. After the storm was over, Ross and Cockburn decided to depart, and by nightfall were well on their way toward their ships. They set fire to the long wooden bridge across the Potomac as they left.

The British army was in the capital less than 24 hours, but during that time they destroyed the best buildings in Washington, consigned thousands of dollars' worth of property to the flames, put the President, his wife, all of the cabinet and, from contemporary accounts, more than half the inhabitants of the city, to flight, and gave an opportunity for the heaping of violent invectives upon the heads of the President and his advisers for the weakness of their war preparations and management. This opportunity was not lost. Mrs. Madison spoke truthfully when, in the letter to her sister, she mentioned having heard of much hostility toward the President.

The utter incapacity of every one in authority is something which historians have been unable to explain satisfactorily. One of the British officers, in writing of the affair, said that the capture of Washington was owing more to the faults of the Americans themselves than to any other cause. The secretary of war, John Armstrong, had merited the contempt of a large part of the population, owing to the incapacity he showed in managing the Canadian campaign in preceding years. Now, with Washington in ruins, the demand that he be retired was so well justified that, on September 3, at the request of the President, Armstrong resigned and spent part of his latter years in writing a history of the war.

ENGLAND'S FALSE STEPS.

From the N. Y. Evening Post.

"The course proposed is without sanction in international law. How is it justified? By the conduct of our adversary."

This is an extract from a London newspaper. It is commenting upon an action, not of the German Government, but of the British. Yet it will be noted that it goes over precisely to the German position. What is international law compared with "neecssity?" Anything is warranted which you must do in order to smash an adversary before he smashes you. Mr. Asquith declared in Parliament that England was not going to be prevented from working her will on her enemy in "judicial niceties." This is in line with the comment of the London Morning Post, that Great Britain is now throwing into the sea "the whole strangling web" of "judicial network." There can be no doubt what this means. The judicial niceties are the accepted principles of international law. The judicial network is a solemn international agreement—the Declaration of Paris—to which England set her hand and seal, but which she now proposes coolly to violate. * * *

England's only objection to the bear that walks like a man is that he doesn't walk fast enough.—From the "New York American."

BUTTRESSING OF ENGLAND'S CASE.

New Yorker Staats-Zeitung,
New York.
Herman Ridder.

The buttressing of England's case before the world goes merrily on. Another White Paper has appeared and, like its predecessors, throws the whole blame for the war on the German Emperor. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle arises from a sick bed to read Nietzsche and Treitschke and discovers that Germany has produced nothing in the last forty years but "the literature of the devil," and that Nietzsche and Treitschke "with their magic flutes led the whole, blind, foolish, conceited nation down that easy, pleasant path which ends in this abyss." A galaxy of English writers have syndicated their mental efforts and published a "round-robin," impressive in verbiage but of no great value except in so far as it shows that England, true to nothing else, is faithful still to her historic love of fighting with the pen in preference to the sword. If pen-wielding could win battles England would rule the world.

England has cleverly avoided the discussion of her mongrel allies. We hear but little of Russia, of Servia and of Japan. A glance at the bombastic war literature of England and the speeches of Mr. Asquith and Winston Churchill leads to the question: "Is England ashamed of her Allies?" An occasional reference to the "rape of Alsace" which the British government condoned at the conclusion of the war of 1870, and the Times of London characterized as pure business sense, is about all we hear or see today on anything but England. Even the violation of Belgium's neutrality, against which Sir Edward Grey was once so loud in his protest, has ceased to be able to keep Belgium in the English mind. The "unfortunate companionship," to borrow a phrase of Col. Watterson, with Russia cost Great Britain two of her ablest cabinet members and I presume the less said about it the better pleased the British Government is. Servia, too, is a silent partner. With all their faults Englishmen do not like to mix with regicides, unless they have something to gain by it, and then they prefer not to have too much publicity given to the fact. The Russians and Servians and Japanese are good enough to fight England's battles for her but for little else. When John Morley and John Burns resigned from the British Government as a protest against the alliance with Russia to crush Germany the fact was probably deleted from the despatches to St. Petersburg. The Indian immigrant to South Africa can be treated with impunity and even the Japanese, told by Canada and Australia they are not wanted there, are mollified by their British ally. But it is scarcely to be expected that England would attempt the same patronizing tactics with Russia. It speaks more than volumes for the hopeless inconsistency of Great Britain in this "war of freedom against militarism," that among the allies which she has summoned to her colors to serve her ends are some of whom she blushes to speak. No nation has been subject of British vilification in the past to a greater extent than Russia, no nation more deserving of the just castigation of true Englishmen. And, yet, today we find this same Russia and this same England fighting shoulder to shoulder and sharing each other's bread and salt.

The one thing the British Government should do before all others is to make it clear to a candid world on what it bases its present attitude toward Russia and the consequent abandonment of its historical hatred. Is it simply the hope of crushing Germany? Then let the British Government say so and in so many words. And if this is the basis of the Russian entente it should make it clear at the same time what it is going to do with Russia when Germany has been crushed. Is the British Government so imbued with its own self-importance that it can delude itself into thinking that the world will not judge its words by its actions? If this is a war of freedom against despotism, and only England claims it is, are we to be asked to believe that the substitution of Russia for Germany as the dominant power in central Europe would promote its purpose? A nation that has always stood in the minds of Englishmen as the last expression of all that was autocratic and despotic, anachronic and barbarous, cannot consistently be brought forward by England at this eleventh hour as a sanctuary of enlightment. But that is what England would have us believe. Or, perhaps, when the war is over she will kiss the Little Father on both cheeks, in true Russian fashion, and send him and his knout-driven hordes back to Petrograd. One might almost forgive England her sins if such were her intentions. But they are not. The cossack may not be good enough to welcome in London, the Englishman may blush at his name, but he, and for that matter anyone, is good enough to assist into Berlin—and once there it is more than likely that he will not fold his tents and move away at the bidding of Georgie or of Georgie's Government.

It is no wonder that England blushes at her own perfidy. When prominent men from one end of the British Empire to the other are protesting in no weak and unmeaning words against this unnatural alliance, with its hypocritical object, the whole Empire should blush for her.

The action of Morley and Burns is a by no means isolated case. The Irish people have given the world to understand that they are thoroughly out of sympathy with the war. A committee of prominent Hindoos have placed themselves on record in the same sense. And even in the Union of South Africa, that often advanced example of British political sagacity, a general resigns rather than go into a war and speaks his mind.

This is what General Beyers says: "I have only to indicate how the independence of the South African Republic and of the Orange Free State was violated and of what weight the Sand-River Convention was.

"It is said this war is being waged against the barbarity of the Germans, I have forgiven, but not forgotten, all the barbarities perpetrated on our country during the South African war. With very few exceptions all the farms, not to mention many towns, were so many of the Louvains of which we now hear so much."

ENGLAND TO FIGHT ON IF ALLIES QUIT.

Winston Churchill Says Navy Pressure on Germany Will Be Unrelenting.

"GRIP NOTHING CAN RESIST."

"For First Time in History Sea Is Free to Us," Admiralty Lord Tells French Editor.

(The Daily News, Feb. 2, 1915.)

[By the Associated Press.]

Paris, France, Feb. 2.—"For the first time in history England can say 'The sea is free,'" said Winston Spencer Churchill, Great Britain's first lord of the admiralty, in an interview with Hughes Leroux, editor of the Matin. "In the days when you and we fought each other," he continued, "our most important victories never brought us security comparable with that which we enjoy today. Even after Trafalgar we knew nothing like it.

"Supposing Germany has friendships and relationships in South America, how can help reach her from them now? There remains the United States. Public opinion there hesitated, perhaps, in bestowing its sympathies, but at the present moment it is fully unified. We shall arrange to take precautions fully compatible with the rights of belligerents and the respect due to neutrals.

Complete Blockade a Chimera.

"Our adversary perhaps can obtain a few supplies from Turkey and Asia Minor. I cherish no illusions, for as long as there are neutrals a complete blockade must be a chimera. Germany will continue to receive a small quantity of that whereof she has considerable need while you and we breathe freely, thanks to the sea we have kept and can keep open.

"Germany is like a man throttled with a heavy gag. You know the effect of such a gag when action is necessary. The effort wears out the heart and Germany knows it. This pressure shall not be relaxed until she gives in unconditionally, for even if you of France and if our ally Russia should decide to withdraw from the struggle, which is inconceivable, we English would carry on the war to the bitter end.

Action of Navy Unrelenting.

"The action of a navy necessarily is slow, but the pressure it exercises on an adversary is unrelenting. Compare it to the forces of nature, to the inexorable grip of winter, and remember that it is a stress nothing can resist."

ONE ANGLOMANIAC TO ANOTHER.

A Letter in Which Are Set Forth a Few Arguments Designed to Teach a Lesson to Those Whose "Teutophobia" Destroys All Sympathy for Great Britain.

Milwaukee Free Press.

To An Anglomaniac: Good for you, Mr. Bayliss! I like to see a man like you—a man with the courage of his convictions! Just read your letter in today's Free Press, but had not seen your previous letter until now, after reading a number of comments by other letter writers. But from these comments I saw that your letter must have been a hot one. And it is! I know it, I just read it. The letter is excellent, quite English. It is brutal, of course, but frank! I love a man who will stand up like you and fight with a punch, no matter where and how he strikes.

You know, Mr. Bayliss, people accuse the English of being domineering, perfidious, regicidal, etc. They claim they are right, and they are sometimes, are they not? Let's take a look at a few of their accusations:

1—Persecution and oppression of Ireland for seven centuries. This is ancient stuff, isn't it, Mr. Bayliss? It isn't our fault that the Irish would not submit sooner, as they would have done had they the proper common sense. Still, accusers ought to invent something new.

2—Regicides. It is true, we did kill a king or two, and a queen, also, didn't we? But it was the law that sanctioned it.

3—Opium war with China; opium forced on China and Hongkong taken away in 1842. This is supposed to be a precedent for Germany's seizing Kiau-Chau. But, of course, that is a different matter, the Germans had no right to take, while we did.

4—India, Afghanistan, Burma, etc., wrested from the French and Dutch and the people of India in wars extending through two centuries. The missionaries say that censorship is so strict down in India at the present date that not a word of the constant oppression and rebellions get into the American and continental press. Furthermore, India has been called the recruiting place for broken English fortunes. Now this, of course, may be true, but, anyway, we deny it; at best it is none of their business, especially none of the business of Americans.

5—Egypt—England euchred France out of the protectorate and then the Khedive out of his rule so that at the present day England virtually owns Egypt, in spite of her often repeated denial of anything more than a suzerainity. Humbug, isn't it? English rule has been beneficient, hasn't it, for every country that England ever owned?

6—The Boer war, the seizure of South Africa, the famous English battle line of Boer women and children which forced the Boers to surrender since they refused to shoot their own wives and children. Also true. But that was in South Africa, in a barbarous country where barbarous methods are sanctionable. And, even so, if others had the chance, they would do the same thing, wouldn't they, Mr. Bayliss?

7—The so-called Congo scandals of King Leopold, claimed as invented by England so that she would have reason to annex the Congo. Of course, that is rot. Still, the Congo is pretty rich.

8—Persia, handed to Russia on a platter, not permitted to rule herself as she wished but as the Russian bear dictated. Well, now, these Asian states don't know how to govern themselves, anyway. And that American financier had no business there, anyway.

9—Inveigled Japan to join the war against Germany. In spite of assurances of respecting neutrality the first action of Japan was to attack the Caroline islands (which she was not supposed to attack, although they are German) and to land her troops on Chinese territory 100 miles from Kiau-Chau. Necessity of war—very simple.

10—England and the United States.

1776—American colonies rebelled, due to oppression, injustice, etc. (England only saved Canada by most extravagant promises. Tried the same tactics on Australia and had the example of the United States pointed out to her.) Fought with unfair means, inciting Indian massacres.

1812—Similar tactics in warfare.

1848—Mexican war—once more the same Indian tactics.

1861-64—Again incited Indians, as witness massacres at New Ulm, Fort Ridley, etc. Helped confederacy with money and ships and had the effrontery to demand payment of the confederacy's debt from the United States, the matter being finally refused within the last ten years.

1898—Tried to engineer a coalition of European powers against the United States; prevented by Germany. Then tried to inveigle Germany into a war with the United States.

1913-14—Panama canal tolls. Acts as though she owned canal.

1914—September. Opposed United States naval expansion, using France as catspaw in her protest and even trying to inveigle Italy, Spain, Portugal, etc., into similar protests.

Let others twist their noses at this record, which they will call appalling; you and I, Mr. Bayliss, being Anglomaniacs, lift our noses in proud superiority. For we know that England must be supreme, that she must and does lead—even if it be only by the blackness of her page in history. We pride ourselves that we outrank even Russia in regicides; only in Russia killing the king is illicit and the assassin suffers death, while we kill our rulers through the law and thus stand as heroes and fulfillers of the law.

What care we if India and Ireland used their last heart's blood in the defense of their race, their creed, their language and their customs! They had no business trying to be different from us; anyway, they are inferior to us and the right of the stronger prevails. In Ireland we went Russia and Prussia one better in the expropriation of our respective vassals. For we did accomplish what we set out to do; we extinguished the Irish tongue so thoroughly that when the universities of Ireland, England and America wanted to establish chairs of the Irish language they (haw! haw! it's the joke of the century—that they had to go to Germany for men to fill the chairs, haw! haw! In Prussia and Russia—ignorant countries, anyway (of course, Russia being our ally, we must whitewash her) —they'll never get that far. There they are too much afraid to hurt the people.

Physically, I mean. A lash does wonders; famine is even better.

Sympathy? You are right. We do not need sympathy. The Briton is superior to sympathy; if he wants something he goes and takes it. He does not need sympathy because of something that he lacks. But the Germans! They do need sympathy and more of it. For they have more to lose. They have a greater industry that risks destruction, a higher science, a higher economy, a better civilization. So of course they need sympathy.

England plays a higher game. She fights because this is a good opportunity to fight, because France and Belgium bear the brunt of the fight, because England will draw whatever benefits is to be reaped from the war. Why send many soldiers? There ought to be enough French and Belgians; if there are not, more should be enrolled. On the sea France does what little fighting there needs to be done. Inveigle ourselves into a battle with the German North Sea fleet? Not much. Not until Italy has been drawn to the allies and can send her fleet to attack the German fleet; then when the latter is greatly weakened Britain can step in and claim the credit and results of the fight. Of course, where there isn't much danger like in the Pacific and in the Atlantic, and when we outnumber the enemy's small boats, we will gladly offer battle. But really, you know, we are superior fighters. We have always said so, and, therefore, it must be true. Let no one dare doubt that!

You know, Britannia rules the Waves and that means everything surrounded by them. That means Europe and Asia and Australia, and Canada and also the damned United States (we'll get them yet). England owns it all, of course, not quite yet, you know, but those crazy Americans will soon know what's good for 'em, blast 'em! You know, once or twice, in 1776 and 1812, we nearly whipped them; we gained a moral victory, anyway, and I bet you they've never forgotten it.

And now, all together:

Britannia rules the Waves—
And everything that's in 'em!

AN ANGLOMANIAC.

Madison, Wis., Sept. 13.

P. S. Now you, Mr. Anglomaniac, will call the preceding gentle sarcasm brutal, or intolerant, or prejudiced. So it is, so it was intended to appear—elemental in its brutality. But—it carries a lesson. It does not at all represent the opinions of the writer, rather the reverse of it. But you, men of Mr. Bayliss' type, need a lesson, and need it badly. And I have merely sketched for you what a man whose Anglophobia would parallel your Teutophobia, might achieve. Intemperate language is not argument, but is resorted to constantly by the lowest type of mind, that of the bully or rowdy. Among that category the man who can scold the loudest and use the most vulgar language is the hero and victor. Draw your analogy!

Personally I sympathize a little more with the French than with the Germans. Yet men of Mr. Bayliss' type make it hard for me to retain what sympathy for the English there remains.

THE DEFENDER OF SMALL NATIONS.

Excoriated by One of Her Own; Who Also Wants to Prod the Irish Awake.

The Irish Voice, March 4, 1915.

I who write am a wife and mother, British by birth, education and sentiment, Protestant in religion, Progressive, and Pacifist. Like all people who live somewhat for others than solely for themselves, I am interested in the great problems connected with this war. I want my country to win not because I believe her blameless, but because she is my country. I learn many things from current history, pre-eminently that there is not, perhaps never has been, a really Christian government on earth. Even the government of the church herself has at times been filled with political and moral corruptions of every sort. The civil governments of Christian nations surpass each other in political chicanery and hypocrisy. Your own government of the U. S. A. is perhaps the nearest approach (but, oh, how far off) to a Christian government that has ever been.

The British government is probably the greatest political hypocrite that has ever been; the Russian government the greatest tyrant, and the German government the greatest fool. England wins by hoodwinking other nations, keeping her heart a secret, and wearing a religious mask. The British press for months past is teeming with falsehoods about the Kaiser, the German government, army, navy, and people. The Canadian press, English and French alike, is savage in its hatred of Germany. I could send you multitudes of samples as proofs.

When the Spanish-American war was on, the press of England and Canada continually assailed the yellow journalism of your country; today the press of those countries copy profusely the assaults made on Germany by the Anglo-Saxon press of the United States. I say Anglo-Saxon, for it is evident that in the New England and Southern States you have no longer, with few exceptions, a distinctive, independent, neutral, American press. Your press, like many of your millionaires, your ambassadors, and your American leagues in London are all playing toad to England. The New York Times calls Austria a dying and decrepit nation, but judging by the Anglo-Saxon press of America one might return the compliment to the Times. Your clever, oily Englishmen all over the U. S. A. are evidently getting a grip on your American character and moulding you into good little English children. Even the Irish-Americans are not proof against the subtle fascination of John Bull. John Bull could capture Japan and bring on a Russo-Japanese war with the secret motive of destroying the Russian navy. He could capture France and Russia, for the secret purpose of destroying the German navy and then proudly sing as he has been singing for centuries in the teeth of the world, "Britannia Rules the Waves." Shall the navy of France grow and take the place of the German, then it in turn shall be doomed for destruction by England. And what of the navy of the U. S. A.? But, no, England shall long eat the dust before she goes to war with your country. She will plead every excuse, but above all her ties of blood, creed and language. Oh, cowardly hypocrisy, what a useful part you sometimes play in the destinies of nations! In the future it shall be as in the past. Belgium is now England's darling pet. But a little while ago the English government and people were casting longing eyes on Belgium's rich possessions in Africa and the British government press, people and established church were assailing the Belgian king, government and people on the score of inhumanity to natives. The beam at all times in her own eyes, she, England, always sees the mote in the eyes of her neighbors. She forgets Ireland, India, America and Australasia. And Irishmen in America forget the speeches of Grattan and Burke and Shiel and Curran, Redmond, O'Brien, Healy and company have surrendered to England in the squabble for office under an Irish parliament. The Irish parliament may come, probably will come, but it will come mutilated in every joint as the Orangemen of Ulster and the Tories of Great Britain shall demand this, and the demand shall be granted. It was Froude who said:

"Put the stick hard and fast on the back of the Irishman and you win his respect and attachment every time."

England has been doing this for centuries and today Irishmen are tying the boot laces of her grandees and shedding their blood for her praises. Smack Pat well on the back, then pat him, tell him he is a fine fellow and like the cur dog he'll lick the hand that smote him. The secret of John Bull's strength is his power to keep his own secrets and a common weakness of other nations, especially of the Irish, is the capacity for blabbing out everything. Lord Derby's speech to both houses of parliament, July 15, 1634, said: "Divide not between Protestant and Papist. . . . Divide not nationality betwixt English and Irish. The King makes no distincton between you . . . and madness it were in you to raise the wall of separation amongst yourselves."

But England has always divided between Protestant and Papist and divides between them still. Divide et impera has been the ruling principle of her government of Ireland. With consummate hypocrisy she conceded to Nationalists the right to organize and drill only after the war was declared. She had a motive as always —to hoodwink the soft, spineless Irish Catholic by a pat on the back and get him to do her dirty work in Europe. She is now sending an ambassador to the Pope, after 400 years of open warfare with the Vatican and there is treachery in the gift. Witness the following from the Church Times—leading organ of the established church. In its leader of November 13 last, I find the following paragraph describing the object of the war:

"There is, then, an immense task in hand. To carry the war to a victorious issue is to destroy two great monarchies. But mere destruction is no policy. Reconstruction must follow. But that will be the work of the ensuing peace. The object of the war is destruction, nothing less; no patched-up treaty, no accommodation. Englishmen are well aware that to this they have set their hands. They have a national purpose, and in this they are at one." The same journal, with characteristic Anglican insolence, dares tell the Pope that he should take sides at once with the allies. The good Pope Benedict needs to hold in check his Italian impulses when dealing with the wily self-contained John Bull. I have said that you Irish have forgotten the speeches of Grattan, etc.; also of O'Connell and Parnell. Think you that Grattan, O'Connell and Parnell would become recruiting sergeants for the government of England? Redmond's plea is gratitude, etc. Listen to Grattan. Delivering himself against English imperialism—he said:

"I know of no species of gratitude which should prevent my country from being free, no gratitude which should oblige Ireland to be the slave of England. In cases of robbery and usurpation, nothing is an object of gratitude except the thing stolen, the charter spoliated. A nation's liberty cannot, like her treasures, be meted and parceled out in gratitude; no man can be grateful or liberal of his conscience, nor woman of her honor, nor nation of her liberty; there are certain unimpartable, inherent, invaluable properties, not to be alienated from the person, whether body politic or body natural. I laugh at that man who supposes that Ireland will not be content with her free trade and a free constitution, and would any man advise her to be content with less?"

In closing I have the following question to ask of you and your readers:

By what right, divine or human, does England claim to rule the waves to the exclusion of every other sovereign power?

VERITAS.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE FORCES DRASTIC BRITISH ACTION AGAINST KAISER.

No Longer Question of Whether Food Is Contraband or Whether It Is Intended for Non-Combatants; Announcement to Come Monday.

From the "Chicago Examiner," Feb. 28, 1915.

LONDON, Feb. 27.—It is understood that formal notification has been given by Great Britain to the United States that in view of the German submarine attacks on merchant vessels, Great Britain and her allies maintain the right to stop all shipping between neutral countries and Germany, Austria and Turkey.

In other words, it is proposed to tie up all traffic with Germany. It will no longer be a question of contraband or of whether food is intended for consumption by the civil population or by the military. Grain, cotton, even medical supplies may be stopped. Not only that, but goods coming out of Germany may under the terms of this declaration be seized.

This apparently is the form of the reprisals which the allies have agreed upon. The idea is not merely to starve Germany into submission, but to cripple her industries in every possible way.

As indicated yesterday, Asquith will, it is expected, make an announcement of the government's policy on Monday. In support of the right of the allies to take such drastic measures he will urge that the Germans have violated all the codes of warfare in sinking ships with noncombatants aboard, without warning and without even making efforts to save the lives of the persons thus attacked.

As to the injury that will be inflicted upon the trade of neutrals by this procedure, on the part of the allies, Asquith, it is expected, will rely upon the plea of necessity and the argument that only by drastic action of this sort can the war be brought to an early conclusion.

The declaration, it is understood, will not apply to shipments made before formal announcement of the blockade. Every effort will be made to safeguard the lives of passengers and crews on ships that may be seized or sunk.

Would Create Issue.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 27.—Secretary Bryan tonight said the State Department had not received the answer of Great Britain or Germany to the American notes sent on February 19 in relation to shipments of foodstuffs and submarine attacks on neutral commerce.

It is generally agreed here that any attempt of England to shut off the shipment of foodstuffs through the North Sea by way of the English Channel would create a very serious issue.

If it proved true that Great Britain has taken the stand that all foodstuffs to Germany and Austria are to be held up otherwise than through a blockade of ports, and if her declaration to that effect shall become public before the adjournment of Congress on March 4, a flare-up in Congress may be expected.

Already there is a strong feeling of resentment in both the Senate and the House over the extent to which Great Britain has seen fit to interfere with American commerce carrying over established routes of trade.

Feeling Manifested.

That feeling has been manifested in the embargo resolution which was proposed in the resolution introduced by Representative Dietrick today asking that the President be authorized to require assurance of Great Britain that her obnoxious practices shall cease within sixty days and in the speech of Senator Lewis in the Senate yesterday.

Under international law the right of a neutral to ship foodstuffs over established routes to a belligerent country for the use of noncombatants is a right never heretofore brought into question. If the United States should not now stand firm for that right, many members of Congress undoubtedly would take the position that by submission to Great Britain's disregard of that right the United States would be incurring some responsibility for the consequences.

Leading members of the administration, who thoroughly understand the temper of Congress with respect to such a contingency, probably will be inclined to withhold information of the proposal, if it has actually been made, until after the adjournment of Congress.

The English Nursing Hatred Toward the Kaiser

HIS INDISCRETION WAS "CALCULATED."

Interview With Kaiser Wilhelm II., Oct. 28, 1908, and Its Consequences.

An interview between the German Emperor and "a representative Englishman, who long since passed from public to private life," appeared in "The London Telegraph" on October 28, 1908, and was the next day authenticated by the German Foreign Office in Berlin with the comment that it was "intended as a message to the English people." This last expression of the Kaiser toward Great Britain—until his declaration on the eve of the present war—deeply stirred the German people and resulted in the Kaiser's pledge to Chancellor von Buelow that henceforth the imperial views would be subject to the bridle of the ministry and the Council of the Empire. The interview as recorded by the "representative Englishman" was as follows:

Moments sometimes occur in the history of nations when a calculated indiscretion proves of the highest public service. It is for this reason that I have decided to make known the substance of a lengthy conversation which it was my recent privilege to have with the Emperor.

I do so in the hope that it will help to remove that obstinate misconception of the character of the Emperor's feelings toward England, which I fear is deeply rooted in the ordinary Englishman's breast. It is the Emperor's sincere wish that it should be eradicated. He has given repeated proofs of his desire by word and deed. But, to speak frankly, his patience is sorely tried now; he finds himself so continually misrepresented and has so often experienced the mortification of finding that any momentary improvement in relations is followed by renewed outbursts of prejudice and a prompt return to the old attitude of suspicion.

His Majesty spoke with impulsive and unusual frankness, saying: "You English are as mad, mad, mad as March hares. What has come over you that you are completely given over to suspicions that are quite unworthy of a great nation? What more can I do than I have done? I declared with all the emphasis at my command in my speech at the Guildhall that my heart was set upon peace and that it was one of my dearest wishes to live on the best terms with England. Have I ever been false to my word? Falsehood and prevarication are alien to my nature. My actions ought to speak for themselves, but you will not listen to them, but to those who misinterpret and distort them.

Resents a Personal Insult.

"This is a personal insult which I resent; to be forever misjudged, to have my repeated offers of friendship weighed and scrutinized with jealous, mistrustful eyes taxes my patience severely. I have said time after time that I am a friend of England, and your press, or at least a considerable section of it, bids the people of England to refuse my proffered hand and insinuates that the other hand holds a dagger. How can I convince a nation against its will?"

Complaining again of the difficulty imposed on him by English distrust, his Majesty said: "The prevailing sentiment of large sections of the middle and lower classes of my own people is not friendly to England. I am, therefore, so to speak, in the minority in my own land, but it is a minority of the best element, just as it is in England respecting Germany."

The Englishman reminded the Kaiser that not only England but the whole of Europe viewed with disapproval the recent sending of the German Consul at Algiers to Fez and forestalling France and Spain by suggesting the recognition of Sultan Mulai Hafid. The Kaiser made an impatient gesture and exclaimed: "Yes, that is an excellent example of the way German actions are misrepresented," and with vivid directness he defended the aforesaid incident, as the German Government has already done.

The interviewer reminded the Kaiser that an important and influential section of the German newspapers interpreted these acts very differently, and effusively approved of them because they indicated that Germany was bent upon shaping events in Morocco.

"There are mischief makers," replied the Emperor, "in both countries. I will not attempt to weigh their relative capacity for misrepresentation, but the facts are as I have stated. There has been nothing in Germany's recent action in regard to Morocco contrary to the explicit declaration of my love of peace made both at the Guildhall and in my latest speech at Strassburg."

Kaiser and the Boer War.

Reverting to his efforts to show his friendship for England, the Kaiser said they had not been confined to words. It was commonly believed that Germany was hostile to England throughout the Boer war. Undoubtedly the newspapers were hostile and public opinion was hostile. "But what," he asked, "of official Germany? What brought to a sudden stop, indeed, to an absolute collapse, the European tour of the Boer delegates, who were striving to obtain European intervention?

*"They were fêted in Holland. France gave them a rapturous welcome. They wished to come to Berlin, where the German people would have crowned them with flowers, but when they asked me to receive them I refused. The agitation immediately died away and the delegates returned empty-handed. Was that the action of a secret enemy?**

"Again, when the struggle was at its height, the German Government was invited by France and Russia to join them in calling upon England to end the war. The moment had come, they said, not only to save the Boer republic, but also to humiliate England to the dust. What was my reply? I said so far from Germany joining in any concerted European action to bring pressure against England and bring about her downfall, Germany would always keep aloof from politics that could bring her into complications with a sea power like England.

*"Posterity will one day read the exact terms of a telegram, now in the archives of Windsor Castle, in which I informed the sovereign of England of the answer I returned to the powers which then sought to compass her fall. Englishmen who now insult me by doubting my word should know what my actions were in the hour of their adversity.**

"Nor was that all. During your black week in December, 1899, when disasters followed one another in rapid succession, I received a letter from Queen Victoria, my revered grandmother, written in sorrow and affliction and bearing manifest traces of the anxieties which were preying upon her mind and health. I at once returned a sympathetic reply. I did more. I bade one of my officers to procure as exact an account as he could obtain of the number of combatants on both sides and the actual positions of the opposing forces.

"With the figures before me I worked out what I considered the best plan of campaign in the circumstances and submitted it to my General Staff for criticism. Then I dispatched it to England. That document likewise is among the State papers at Windsor awaiting the serenely impartial verdict of history.

"Let me add as a curious coincidence that the plan which I formulated ran very much on the same lines as that actually adopted by Gen. Roberts and carried by him into successful operation. Was that the act of one who wished England ill? Let Englishmen be just and say."

The German Navy.

Touching then upon the English conviction that Germany is increasing her navy for the purpose of attacking Great Britain, the Kaiser reiterated the explanation that Chancellor von Bülow and other Ministers have made familiar, dwelling upon Germany's worldwide commerce, her manifold interests in distant seas, and the necessity for being prepared to protect them. He said:

"Patriotic Germans refuse to assign any bounds to their legitimate commercial ambitions. They expect their interests to go on growing. They must be able to champion them manfully in any quarter of the globe. Germany looks ahead. Her horizons stretch far away. She must be prepared for any eventualities in the Far East. Who can foresee what may take place in the Pacific in the days to come, days not so distant as some believe, but days, at any rate, for which all European powers with Far Eastern interests ought to steadily prepare?

"Look at the accomplished rise of Japan. Think of a possible national awakening in China, and then judge of the vast problems of the Pacific. Only those powers which have great navies will be listened to with respect when the future of the Pacific comes to be solved, and if for that reason only, Germany must have a powerful fleet. It may even be that England herself will be glad that Germany has a fleet when they speak together in the great debates of the future."

The interviewer concludes:

*"The Emperor spoke with all that earnestness which marks his manner when speaking on deeply pondered subjects. I ask my fellow-countrymen who value the cause of peace to weigh what I have written and revise, if necessary, their estimate of the Kaiser and his friendship for England by his Majesty's own words. If they had enjoyed the privilege of hearing them spoken they would no longer doubt either his Majesty's firm desire to live on the best of terms with England or his growing impatience at the persistent mistrust with which his offer of friendship is too often received."**

The Consequences.

On November 17 following, Prince von Bülow met the Kaiser at Kiel, taking with him evidence of the feeling in Germany regarding the Emperor's published interview and setting forth:

First, that the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Bundesrat, or Federal Council, is firm in the opinion formulated at the meeting held yesterday that it would be wiser for the Emperor not to express views affecting the relations of the empire with other countries except through his responsible Ministers. This expression derives weight from the fact that the Governments of Bavaria, Württemberg and Saxony were represented on the committee.

Second, that the entire Reichstag assented to the declarations made by the speakers on Tuesday that the Emperor had exceeded his constitutional prerogatives in private discussion with foreigners concerning Germany's attitude on controverted questions.

Third, that the feeling of the people at large on this matter was accurately indicated by the press of the country.

*Emphasized by the Editor of "War Echoes."

The Kaiser's reply was published on the same date in the "Reichsanzeiger," in the form of a communication, which read:

"During today's audience granted to the Imperial Chancellor, his Majesty, the Emperor and King, listened for several hours to a report by Prince von Bülow. The Imperial Chancellor described the feeling and its causes among the German people in connection with the article published in 'The Daily Telegraph.' He also explained the position he had taken during the course of the debates and the interpolations on this subject in the Reichstag. His Majesty the Emperor received the statements and explanations with great earnestness, and then expressed his will as follows:

" 'Heedless of the exaggerations of public criticism, which are regarded by him as incorrect, his Majesty perceives that his principal imperial task is to insure the stability of the policies of the empire, under the guardianship of constitutional responsibilities. In conformity therewith, his Majesty the Emperor approves the Chancellor's utterances in the Reichstag, and assures Prince von Bülow of his continued confidence.' "

WILHELM II.'S LETTER TO LORD TWEEDMOUTH.

Published by The Morning Post of London, Oct. 30, 1914.

The subjoined letter written to the late Lord Tweedmouth by the German Emperor is made public for the first time. It is a literal transcript of the original document in which occur a few slight errors in spelling. The existence of the document was first made known to the public by the military correspondent of "The Times," who published a letter on the subject on March 6, 1908, but its contents were not divulged.

The significance of the letter can be understood only in the light of the naval and political situation six years ago. During the preceding year, 1907, The Hague Conference, ostensibly convened in the interests of international peace, had resolved itself into a committee to determine how to diminish the severities of war. There was a section of opinion in this country which was persuaded that the only method of seeking peace was to reduce the navy and army. At the same time the Imperial German Navy was making swift and steady progress, and its menace to British supremacy aroused considerable alarm in this country. Although the British Navy held superiority over the German Navy in ships not of the dreadnought type, the balance in dreadnoughts was virtually even.

Dreadnought Supremacy.

It was stated in Parliament that in the year 1916 Germany, according to her naval law, would have thirty-six dreadnoughts, a number which would involve the building by this country of forty-four such vessels in the same period, toward which the Government was only providing two in the current year. It was also stated that in the year 1911 Germany would

possess thirteen dreadnoughts and Great Britain only twelve, which statement was founded upon reasonable assumptions. Could Germany reckon upon the continuance of such a relative position, the advantage to her would be very great.

It was at this critical moment that the German Emperor indited his letter to the First Lord of the Admiralty, which is printed below. When the fact became known there was a good deal of public feeling aroused both in this country and abroad. Lord Tweedmouth stated that the letter was a private letter and purely personal. Prince von Bülow informed the Reichstag that the letter was of both a private and political character, adding some remarks concerning the "purely defensive character of our naval programme which," said the Chancellor, "cannot be emphasized too frequently."

The German Foreign Office officially announced that "in his letter the Emperor merely corrected certain erroneous views prevalent in England regarding the development of the German fleet."

Readers are now in a position to judge for themselves the accuracy of these statements. It should be remembered that the reduced navy estimates of 1908-9 were followed by national alarm and the publication of Admiral Lord Charles Beresford's shipbuilding programme and large increase in estimates of the following year. Here is the letter:

The Kaiser's Letter.

"Berlin, 14th-2, 1908.

"My Dear Lord Tweedmouth—May I intrude on your precious time and ask for a few moments' attention to these lines I venture to submit to you? I see by the daily papers and reviews that a battle royal is being fought about the needs of the navy. I, therefore venture to furnish you with some information anent the German naval programme, which it seems is being quoted by all parties to further their ends by trying to frighten peaceable British taxpayers with it as a bogy.

"During my last pleasant visit to your hospitable shores I tried to make your authorities understand what the drift of German naval policy is, but I am afraid that my explanations have been either misunderstood or not believed, because I see 'German danger' and 'German challenge to British naval supremacy' constantly quoted in different articles. *This phrase, if not repudiated or corrected, sown broadcast over the country and daily dinned into British ears, might in the end create the most deplorable results.**

"I, therefore, deem it advisable, as Admiral of the Fleet, to lay some facts before you to enable you to see clearly that it is absolutely nonsensical and untrue that the German naval bill is to provide a navy meant as a challenge to British naval supremacy. The German fleet is built against nobody at all; it is solely built for Germany's needs in relation with that country's rapidly growing trade. The German naval bill was sanctioned by Imperial Parliament and published ten years ago, and may be had at any large bookseller's. There is nothing surprising, secret, or underhand in it, and every reader may study the whole course mapped out for the devolpment of the German Navy with the greatest ease.

Thirty to Forty Battleships in 1920.

"The law is being adhered to, and provides for about thirty to forty ships of the line in 1920. The number of ships fixed by the bill included the fleet then actually in commission, notwithstanding its material being already old and far surpassed by contemporary types. In other foreign navies the extraordinary rapidity with which improvements were introduced in types of battleships, armaments, and armor made the fleet in commission obsolete before the building programme providing additions to it was half finished.

"The obsolete fleet had to be struck off the list, thus leaving a gap, lowering the number of ships below the standard prescribed by the bill. This gap was stopped by using the finished ships to replace the obsolete ones instead of being added to them as originally intended. Therefore, instead of steadily increasing the standing fleet by regular additions, it came to a wholesale rebuilding of the entire German Navy. Our actual programme in course of execution is practically only the exchange of old material for new, but not an addition to the number of units originally laid down by the bill of ten years ago, which is being adhered to.

"It seems to me that the main fault in the discussions going on in the papers is the permanent ventilating of so-called two to three or more power standard and then only exemplifying on one power, which is invariably Germany. It is fair to suppose that each nation builds and commissions its navy according to its needs and not only with regard to the programme of other countries. Therefore, it would be the simplest thing for England to say: 'I have a world-wide empire and the greatest trade of the world, and to protect them I must have so and so many battleships, cruisers, etc., as are necessary to guarantee the supremacy of the sea to me, and they shall, accordingly, be built and manned.'

"That is the absolute right of your country, and nobody anywhere would lose a word about it, and whether it be 60 or 90 or 100 battleships, that would make no difference and certainly no change in the German naval bill. May the numbers be as you think fit, everybody here would understand it, but the people would be very thankful over here if at last Germany was left out of the discussion, for it is very galling to the Germans to see their country continually held up as the sole danger and menace to Great Britain by the whole press of the different contending parties, considering that other countries are building too, and there are even larger fleets than the German.

Fears German Retaliation.

"Doubtless, when party faction runs high there is often a lamentable lack of discrimination in the choice of weapons, but I really must protest that the German naval programme should be regarded as for her exclusive use, or that such a poisoned view should be forged as a German challenge to British supremacy of the sea. If permanently used, mischief may be created at home, and the injured feeling engendering the wish for retaliation in the circle of the German Naval League as a representative of the nation which would influence public opinion and place the Government in a very disagreeable position by trying to force it to change its programme through undue pressure, difficult to ignore.

"In a letter which Lord Esher caused to be published a short time ago he wrote that every German, from the Emperor down to the last man, wished for the downfall of Sir John Fisher. Now, I am at a loss to tell whether the supervision of the foundations and drains of royal palaces is apt to qualify somebody for the judgment of naval affairs in general. As far as regards German affairs, the phrase is a piece of unmitigated balderdash, and has created immense merriment in the circles of those here who know. But I venture to think that such things ought not to be written by people who are highly placed, as they are liable to hurt public feelings over here.

"Of course, I need not assure you that nobody here dreams of wishing to influence Great Britain in the choice of those to whom she means to give the direction of her navy or to disturb them in the fulfillment of their noble task. It is expected that the choice will always fall on the best and ablest, and their deeds will be followed with interest and admiration by their brother officers in the German Navy.

"It is, therefore, preposterous to infer that the German authorities work for or against persons in official positions in foreign countries. It is as ridiculous as it is untrue, and I hereby repudiate such calumny. Besides, to my humble notion, this perpetual quoting of the German danger is utterly unworthy of the great British Nation, with its world-wide empire and mighty navy. There is something nearly ludicrous about it. The foreigners in other countries might easily conclude that Germans must be an exceptionally strong lot, as they seem to be able to strike terror into the hearts of the British, who are five times their superiors.

"I hope your Lordship will read these lines with kind consideration. They are written by one who is an ardent admirer of your splendid navy, who wishes it all success, and who hopes that its ensign may ever wave on the same side as the German Navy's, and by one who is proud to wear a British naval uniform of Admiral of the Fleet, which was conferred on him by the late great Queen of blessed memory.

"Once more, the German naval bill is not aimed at England and is not a challenge to British supremacy of the sea, which will remain unchallenged for generations to come. Let us all remember the warning Admiral Sir John Fisher gave to his hearers in

*Emphasized by the Editor.

November, when so cleverly he cautioned them not to get scared by using the admirable phrase 'If Eve had not always kept her eye on the apple she would not have eaten it, and we would not now be bothered with clothes.'

"I remain yours truly,

"WILLIAM I. R.,
"Admiral of the Fleet."
—The New York Times.

GERMANY'S STRONG CASE.

"The American," of Marion, Va., in its issue of February 25th, says editorially:

"The refusal of Great Britain to permit the United States or neutral countries to send foodstuffs to the civilians of Germany violates all the laws of civilized warfare, and is a blot upon a Christian nation. * * *

"The British Government in 1812 claimed, as it is claiming now, supreme authority for regulating the laws of commerce on the high seas both as to belligerents and neutral nations, and also for fixing to suit herself, regards the rules that should control naval warfare. * * *

"Then the merchant vessels of the United States, according to the statements of President Madison, "freighted with the products of our soil and industry, or returning with the honest proceeds of them, were wrested from their lawful destinations, confiscated by prize courts, no longer the organs of public law, but the instruments of arbitrary edicts.'

"Then, as now, Great Britain was asserting her authority as 'mistress of the seas,' a position she has claimed and held ever since it was won for her in the sixteenth century by her piratical admirals—Drake, Hawkins, and Morgan—who were knighted and feasted by royalty because of the successes they won as buccaneers. The war of 1812 did not end at Trafalgar, but had a bloody and humiliating end for England at New Orleans. * * *

"Why does Mr. Jeffrey speak of Germans as the 'barbarian nation?' They are of his own kindred, the only pure Teutonic nation on earth. The Anglo-Saxon blood which flows in our veins is Teutonic; and if the Englishman, by birth or descent, has any right to the claim of a higher civilization, he must base that claim not upon his Anglo-Saxon origin, but to the influences of other tribes of the Teutonic race. * * *

"Who was it that saved Great Britain from defeat at Waterloo, and Belgium from permanent annexation as a French provice? The so-called German barbarians. At the battle of Waterloo the Duke of Wellington commanding the allied forces was being crushed by the army of France. In his sore strait the Iron Duke exclaimed: 'Oh, for night or Blücher!' Before night came, Blücher arrived upon the scene with his army of Prussian barbarians, saved the battle and rescued Wellington from certain defeat. Since then Great Britain has been the enemy of its savior at Waterloo; and since then the Germans have developed into barbarians." * * *

It is refreshing to see this *Virginia* paper come out fearlessly on the side of right, the more so as Mr. Pendleton, its editor, is not one of those dreadful "hyphenated Americans."—From "The Crucible."

British War News
The Press Must Assist Us in Fighting Our Battles

AN ENGLISH LIE NAILED.

The Story that 193 Belgian Catholic Priests Were Shot or Mutilated Is a Base Fabrication.—All Priests Arrested Have Been Set Free.

"Irish World," March 13, 1915.

With reference to the alleged maltreatment of Belgian priests by the German authorities in Belgium, the German Information Service, at the instance of the German Embassy in Washington, has issued the following statement:

"The London Times recently published a much noticed letter, signed by a certain Wilfrid Ward, according to which it was alleged that the German authorities had taken severe reprisals against Belgians who had testified as to German atrocities before an English commission of investigation. The letter quoted a statement of the Observer, according to which 193 Catholic priests 'whose names are unknown' have been shot, injured, mutilated, or made prisoners.

"The German Information Service is advised by the German Embassy at Washington that the above statements are devoid of all truth and are nothing but a malicious fabrication. In a report to the Imperial Chancellor the chief of the German civil administration in Belgium, Freiherr von der Lacken, says:

" 'In so far as Belgian priests have become victims of the present war, it has merely been due to their unlawful behavior against the German troops. Those who have been made prisoners and were interned in Germany have been released and have returned to Belgium.' "

WAR NEWS.

Extracts, Editorial, The World, New York.

Neither side has had a monopoly of the faking in this war. If there is more of it on the side of the allies, that preponderance is easily explained by the fact that more war news of all kinds comes from those sources. The untruthful reports against which Mr. Prieth protests are not part of a deliberate campaign of "slander, vituperation and boasting," as he thinks. They are an inevitable result of such a censorship as all the governments have applied. Correspondents are not allowed at the front. In the German army they are wholly under the ban, and correspondents everywhere have to be guided not by what they see, but by what they are told.[1]

There is no more unsatisfactory way of gathering news; yet in respect to the main operations of the different armies, the American people in particular have been kept remarkably well informed. Nothing reflects more credit upon the energy and resourcefulness of the American press than the manner in which it has overcome the obstacles that military despotism and a rigid censorship have imposed upon a correct reporting of this war.

Fakes there have been, and plenty of them, but few have survived the publicity of 24 hours. Where the news proved to be wrong it has been corrected as soon as possible, and there is no important particular in which readers of American newspapers are misinformed except in matters in which the conflicting reports from both sides make it impossible to separate the true from the false.

Of the complaints about the news which come to The World, we have found that in a majority of cases the fault was with the reader. Rumors that were printed as rumors he had persisted in taking as direct statements of facts. Unofficial reports printed as unofficial reports he has twisted into official reports. Even obvious typographical errors[2] have been construed as proof of gross unfairness or shocking ignorance on the part of the newspapers.

The man who reads the New York newspapers every day with an intelligent and open mind, and who carefully checks up not only the corrections of misleading false reports but

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[1]And what the correspondents are not told they supply from their own imagination, "The World's" editorial writer forgot to add. That helps the London-Paris-Petrograd War News Lies Factory. The war correspondents thus get even with the nasty German barbarians for being prevented to follow their columns. But "The World" forgets Mr. James O'Donnell Bennett and his four companions who signed the famous "Round Robin." They are not guided "by what they are told."—The Publisher of "War Echoes."

[2]We refer to the article "Will the New York 'World' Explain?" printed on another page. Does the "World's" editorial writer explain the mutilation of Mr. Vieweger's letter as one of the "obvious typographical errors" which the readers "with an intelligent and open mind" should have no trouble in detecting?—The Publisher of "War Echoes."

the corroborations of correct reports, will have very clear and accurate information as to the general progress of the war.[3] More than that no newspaper can hope to do for its readers.

[3]We ask the readers of Anglo-American newspapers of the New York "World" brand, of course only those "with an intelligent and open mind:" did they ever attempt to secure "a very clear and accurate information as to the general progress of the war" by following the suggestions of "The World's" editorial writer? If they attempted it, did they succeed? We strongly doubt whether "The World's" intelligent editorial writer with his open mind could himself, by following his own suggestions, accomplish the herculean task of checking up "not only the corrections of misleading false reports but the corroborations of correct reports."

To attempt to sift out the truth from so many prejudiced news and editorial columns, from rumors, from official and unofficial reports, from "obvious typographical errors," as "The World" expects its readers to do, even from deliberate lies, would be a task not worth the effort, for "Gratiano speaks an infinite deal of nothing, more than any man in all Venice; his reasons are as two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff; you shall seek all day ere you find them and when you have them they are not worth the search."—The Publisher of "War Echoes."

SICK OF IT! WHY NOT?

Editorial from the "Milwaukee Free Press," October 7, 1914.

It is not easy to understand the psychology of the expression, "I am sick of war news." It seems hardly possible that any one should be so narrow in his interests, so lacking in human sympathy as to become surfeited with the details of one of the most portentous crises of humanity.

Here is the opening paragraph of an editorial in the New York Sun which must have provoked the hilarity of the nethermost pit.

The American public is not sick of war "news," but it is sick, mighty sick, of the miserable fabrications, the verbal debauchery, that papers like the Sun are trying to ram down the throats of their readers under the guise of "news."

When the intelligent reader sees one issue giving the lie to another in the fairy tales that are being relayed over Paris and London; when he reads accounts of Russian victories one hundred miles distant from the location of the troops; when he discovers the allied correspondents describing in detail the very reverse of what the official bulletins state as fact; he tosses aside sheets of the Sun's journalistic policy and justly exclaims: "I am sick of war news!"

Nor is this the worst of it. Seventy-five per cent of the alleged news in papers of this class is boldly and viciously anti-German. In headline and feature story, as in the handling of news, he who reads may discover the imprint of the cloven hoof.

No alleged defeat of the Germans too preposterous, no alleged atrocity too vile, no alleged incompetence, confusion or disorganization of the German army too absurd, to deny it space or heralding in the columns of this press.

"Cut out the army of words," writes a distinguished national legislator to the Sun, "just give us information." Replies that journal with seemingly outraged patience:

He does not realize that there are not words enough to give the information, that language is bankrupted by the facts, that it is only by heaping Ossa upon Pelion that some dim picture of the reality can be thrown before the eyes of such as will read with imagination and feeling.

This is rich.

Night after night, our copy readers dump reams of what the Sun considers "information"—stuff that intelligence, reason and the very map at our elbows condemns as bold-faced invention.

Language is not bankrupted by the facts, but by the hectic fancy of the penny-a-liners who are composing these yarns, miles away from the smell of gunpowder, for the satisfaction of the British censor.

And these romances, anti-German with scarcely an exception, the Sun asks its readers to peruse "with imagination and feeling."

Sick of war news? No. But the people are getting heartily sick of a certain kind of American journalism, whose hotbeds are New York and Chicago, that is trying to prostitute American sense and sentiment in the interests of the foes of Germany.

Great Britain and International Law

BRITAIN'S COWARDLY ATTACK ON LEGAL NEUTRAL RIGHTS.

From "Milwaukee Free Press," March 20, 1915.

The British government promises that the measures which it takes will involve no "risk to neutral ships or to neutral or non-combatant life" and will accord with "a strict observance of the dictates of humanity." But that is merely sugar coating a bitter dose. No neutral nation can be any the less averse to surrendering its established rights on the high seas because the belligerent who is trying to take them away agrees to conduct holdup operations in a more or less civil and considerate manner.

No Reason to Abandon Rights.

Great Britain's new program is based on a theory which cannot be justified in law or in reason. It is a piece of arrogance for any one nation to hold that international understandings must yield in an emergency to its temporary self-interest. That is what Great Britain is doing in calling on neutral nations to suspend commerce with Germany, although Germany's ports are not blockaded and Great Britain declines to accept the military risks of blockading them. There is no reason why the United States or any other neutral nation should abandon the right to trade with Germany simply because a voluntary cessation of such trade would allow Great Britain and her allies to reap all the benefits of a legal blockade without incurring any of the inconveniences of maintaining one.

We Cannot Submit.

We are asked to participate, at least passively, in a punitive operation launched by one belligerent against another. We cannot any more submit to Great Britain's demand that to surrender our right to trade with unblockaded German ports or with Germany through neutral ports (subject, of course, to contraband restrictions) than we could have allowed ourselves to be intimidated by Germany's "war zone" threat into abandoning our trade with the unblockaded ports of Great Britain and Ireland.

The excuse given for the order in council is that it is a reprisal. That excuse may hold against Germany, but it cannot hold against neutrals. Just because Germany has sunk allied merchantmen and has intimated that her submarines might accidentally sink neutral merchantmen Great Britain is not justified in going still further and saying that neutral merchantmen may not hereafter carry any goods destined to Germany or outward bound from Germany.

British Order Flagrant.

If one combatant in a quarrel strikes out wildly at an innocent bystander, that does not warrant the other combatant in turning to and knocking the innocent victim out. What the belligerents do to one another does not directly concern us. But when either attacks us as an incident of his warfare on the other we must defend ourselves. The United States should not be faithful to its honorable traditions as a champion of neutral interests if it did not protest with all its energy against the British order in council's flagrant subversion of international rights.

Voicing its regret that England should voluntarily relegate obligations which she had defended, the Springfield Republican says:

It is with the deepest regret that many American sympathizers with England contemplate this development since in its complete disregard of established usage and treaty obligation the British measure of retaliation against Germany's submarine warfare deprives Great Britain of very much of the moral strength that had come from her defense of the sanctity of solemn international obligations.

Violates International Law.

The development may in time be all the more deplorable if this new manifestation of England's determination to "rule the sea" without scrupulous regard for the established rights of neutrals arouses resentment in neutral countries, particularly in America, whose history in the Napoleonic period

was identified with a struggle to force powerful belligerents to treat neutrals with respect. It is impossible to ignore the fact that in their measures of retaliation the belligerents of today are virtually proceeding on the theory that law must yield to force even in the case of the innocent bystander. Pushed to its logical conclusion, the doctrine that military necessity knows no law would leave neutral states to exist merely on sufferance. And in practice it actually makes over international law regardless of the wishes and the vital interests of nations remaining at peace except in so far as some neutrals may be potentially strong enough to modify belligerent pretensions and hold belligerent action in restraint.

Would Destroy Trade.

Great Britain will assert the right to seize neutral ships and cargoes anywhere on the high seas and send them before British prize courts if those ships are engaged in any kind of trade with Germany either by way of German ports or by way of neutral ports. Neutral ships with noncontraband cargoes bound for Genoa or Naples are to be overhauled and taken to some British port for judicial proceedings, more or less protracted, on the mere suspicion, perhaps, that the cargoes have a German destination. A British cruiser lying in wait off New York or Boston may seize these ships almost before they have passed from sight of land.

One notes with satisfaction that in no case will noncontraband cargoes be confiscated and that provision is made for the restoration of the cargoes, or a money equivalent, to neutral owners who may establish their property rights. But it cannot be argued from this fact that a neutral trade hitherto lawful will not be virtually destroyed nor that neutral rights hitherto regarded as firmly established will not be wiped out to satisfy presumed belligerent needs on the arbitrary decree of a single nation at war.

Duty of United States Government.

But, regardless of the injury done, it is impossible that our government should consent to the principle that these nations at war may rewrite the rules of international law to please themselves while war is in progress without admitting the right of neutrals to be heard—nay, more than that, the right of neutrals to a full share in determining what the changes in the rules shall be. If international law, as now appears to be the fact, is being remade it is the duty of our governemnt, in the interest of the nations at peace, to demand proportional representation in the lawmaking that is going on.

CONTRABAND LIST IS GROWING.

Britain Enforcing New Prohibitions on Trade With Germany.

[Correspondence of the Associated Press.]

London, England, Jan. 21.—Gradually the economic phases of the war are becoming more apparent in Great Britain. The military activities, which monopolized attention at the opening of the struggle, are now overshadowed at times by the blockade of the North Sea and the strict measures the navy is enforcing against German commerce and trade with the neutrals adjoining Germany, which have been supplying foodstuffs to Germany and Austria.

From time to time the contraband list has been lengthened as it became possible for English officials to make a more thorough study of the needs of their adversaries and the probable source of supplies. Every week England also is increasing the list of articles the exportation of which from the English isles is prohibited.

The latest commodity to go on this list is copra, or dried cocoanut. Immediately after the exportation of copra was forbidden the price fell appreciably in England, as little of the material is consumed here. The Germans extract an oil from the cocoanut, which is used as the basis for oleomargarine.

The Philippines are the greatest producers of copra and will probably be the greatest sufferers because of the difficulty of getting the product to German manufacturers. It is known that within a few days additional lists of oil bearing products will be put on the same list with copra. Peanuts, palmnuts, sesame seeds, lard and several other products which Germans use extensively in making artificial butter and cooking fat are to be barred from exportation. In the colder sections of Germany imitation butters are in great demand, while the troops use large quantities of oleomargarine and other substitutes.

THE PEACE OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

A book with the above title was written by Major Stewart L. Murray, of the British army, in 1905 and addressed to the laboring class of England. Lord Roberts wrote a laudatory preface, "with pleasure," as he stated.

The following are a few extracts which we copy from an article by Dr. Edmund von Mach in "The Fatherland:"

"It cannot be too clearly stated that international law is no protection *except to the strong*, and that the only laws which great powers recognize as binding are those of *power and expediency*" (page 44). "The worst error in war is a mistaken spirit of benevolence. * * * It was not in such a spirit of weakness that we wrested the command of the sea from the Dutch, that we fought the great struggle against Napoleon, or seized the Danish fleet at Copenhagen in 1807 to avert its *possible* use against us" (page 48).

The question is, "Who will have the supremacy * * *? To share and agree is impossible" (page 81). "Let us, therefore, make up our minds once for all that we *will* be supreme upon the sea, cost what it may, and let us get to work at once. Let us add at once another 5,000,000 pounds yearly to our shipbuilding program and recoup ourselves from *the foreigner*, and if *necessary*, from futurity" (page 168).

"If one nation yields to another nation, such weakness only encourages its opponent to play the same game of threats again" (page 39). "Instead of listening to the unpractical nonsense of those who talk much about the wickedness of war, let us regard war as it really is—as an *inevitable event* in the life of each generation" (page 40). "Russia interprets international law simply *as pleases herself*, without the slightest reference to anybody else's opinion. And so will every other belligerent who is strong enough" (page 44).

When people in such high places in the council of the British nation, as Lord Roberts undoubtedly was, subscribe "with pleasure" to such sentiments then may God protect us from the "peace of the Anglo-Saxons," for it is the peace of the beast in the jungle rather than of a civilized nation.

And incidentally this book is the most shocking and the most complete list of England's political crimes which ever was compiled, and well may King George exclaim: "God protect me against my friends!"—From "The Crucible."

PROTEST AGAINST TURCO SOLDIERS.

In a recent issue of the Minnesota "Staats Tiding," Editor Schonberg, in an editorial bearing the caption, "The Black Soldiers of France," makes these comments:

"According to reports from Marseilles, France is importing native troops from Northern Africa for use against the Germans. The French, who are so anxious to be looked upon as the élite of all civilization in the world and the bearers of the highest humanity, really intend to repeat the extreme barbarities of 1870. We did not think that it was possible that they again would use these half wild people in European war after the horrible brutality of the North Africans in 1870.

"Luckily they did not reach the battlefields as often as they like under the cover of darkness to torture the wounded. It was not French discipline, however, that held them back from so doing, but the German weapons that nearly always were masters of the battlefields. If the work of the French had been successful these half wild people would have carried on their barbaric practices not only on the battlefields; but she would also have taken them into the enemy's country. How they would have behaved toward the German women we dare not think. That a cultured nation of Europe should sully its shield of arms by driving half-wilds against their European opponents is beyond understanding. Against such an act one may have the right to protest in the name of humanity and express indignation at France for daring for a second time to do anything so terrible in the face of all Europe.

"But the Swedes believe that the righteous God knows on which side the deepest civilization is to be found. We, therefore, with faith foresee the result of this 'speed hunting' which has been taken up by Slavs and Gauls—alas, with the help of England—and which long has been prepared for as a blow to German culture on the continent."—Reprinted from the "News of the War in Europe," supplied by "The Fatherland," New York.

Great Britain's Position—Some Remarkable Confessions

THE EUROPEAN WAR.

(Conclusion.)

This is the twelfth and the last article of a series on THE EUROPEAN WAR, which appeared in the October Number of THE OPEN COURT, under the title "Conclusion," written by the Editor, Dr. Paul Carus.

Consult the INDEX for the complete series, and, in order to see where in the various Chapters of the book, the different articles of this treatise may be found, look for EUROPEAN WAR (THE). In this way the reader may read the entire series of articles in their original order, if he chooses to do so, while the present arrangement still gives him the advantage of bringing the various articles under their proper, respective Chapter-headings of the book.

This is a series of exceptionally fine articles on the subject in question, and they bear a unique and important relation to each other. Be sure to read them also in their original order.—Editor, "War Echoes."

A few personal comments may throw light on the fundamental conception upon which my opinion of the war rests. I have been, for almost my entire life, since I began to think, an advocate of the federation of the great Teutonic nations, as a guarantee of the peace of the world —Great Britain and her colonies, Germany with Austria, and the United States.

This political ideal of mine is not founded upon pan-Germanism, though it does not in the least exclude it. Modern civilization has been worked out in England, Germany and the United States. Here are the centers of progress, here live the people from whom we may expect further progress, deeper thought, clearer science, and advancement in a conception as well as in a realization of noble humanity. Other smaller countries cluster about them; they are either of kindred blood or kindred language and thought. They belong to them as younger brothers who look up respectfully to their elder brothers.

If these three groups of nations, centering about Germany, England and the United States, stand together, the peace of the world will be assured. So long as they do the right, all the smaller nationalities, states and groups of states will have to behave, and the peaceful realization of a highly cultured civilization will most assuredly be ours. But now this ideal—a by no means impossible one—has become an illusion. My hope of seeing it established has now, within a day, turned to despair. And why? Because one brother does not want another one to grow beyond his present stature. The Anglo-Saxon grew at first more quickly than the older German, but since, of late, the German has made a sudden start, and threatens to outdo the Saxon, the specter of war has appeared, and the two brothers face each other, sword in hand. And the end will be that one of them will fall. What a tragedy for mankind! Whatever the final result may be, mankind, with its ideals, will be the loser.

Woe unto those villainous advisers who have begun the war. They think themselves wise, but they are short-sighted. They appeal to the lowest and vilest motives of their countrymen, and hope to enrich their country by the ruin of their brothers. Woe unto them! The curse of their own people will most surely fall upon them. So far the English people seem only to have expected to see the Germans crushed between the French and the Russians. But what if Germany should rise beyond her present state, and develop a grandeur of untold strength? What if the spirit of God should come upon her, and she should smite her foes, and chastise them according to their deserts? What if, after conquering her Gallic enemy, she should overcome the giant Slav, and finally the Saxon, her own wicked brother beyond the channel?

My dear English friends! I love the English nation, and I wish that England could be regenerated. On my last visit to Europe I beheld with joy a new growth in France, but sensible thoughtful minds do not yet figure sufficiently in her politics. They are still in the minority. Any mob of self-styled patriots can cry them down, and if they should ever dare to utter an honest opinion they would be denounced as traitors.* In Germany I have witnessed an almost incredible advance in every line, and though there are still many things which have not my approval, I must state my conviction that, upon the whole, the life of the nation is developing in the right direction. Even a hater of Germany cannot deny her his admiration. In England conditions are different; wretched poverty, almost unknown on the continent, is apparent in the very streets of London, and in the by-ways of the country. My dear good English friends, believe me, for the sake of your own best interests, that you cannot enrich your poor countrymen by ruining your German brothers on the other side of the channel. It will do you no good to wipe the Teuton, with his competition, off of the face of the earth, but it will be terrible to face him when he rises against you with all his might, in his just wrath. Why did Greece fall? Because Sparta and Athens hated each other. Will you not learn from history, and must you repeat the sin of older generations, only to reap the same punishment? The Germanic civilization, represented by Germany, England and the United States, is leading now, but the Slav hopes to take their place, and the Japanese, the most active people of the yellow race, are filled with ambition also to enter the field. An internecine war of the Germanic nations is apt to pave the way for both Slav and Asiatic ascendency.

As a friend of the English, and also in the interest of the further development of the British empire, I cannot help feeling a grim dissatisfaction with English politics. The present war which Great Britain has undertaken against Germany and Austria-Hungary is against the real, the vital, and the all-important interest of Great Britain; hence I believe that the statesmen who, by their advice, their conduct, and their decisions, have brought about this war, have shown an obvious lack of judgment and have become guilty of gross criminality.

The war is unjust, the leaders of government affairs have not been fair to the German cause; but, in addition, they have neglected to acquire even the most superficial information about the ability of the German people to wage a war, and have thoughtlessly and unnecessarily changed a vigorous, powerful and friendly nation into a most formidable foe. The consequences of this action will endure into the most distant future, and can, under no circumstances, even in case of a victory, ever be or become favorable. And, in addition, England will, of course, have to suffer the usual curses which follow in the wake of war,—slaughter and ruin, the blighting of civilization and culture, of industry and commerce, and the death knell of the blessings of peace.

The men of England who have advocated the war and have stirred the English people with hatred, are guilty of the blackest crime; they have committed the sin against the Holy Ghost, that sin which can never be forgiven. If I were an English citizen, I would advocate their removal from those high offices which they have so shamefully disgraced, and would even go so far as to have them indicted for high treason against Great Britain for their neglect of duty and because they have brought upon the British empire the curse of evil counsel.

The outbreak of war between Great Britain and Germany has proved to me the greatest and saddest disappointment of my life. I have investigated the conditions and motives which led to it with sincere impartiality, but I have come to definite conclusions which place the guilt first of all, mainly and almost exclusively at the door of English diplomacy. Should I be mistaken, I wish to be refuted not by general declarations against German militarism, by denunciations of Kaiserism and Prussianism, such as betray mere ignorance and prejudice, but by real facts or good, sound arguments. I am open to conviction and I shall carefully study all answers which contain actual points worth considering, yea, I will give publicity to them and, in case I shall have to change my views, promise to confess my errors openly and without reluctance.

*M. Jaurès was against the war and he was shot by an unknown hand. No serious effort appears to have been made to punish the assassin.

WHY WE ARE AT WAR.

In an editorial of March 12th the London "Times" says:

"We joined the Triple Entente because we realized, however late in the day, that the time of 'splendid isolation' was no more. We reverted to our historical policy of the balance of power, and we reverted to it for the reasons for which our forefathers adopted it. They were not, either for them or for us, reasons of sentiment. They were self-regarding, and even *selfish reasons*. Chief amongst them certainly was a desire to preserve the peace of Europe, but it was the chief only because to preserve that peace was the one certain way to preserve our own. * * *

"England is helping her allies to fight in defense of their soil and of their homes against the aggressor, and she is proud to pour out her blood and her treasure in so sacred a cause. But *she is not fighting primarily for Belgium or for Serbia, for France or for Russia.* They fill a great place in her second. *The first place belongs, and rightly belongs, to herself* * * *

"It is to save ourselves from the deadly consequences of Germany's considered malignity that we stand in arms. To shield our homes from the murder and the rape, from the organized loot and the systematic arson we have seen across the seas; to protect the Empire our race has reared at so dear a cost; to secure for our children and for mankind the spiritual heritage of which it is the embodiment and the guardian—these are the ends for which we are launching upon the battlefields of France the greatest and the most powerful armies our history has ever known; the ends for which England has pledged her last shilling and her last man."

It was pre-eminently the London "Times" which upheld for a long time the fiction of Sir Edward Grey that England had joined "the sacred cause" of Russia (pardon me for smiling!) and France because Germany violated the neutrality (so-called) of Belgium, but the ridicule launched against this untenable assertion has at last pierced even the thick hide of John Bull, and his retainers have received orders to press lightly henceforth on the Belgium stop and to sound more and more loudly the note of England's honor and plighted word to her allies, and of her self-interest.

When Russia shall have made a separate peace one of these days and England shall have to stand more and more on her own legs, she will, perhaps, give up the fiction of "Russia's sacred cause," too, and acknowledge that from the beginning she thought of her own interest only and considered the war a game of grab and nothing else.—From "The Crucible."

WHAT CAUSED THIS WAR?

In an interview which appeared in the London "Daily Chronicle" of January 1, 1914, that is to say, only seven months before the outbreak of the war, Lloyd George, now a slanderous enemy of Germany, made the following remarks:

Flays the Press.

"The Agadir incident served a very useful purpose in bringing home to these two great countries the perils involved in the atmosphere of suspicion which had been created and maintained by the politicians, the press and certain interests.

"The realization of the imminence of the danger came as a great shock, and sanity has now been more or less restored on both sides of the North Sea.

German Militarism.

"The German army is vital, not merely to the existence of the German Empire, but to the very life and independence of the nation itself, surrounded as Germany is by other nations each of which possesses armies almost as powerful as her own.

Army Absolute Necessity.

"The country has so often been invaded, overrun, and devastated by foreign foes, that she cannot afford to take any chances in that direction. We forget that while we insist upon a 60 per cent superiority (so far as our naval strength is concerned) over Germany being essential to guarantee the integrity of our own shores—Germany herself has nothing like that superiority over France alone, and she has, of course, in addition to reckon with Russia on her eastern frontier.

"Germany has nothing which approximates to a two-power standard. She has, therefore, become alarmed by recent events, and is spending huge sums of money on the expansion of her military resources.

Does Not Threaten England.

"That is why I feel convinced that, even if Germany ever had any idea of challenging our supremacy at sea, the exigences of the military situation must necessarily put it completely out of her head."

Here we have it acknowledged by Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer—

(1) That the press, the politicians and certain interests are responsible for the bitter feeling in England against Germany.

(2) That the German army is vital to the very independence and life of the nation.

(3) That Germany is not by far as strongly armed as England, and,

(4) That the German navy does not constitute a threat against England.

Since August 4, 1914, Lloyd George has changed—if not his opinions—at least his song, but we doubt whether he would say that he had lied in that interview.—From "The Crucible."

Bits of News on France in the Great War

DISTORTING ALL TRUTH IN FRANCE.

Impressions of a Swiss Journalist After a Tour Along the Firing Line.

From "The Fatherland."

Georges Wagniere, director of the "Journal de Geneve," recently undertook a tour of observation along the French front by permission of General Joffre. His remarks on the impression received on seeing a French newspaper after a considerable time is highly interesting in view of the impression made upon this undoubted Swiss friend of the French by the irresponsible and distorted twaddle of the Parisian press.

"In Sezanne I bought a 'Journal,' for I hadn't seen a paper in a long time. The heroically sentimental tone of the very first article made a peculiar impression upon me. I felt all of a sudden far—very far—away from the front, far away from all those brave lads who are constantly face to face with death, who often confront death with courage and even cheerfulness, and who, deeply devoted to their country, use only plain and intelligible words. But the moment one opens a paper truth remains behind; one exchanges it for mere literature.

"A second article seeks to prove that intellectual Germany has never produced anything of value. Because General von Kluck burned the town of Curtacon, Goethe is an obscure little poet and Richard Wagner—only yesterday compared to a divinity—becomes a composer of the fourth rank.

"I know of nothing more offensive in this war than this sort of depreciation, to which the most intelligent people have become addicted. The soldier on the firing line judges his opponent with more sense and fairness. He does not represent him—like most of the papers and artists—as persistently flying and advancing to attack only when impelled to do so by the kicks of his officer. There would be no credit in conquering such a foe.

"A French officer recently described to me in a radically different tone a German infantry attack, when the battalions in thick masses charged across the open ground in total disregard of the hellish effect of the mitraileuses, all the time singing at the top of their voices. But unbridled passions seem to have cast the whole world into darkness, and error prevails everywhere. Already this war surpasses every other in horrors; in spite of which disordered minds are inventing all sorts of refined tales of inhuman atrocities. Legends are continually being circulated and exaggerated in France and in Germany. If one single authentic case is found it is magnified to boundless proportions. Attempt to trace the truth, and you soon discover it to be a lie.

"It is really remarkable how the truth is concealed in all places, so to speak. To give a single example: All Frenchmen are firmly convinced that Joffre purposely lured the Germans to the neighborhood of Paris to inflict a defeat upon them on the Marne!

"As though any general staff ever conceived the fantastic idea of drawing a million Germans into their country and allowing them to keep the richest province!"

COUNT ZEPPELIN IN ALSACE IN 1870.

(By Courtesy of **The Open Court.**)

By Karl Klein.

[Count Ferdinand Zeppelin, the inventor of the dirigible balloon, is prominently before the public because of the important part his airships play in the present European war. He is now in his seventy-seventh year, and a man of active intelligence and in vigorous health. He is an extraordinary character and remarkably young for his age.

By birth the Count is a Swabian. He first saw the light on July 8, 1838, very near Friedrichshafen on Lake Constance. He acquired a very good and broad education, not only of a general nature but also in technical and mechanical science. He attended the polytechnic institute at Stuttgart, the military academy at Ludwigsburg and the University of Tübingen. In 1858 he entered the Württemberg army. In 1863 while the war of Secession was waging in the United States he could not stay at home, but in his anxiety to profit by experience in actual warfare he left for America, entering the army of the North as a cavalry officer, where he did good service until the end of the war in 1865. Even thus early he had taken special interest in aeronautics, for he once made an ascent in a captive balloon in order to spy out the position of the Confederate army. For some time he was attached to the staff of General Carl Schurz and barely escaped being taken prisoner at Fredericksburg.

Upon his return home the Austro-Prussian war broke out in 1866, and he served in the Württemberg army against Prussia. At the very beginning of the Franco-Prussian war in 1870 he played a conspicuous part in a brilliant dash into Alsace which he made in the service of the German armies in order to reconnoiter the country and determine the position of the various French army corps. This experience is told in the diary of the Rev. Karl Klein, an Alsacian pastor of the village of Fröschweiler. The diary was published after the war of 1870-71, and has the fresh and impartial tone which belongs to such an informal document. Since the Rev. Karl Klein was a subject of France, he could hardly be said to be a German, yet as an Alsacian he was not without sympathy for the German invaders. At the time he wrote, Count Zeppelin was not famous, nor could his later exploits in aeronautics be foreseen. We republish here Pastor Klein's account of Count Zeppelin's adventure, translated into English by Lydia G. Robinson and accompanied by illustrations made by Ernest Zimmer, a German artist, after a careful study of the localities, the uniforms and all the personalities concerned.

We will conclude our comment by stating that after the foundation of the empire Count Zeppelin served in the *Bundesrat* (the imperial council representing the sovereign princes of Germany) as the Württemberg Plenipotentiary, a very high position. He retired from active service in the army in 1901 with the rank of Lieutenant-General and has since then devoted himself to the development and perfection of the dirigible balloon which now bears his name.—Ed.]

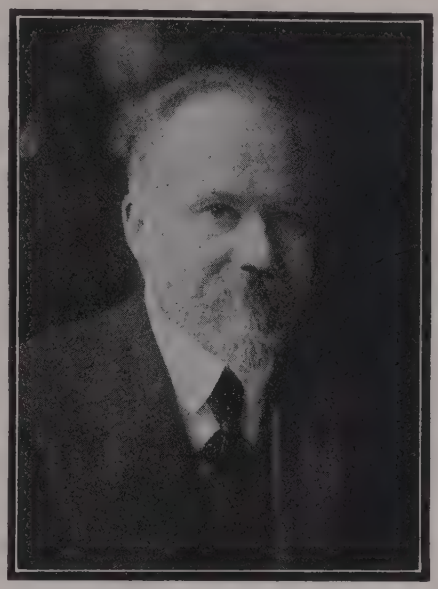
"The Prussians are coming! The Prussians are coming!" During the summer of 1870 this alarm had sounded more than once in Fröschweiler, Wörth and the neighboring Alsacian villages. Who said so? Where are they? How could any one make sense out of such hubbub! The people would run out and fall over each other; the squadron of light cavalry detailed at Fröschweiler from Regiment 11 stationed at Niederbronn would gallop hither and yon; the regiment itself would come up from Niederbronn and patrol around in all directions—but the Prussians did not come and everything would quiet down again. And yet no one could feel quite comfortable; the railroad trains rumbled so mysteriously from Reichshofen across the "great forest" (Grossenwald). The calm was beginning to weigh oppressively on people's spirits, when suddenly early in the morning of July 24, the boy from the castle came running in as pale as death from Elsasshausen, crying at the top of his voice: "The Prussians are coming! The Prussians are *here!* I saw them myself. They rode through Elsasshausen and I had to show them the way." And Babe Lanze broke in with: "Oh dear, oh dear! we are all lost! Every Prussian carries a saber in his mouth crosswise and has a loaded pistol in each hand!" And as they went shouting about through the village, all the others crowded around shouting after them until there was as great a consternation and screaming and howling as if a hundred thousand brigands were down there by the churchyard and were sure to massacre everything that had skin and hair. Crowds flocked around the parsonage, and especially the women were wringing their hands and whimpering and weeping as if all was already lost. And we were admonishing them to be still and leave everything in God's hands, when a gendarme came galloping up from Wörth who confirmed the news that a troop of Prussians had rushed through Wörth with flashing swords and muskets cocked, shouting "War! War!" He said he was hurrying to Niederbronn to inform the regiment so that these marauders would be killed or captured. Then our people quieted down somewhat and every one—both young and old—that went on two feet, stood ready to sacrifice themselves on the altar of the fatherland.

The captain of the squadron, a valiant and courageous young hero, who was infuriated at the slightest sign of fear and cowardice, could not stay quietly on the spot another moment. He rushed hither and thither with his company, scouted in every direction, down hill, across country and back again, and when one or another of his men wiped the sweat from his brow with beating heart and grave forebodings, he consoled them with "*Allons, mon brave! pas peur! nous mourons pour la patrie!*" (Courage, my brave fellow, fear not! we are dying for our country!) And all who could understand it and carried Christian hearts in their breast could not keep back the tears, thinking:

"God keep you!
Yesterday on mounted steed,
Today with hero's heart ableed,
Tomorrow in the peaceful grave."

So as much as an hour and a half was spent in riding up and down, lying in ambush, coming back, keeping quiet, receiving all sorts of good wishes and words of encouragement, emptying canteens, filling them up again and striking out in all directions without bloodshed. Then the gendarme came back and announced that the regiment had broken camp at Niederbronn and had gone to meet the enemy by way of Gundershofen. "They must forget the way home!" opined Lindenbauer, drunk with triumph. "Yes, if they don't run away, or if there is a rear guard behind them," whispered the shrewd Willibald, "they are hardly likely to be left to themselves."

The enemy's forces consisted of an officer of the Württemberg general staff, Captain Count Zeppelin, three officers from Baden and four dragoons.



M. Poincare—President of France

(Photo by the International News Service)

FRENCH SOCIALIST OBJECTS.

Gustave Herve Ashamed of Treatment Accorded to Germans and Austrians.

"The Fatherland."

Gustave Herve, according to information received by the Neue Freie Presse from Paris, has demanded that the conditions prevailing in French concentration camps be at once investigated. "The concentration camps," says Herve, "by no means constitute a page of glory in the history of France. For lack of any better excuse for the defeat in the early stages of war, the blame has been put upon espionage. The government has lost its head and ordered all Germans and Austrians to be interned.

"These unfortunate victims were herded together in railway trains, and under the shouts and insults of the populace were removed to various places. There they were escorted by a double row of soldiers and policemen to some quarters unprepared and unfit for habitation. For weeks men, women and children had to sleep on a thin layer of straw, if not on the bare floor, and were treated like criminals. The number of children who died in consequence of such treatment will never be known.

RUINS OF HEIDELBERG CASTLE

Devastated in 1688 by the French under Malec, previous to the establishment of Militarism

(By Courtesy of the "Open Court")

They had orders to reconnoiter across Lauterburg out into the country and see whether any considerable number of troops had mobilized in lower Alsace. They had succeeded in passing through Sulz, Wörth, Fröschweiler, and had advanced on an unfrequented mountain path so far from Elsasshausen that they could look down upon the railroad tracks from Gundershofen to Niederbronn and also over a good part of Hanau.

Whether they had finished their Joshua and Caleb errand or were just about to carry it out we shall not here betray for the best of reasons. But it is our duty to communicate to posterity what took place at the Schirlenhof Inn lying in lonely isolation in the woods midway between Eberbach, Gundershofen and Reichshofen, and what fate overtook the venturesome horsemen there.

They had returned to the courtyard and put up their horses in stables and sheds; they were about to rest a while after their hard ride and already the omelets were merrily steaming in the pan and were going to taste all the better on French ground—when all of a sudden there was an uproar, the whole cavalry regiment was coming up, the yard was already surrounded. What next? Knives and forks fell to the table, swords were unsheathed, the guests plunged headlong out of the inn and barricaded themselves behind their horses. The first shot stretched a French subaltern on the ground; other shots followed; Lieutenant Winslow was fatally wounded and others were injured. There were a few shots of retaliation, but superior force had conquered. Two officers and two dragoons were taken and Winslow bled to death; but Count Zeppelin and the two other dragoons escaped. The regiment turned right about face and reached Niederbronn again that very evening in the midst of general rejoicing. In Paris the "battle of Schirlenhof" was celebrated with illuminations, and even in Fröschweiler the joy was so great and the enthusiasm so universal when our squadron came back that our good people never tired of asking questions, praising and admiring, and the soldiers could not finish eating, drinking, and telling stories until far into the night. As booty they brought back with them a short musket and a thick wooden cudgel, still preserved in Fröschweiler as a permanent memorial. How these trophies were prized and marveled at!

Count Zeppelin escaped on the black horse of the fallen French subaltern, people in the forest say, and returned to Schirlenhof shortly after the battle and settled his account there. Whether this is true or not he himself must know best, for he is still alive, and even if he does not confess it perhaps history will throw light on the matter at some future day. At any rate he is a bold horseman, for his retreat into Pfalz not only shows a very exact knowledge of our locality, but also such contempt of death as to compel admiration. From the scene of the battle he wended his way in a northeasterly direction through the "great forest" and it must have been not far from Fröschweiler that he crossed the Reichshofen military road which at that time was a much frequented highway. Then he proceeded over the outskirts of the forest into the mountains, always in company with the black horse, which has become a legendary figure.

When Wendling's Peter (God bless him!) was tending his cows in the pasture that evening close to the wood by the mountain slope between Nähweiler and Linienhausen, there came along a strange looking man who could not be a Frenchman. He was leading a tired warhorse by the bridle and asked if he couldn't get a little milk. Peter looked at him in alarm. "Yes, I would just as soon give you a little milk if I had something to milk into." "That is easily arranged," said the man and drew a leather object out of his pocket which could be drunk out of and milked into, and Peter milked into it bravely enough. The milk tasted so good to the stranger that he let the cowherd fill the cup again, whereupon he gave the dumbfounded fellow a two-franc piece, said "Thank you" and "Good-bye." And all this happened while French horsemen were scouring up and down not more than three hundred paces away, and were execrating the Prussian in the wood though they did not go into the wood after him.

Count Zeppelin went on his way, and that very evening reached Günsthal. There at the so-called "Big" Peter's house he drank two glasses of red wine for which he paid a ten-franc piece and next day arrived in the kingdom of Bavaria with important communications after his fatiguing ride. But never to his dying day did Wendling's Peter forget that evening, nor how he milked into the stranger's leather cup.

There were two dragoons also who escaped from the battle of Schirlenhof, as we said before. They sought and found shelter and lodging in the forest

BEFORE THE DAYS OF "MILITARISM"

The Return of the French Troups from Petrowski Park

(By Courtesy of the "Open Court")

while their comrades were given an opportunity of silent meditation behind the walls of the Niederbronn prison. One of the two who escaped had been shot in the foot, and so the way home on shank's mare through hedges and thorns could not give him any particular pleasure. They had started off straight towards the south not far from Eberbach, had stopped at Albert's Inn (commonly called the Louse Inn) between Morsbronn and Wörth to ask for refreshment and civilian's clothes, and hoped that from there they could succeed in getting back to their home by way of the Hagenau forest near by, which extends down to the Rhine. But they were to find out very soon what Alsacians can do when it becomes a question of protecting their fatherland from barbarians.

It was reported that a few Prussians were lurking in the forest, and although the regiment at Niederbronn might sleep in peace, in Sauerhof no one could be expected to do so under the circumstances. No indeed, you must not think that Sauerhof is any ordinary place on the map. Who is at all acquainted with it knows that it contains many prominent people, philosophers and poets (there is one poet there who is firmly convinced that he reaches at least up to Schiller's ankles!). And here above all we have patriots without a peer. I tell you it's great when these men strike the table and set about dividing up the world! So we can easily understand that no one in Sauerhof could rest in peace until those dreadful villains were caught and wiped off the face of the earth.

First of all the patricians assembled to take measures to save their country; the unprecedentedness of such an invasion was set forth in its proper light with all its dangers and horrors; the people's wrath was aroused to the necessary pitch by means of large black type; and, to make a long story short, it was decided to make an expedition into the forest and bring back the bandits to Sauerhof, dead or alive. Now imagine the village, if you can, at such an exalted moment! The enthusiasm, the outbursts of wrath, the contempt of death and the joy of victory! What a pity there were not a hundred Prussians lying in the forest instead of only two. Yesterday they did not as much as imprison one, today each man would kill a dozen.

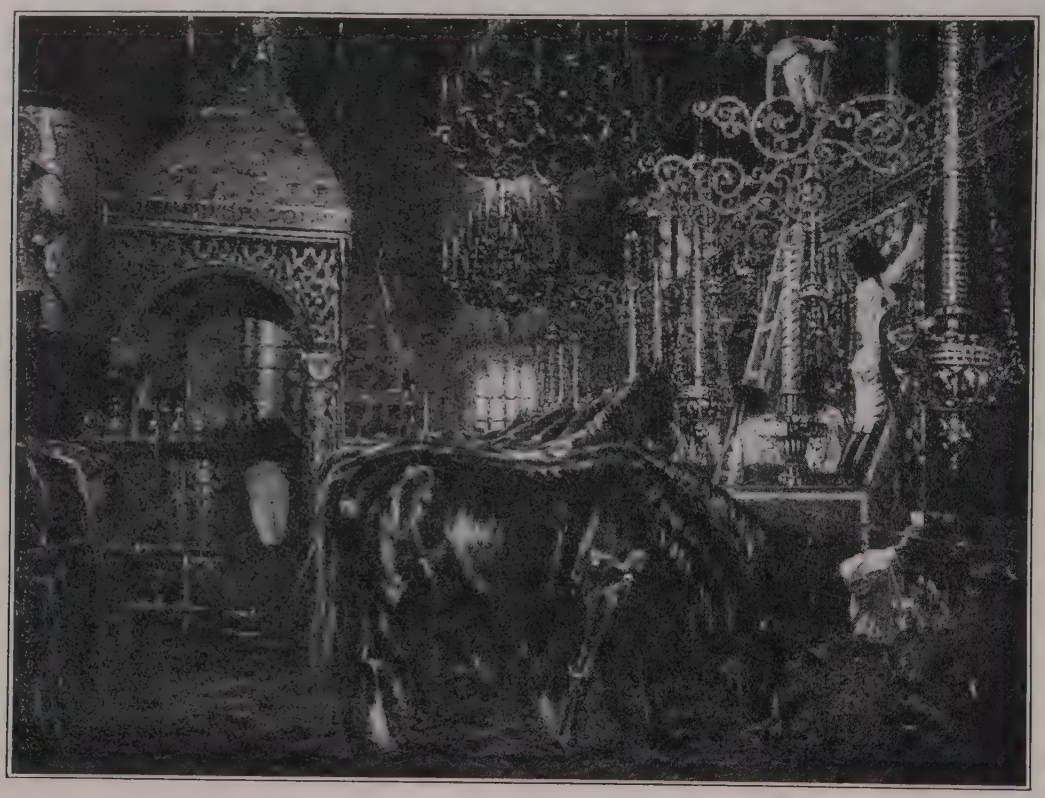
But who will lead the expedition? What a question! You can easily descry the vengeance-breathing commander there on the white horse. See how smartly his hair is dressed and how valiantly he gallops up and down under the window of the fine ladies so that the sparks fly from his charger's hoofs. I give you my word of honor that he will take to his heels, and escape across the Kniebis before the first battle![1] And there is the adjutant at the head (his name has just escaped me but it does not matter) who has been a soldier, even a subaltern. You can tell him by his voice and the Prussians will know him by his stripes. Hear him as with pistol in either hand he goes roaring about among the raging crowd. "Where are they? Where are they? *Allons, enfants de la patrie!*" And the crowd takes it up after him. See how the zealous army of citizens with flintlocks, knives, scythes, pitchforks, stakes and all manner of death-dealing implements, swearing death and destruction, surge through the streets, and away they go without fear and without wavering, forth, forth to the bloody fray. Only one man, the wise Æsculapius, looks on with a philosophical smile from behind the palings of his garden and mutters in his beard, "Oh! if there were only some way to muzzle such specimens!" But he nevertheless takes bandages and other remedies, has his gig hitched, and still musing rides along behind the rest to the scene of battle.

What incidents occurred on the way, what sorts of *"vive la France!"* and other slogans resounded through the forest, the present historian cannot say. All he knows is that when the main body of troops in fighting array surrounded Albert's Inn (commonly called the Louse Inn) and the spokesman had solemnly demanded the unconditional surrender of the hostile army, there stepped out—two young unarmed striplings, who stood silent before their victors as in days of old Vercingetorix stood before Cæsar. "There they are! There they are! *Vengeance! à bas la Prusse!* We've got 'em!" sounded from a hundred throats, besides whatever else in the way of curses, threats and patriotic effusions, all who had particularly distinguished themselves in the battle could utter.

A beautiful twilight glow spread over the great forest; the expedition had succeeded beyond all expectations. Beaming with joy the leaders of the army returned to Sauerhof with applauding legions and barbarians in chains. The doors of the *carcere duro*

[1] Pastor Klein says in a footnote that this is what actually occurred in less than ten days, on August 4.

clanged, and therein lay two captive dragoons tortured the whole night long with curses and execrations. The next morning they were led like ordinary criminals, bareheaded and with torn clothes, through Fröschweiler and Niederbronn, and the writer will never forget the look one of them cast up at a window where a foul-mouthed spectator was giving utterance to the genuinely patriotic speech, "Beheading'd be too good for them."



THE OUSPINSKI CHURCH AS A STABLE
During the days of French Glory, and before the Days of the Modern "Huns"
(By Courtesy of the "Open Court")

You shake your head, dear reader, and think "Oh, Sauerhof, to what heights hath your patriotism soared!" Be calm and chide not to me the boundless bravery of the Alsacian people. Down in Germersheim or up in Offenburg the dragoon hunt against two wounded *Frenchmen* would have been carried on in exactly the same way.

FRANCE AS AN ENGLISH PROTECTORATE.

Reports come in continually from the field stating that the antipathy existing between the French and British is increasing considerably. The Englishmen play the part of lord and ruler in many of the most important French cities, such as Havre, and take the reins of government out of the hands of the French authorities. France is following the same path as Belgium. We know from the latest exposures how Great Britain first offered the Belgian government her assistance and then forced it upon them. Even the members of the French government can no longer give credence to the idea that this war is a German-French passage at arms, in which the knightly John Bull comes to the assistance of his oppressed friend from motives of purest philanthropy. France furnishes the troops and the fighting grounds for the blow which the City statesmen have planned against their unpleasantly successful competitor. "Let us suppose that France enters into peace negotiations with us," the "Tag" says, "is it believed in Paris that Kitchener and French will simply evacuate the French territory to which they came only as the saviours of France? England would further fortify her '*tête de pont*,' Calais. To come right down to the truth, England never really got over the loss of Calais. 'When my heart is opened,' said the dying Maria Tudor, 'the name Calais will be found written on it.'"

England needs Northern France for the purpose of carrying on warfare against Germany, in whose possession they do not wish, under any circumstance, to leave Ostend and Antwerp. France has become an English protectorate. Even the French do not deceive themselves as to this fact. The deputies of the Department of the Seine held a consultation, during which the Delegate Laval demanded that a deputation from the French government be appointed to adopt measures, as a result of which France's industry and commerce derive some profit from the existing conditions which place England in the position of the Sovereign of the Seas. Evidently the fear exists in the minds of the French that England may use her naval supremacy to the disadvantage of French trade and industry.

The French soldiers, too, have become disgusted with their English comrades. The "Mannheimer General Anzeiger" prints a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Ehrt, commander of the First "Landsturm" Infantry Battalion in Heidelberg, written to the Mannheim Auxiliary of the Red Cross, in which the following incident is related: "A short time ago, French 'Landwehr' men sent the following note to the German troops": "Do not shoot and we will not shoot, but give it to the English good and hot!" The "Journal" thinks there is no hope that Germany's resources will be exhausted by next summer. In order that peace be brought about, one of the parties must come to the recognition that further efforts are useless. Germany will have actually conquered, the paper states, when the Allies have been driven back over the Loire, when England feels herself threatened in her own land, and when the German army has won a battle before St. Petersburg and Moscow. The end of the war will come sooner than it did in 1870, the "Journal" thinks, and adds that a general uprising of the French people, after all men capable of bearing arms have been called to the front, is out of the question.—"Hamburger Fremdenblatt," Hamburg, Germany.

Add Horrors of War.

Paris, Sept. 11.—One Parisian, seeing his supply of absinthe was reduced, with no chance for obtaining more, drank his last bottle almost at one drink and died.—From "The Chicago Tribune," September 12, 1914.

The Liberation of the Jewish People by Russia

AN OPEN LETTER TO ISRAEL ZANGWILL.

The Fatherland, New York.

Mr. Zangwill, I address to you the following lines, because you have taken the liberty of advising the American Jews as to what attitude they should take in this terrible bloodshed.

True, it is, that we Jews have long ago given up the idea of taking you seriously. But our Gentile brethren still believe that you are one of our "leaders," and that hence you must have spoken with authority in your "Epistle to the Jews." It is on this account that I, as an American Jew, am compelled to protest in a publication, read by the general public, against the amazing and unjust statements contained in your "Manifesto" to us.

You begin by expressing surprise that some American Jews should sympathize with Prussia, though this war was "made in Germany." Let me tell you, Mr. Zangwill, that not some, but most of the American Jews, and I hope of the entire world, are sympathizing with Germany. All the American Jewish dailies (with perhaps one exception) are out-spoken pro-German. And do you know why? Because we are too intelligent to believe the poisoned English press. We do not allow our minds to be made up for us by the anti-German editorial writers. We read the documents and we are convinced, as every honest and sound-minded person, familiar with the political developments that lead to the war, must be, that, in this terrible conflagration, Germany was forced to take up arms for self-defense against Russian barbarity, French lust for revenge and English greed for money. For what was it, if not the desire to cripple German prosperity, that drove the "nation of shopkeepers" into the embrace of savage Russia a few years ago? And why did now England declare war against Germany? I consider you too intelligent to believe that England was willing to sacrifice millions of dollars and thousands of her subjects because she signed a treaty to preserve the neutrality of Belgium. You, as well as I, know that when she has nothing to gain, England is not so scrupulous about her signature. One example is sufficient to prove this assertion: In 1878 England signed the Berlin Tractate which contains a distinct clause that Roumania must accord equal rights to her Jewish subjects. Up to the present day, Roumania has been treating her Jews as outlaws, thus violating a treaty which England signed. And what has England done to enforce respect for her signature? She surely has not declared war against Roumania. Why? Because there was nothing to be gained for British interests by punishing little Roumania, while there is a great deal to be won by weakening powerful Germany.

NICHOLAS II—CZAR OF RUSSIA

This, as we American Jews believe, being the case, how ridiculous it is for you to repeat the futile assertions of the hypocritical English press that Britain is fighting against German Militarism. If it is noble and moral to try to crush Germany because she has a splendid army (which, by the way, she has been compelled to maintain, being hemmed in between two powerful and military enemies), why is it less noble for another nation to destroy England, on account of her tremendous navy? In which way is Militarism a greater danger to civilization than "Navyism"?

You speak of Germany's "barbarous" behavior in this war. Hence, again, you are condemning Germany without listening to her side of the story. But, in any case, it sounds rather awkward that an Englishman should accuse Germany of barbarism, when the Allies, not satisfied to cast their lot with "civilized" Russia, have called upon the Turco and Japan into this European struggle. Your sophisticated excuse that England is using "black means for white ends" is an empty phrase, for you are begging the question. We believe that every war is barbarous, unless it is fought for self-defence. England cannot claim this excuse, hence it is England and her allies who brought about this war; they are the real barbarians. And if you call Germany's punishing civilian snipers "barbarous," I should like to know how "civilized" England would treat civilians caught firing at her soldiers?

Your suspicion that the Jews hold off their sympathy from the allies on account of Russia, is only partly correct. Even if Russia would take no part in the war we would sympathize with Germany, because we believe that the allies are wrong. But, now that Russia sides with the allies, of course, no sane person could expect the Jews of neutral states to wish the allies success, for this would mean greater glory for the Czar and more suffering for our Russian co-religionists.

Your amazing statement that it is better for the Russian Jews to "continue to suffer than that the great interest of civilization should be submerged by the triumph of Prussian militarism" surpasses in its cruelty and injustice anything I have ever seen written by a Jew.

Mr. Zangwill, do you know what it means to suffer in Russia? You have read about pogroms. Have you ever lived through one? You have heard of your ally, the Cossack. But did you ever feel his lash? And if you say that your imaginative mind can clearly picture to you all the horrors of Jewish life in Russia, even though you never experienced them in person, do you still maintain that you are willing to have your unfortunate 6,000,000 brethren tortured indefinitely, in order to save "civilization," meaning of course, English civilization, which allows such atrocities—nay, which, by its alliance with the Czar, sanctions all his barbarities perpetrated on our brethren?

You are trying to win our sympathy for England by telling us that Sir Edward Grey has assured you that when Germany will be defeated, Russia will be "encouraged" to treat the Jews like human beings. And you, Mr. Zangwill, state that this is not a promise of "a politician in a crisis." Is that really so? Where was Sir Edward Grey till now? Why did he not "encourage" Russia to stop the scandalous Beilis trial? Why did he not encourage the Czar to allow you, Mr. Zangwill, to enter Russia? I suppose you did not forget the answer the same Sir Grey gave to the "English Jewish Committee" when they asked him to bring some pressure on the Czar that he respect a British passport in the hands of a Jew?

And in conclusion, let me quote a passage from II Chronicles, xx: 37, in which Sir Churchill may be interested:

"Then prophesied Eliezer, the son of Dodavohu of Mareshah, against Jehoshaphat, saying, 'Because thou hast connected thyself with Achazyahu, the Lord hath broken down thy works, and the ships were wrecked, so that they were not able to go to Tarshish.'"

Meyer I. Leff, M. D.

September 14, 1914.

The Anglomaniac press of New York and elsewhere will have to invent a new cause for their anti-German belligerency than that Germany had no business to go to war with Russia, for England declared war against Austria for no reason whatever. Austria was at perfect peace with England and was fighting Russia and France, not England.

THE JEWS AND RUSSIA.

Herman Ridder, New Yorker Staats-Zeitung.

The well-known secretary of the American Jewish Committee, Mr. Herman Bernstein, in his preface to the "American Jewish Year Book," which appears today, says:

"The Beilis affair has constituted the darkest tragedy of the Jews in recent years. The evil forces of the Russian Empire conspired against them, an innocent Jew was tortured in prison for two years and a half, and the entire Jewish people in Russia was threatened with pogrom panics through this political conspiracy. In the Beilis affair, the Russian government's policy of cruel, militant and anti-Semitism reached its culmination. Just as the civilized world was shocked at the Kishineff massacres, so it was appalled when the Russian government revised the infamous blood legend for the purpose of discrediting the Jewish people and justifying new massacres.

"The list of events in Russia during the past twelvemonth recorded in this scheme reveals a painful state of affairs. The sufferings and hopelessness of the Jew in the Pale of Settlement are shown in the simple records of "ordinary" happenings, of wholesale expulsions—silent, wordless progress—of new devices of persecution, of the suppression of education, and of the ritual murder delirium with which the Russian government has crazed the minds of the Russian masses."

The "Year Book" contains also an interesting 90-page review of the Beilis affair, which well deserves reading.

Some weeks ago it was reported from Europe that the Czar had issued a ukase promising to the Jews in Russia complete civil rights. Using this ukase as his text, Israel Zangwill, the noted Jewish author and playwright of England, sent out to the Jews of neutral countries, not long after, an appeal for Jewish sympathy and Jewish prayers for Great Britain in her present "war for freedom."

It is apparent from the tone of the Jewish press in the United States and from letters written by prominent members of the Jewish community, that Mr. Zangwill's "manifesto" has fallen, so far as this country is concerned, upon sterile soil. The British advertising clique was unfortunate in the choice of Mr. Zangwill as the man to address the Jews of the world, for great as his work has been in the field of literature, he has come to be regarded by the Jews the world over, with the possible exception of those in England, as one no longer in touch with the sufferings of his race in less tolerant countries and one who has little sympathy with the true racial aspirations of his people. But even had Mr. Zangwill been the one man to appeal, on the strength of the Russian ukase, for Jewish sympathy for England, what had he to offer them in return for such sympathy or as an excuse for his appeal?

The story of the Jews in America is known to all—of the Jew in Europe to not so many. I know it sufficiently well to state, however, that in England alone have the Jewish people received complete civil rights. In France and Germany their condition is not so good as in England, but it is as far divided from their condition in Russia and the Balkan States as high heaven is from hell. The great majority of the Jews in this country come not from the British Isles, but from Russia and southeastern Europe and have come here to escape the horrors of the persecutions to which they were subjected there. These Jews have not forgotten what they and their fathers suffered from the lash of the Cossack and the riflebutt of an ignorant and bigoted soldiery. They remember the pogroms of Kishineff as vividly as Mr. Zangwill the banquets at which he has been feasted in London. And many of them have friends and relatives submitting to this same treatment today, unable to escape from Russia. It is not probable that such Jews will lend their prayers to the Anglo-Russian combine until the condition of their race in Russia has been definitely and concretely improved.

And what is Mr. Zangwill's assurance that in the event of a Russian victory over Germany such will be the case? Sir Edward Grey has said that in that event he will "encourage" Russia to alter its present attitude toward her Jewish subjects! I do not wish to impugn the word of the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Above all, he is "a man of his word." So true was he to the promises that he had given behind the backs of Parliament and the British people to Russia and France, that he plunged his country into an unpopular war. The combined efforts of the cinematograph, the spell-binders of the government and a press campaign by such writers as Mr. Zangwill, have failed to rouse England to Sir Edward's duty. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs will undoubtedly carry out his promise and "encourage" Russia, when the Cossack is in Berlin, but of what avail will it be? We have had our own experience in such things. When Russia accepts the abrogation of its American treaty, as a protest against her treatment of the Jew, without turning a hair, what respect may she be expected to show for the "encouragement" of her ally?

The attitude of England toward the suffering Jew in other countries is already in black and white. A clause of the "Berlin Tractate" of 1878, to which Great Britain was signatory, demands of Roumania that she accord to her Jewish subjects equal rights with those of other religious beliefs. The treatment of the Jew in Roumania today is known to be and for years to have been no less brutal and revolting than that experienced in Russia. And yet, can we doubt that England, and especially Sir Edward Grey, has "encouraged" Roumania to alleviate these conditions? England is true to her treaties. She has told us that so often these last few weeks that it would seem impossible for anyone but herself to doubt it. What good has come of it? Has all England's encouragement brought back to life a single Jew foully murdered because he chose to worship God in the manner of his fathers? Has it erased the scars from one Jewish back, wrought there by the lash of an avaricious police? Has it won him the right to live where he will, to possess property in security, and to educate his children in the schools which he is compelled to support? It has done no one of these things, and it will do no more in Russia. Instead of looking forward to a contingency which at best is highly problematical, Mr. Zangwill should have looked back and told the Jews what England has already done for them in the dominions of the Slav.

We have seen what the Jew may expect from England in return for his sympathy and support. Let us look for a moment at what he may rightly expect from Russia.

The "word of a Romanoff" is a proverb among the downtrodden subjects of the Czar. Its value is known to Jew and Christian alike. It is given today and retracted tomorrow. When the voice of the oppressed rises to the ears of the Little Father in times of peace it is stilled by the crack of the knout and the clank of Siberian chains. When the throne rocks on the waves of an unpopular war it is necessary to meet it with other weapons. It is then the open season for conciliatory ukases. Alexander I. promised Finland its autonomy under conditions not dissimilar from those which exist today, and what has Finland profited thereby? The Russo-Japanese war purchased a Duma, but so emasculated that its place is rather with the sewing circles of Victorian England than with the parliamentary bodies of civilized States. The present conflict has developed the inner dissension of the Russian Empire to the limit. Poles are asked to fight Poles, Jews to fight not only other Jews but a country which has treated the race with a large measure of justice. We have had, therefore, two examples of "the word of a Romanoff." The first was to Poles, but that has since been retracted by the Russian commanders in Galicia, when they found Austrian Poles fighting against them. The second was to "my beloved Jews." But what proof has the Jew in America that the signature of the Little Father has been affixed to this other ukase, promising his people in Russia full civil rights? It has even been asserted, and on authority quite as good as that on which the publication of the ukase in question was made, that the whole story of the Czar's promise to his "beloved Jews" is a fabrication for foreign consumption.

I do not doubt that Russia wishes to conciliate the Jews at the present time, not only at home but abroad. She has spurned their religion and cannot, therefore, care very much for their prayers. She can use, how-

ever, to good advantage, their money, their brains and their lifeblood. In the last analysis it is that which she seeks. If Mr. Zangwill had been moved by a spirit of loyalty to his race it is that which he would have penned in his manifesto.

When, however, he comes before them with the plea that England is fighting a war of freedom against German "militarism" he misjudges his audience. The Jew can read through the tenuous fabric of his words as easily as anyone. It is not a war of England against Germany, but, so far as England is concerned, a war for the destruction of German sea power and the seizure of Germany's outlying colonies. So far as internal Europe is concerned, it is a war between Russia and Germany. True, Germany has her militarism, but she has also her culture, her refinement and her justice. Russia has only militarism, in an exaggerated and brutal form. She can offer not one redeeming trait of government or policy. Of the two the Jew will know which to choose.

The appeal of Mr. Zangwill asks the Jews of America to forget too much. It asks them also to believe too much. They have no fight with England, but they will not help England to help Russia. When Mr. Zangwill can guarantee that equal rights will be accorded to the Jews in Russia, they will listen to him. When he can secure the guarantee of Sir Edward Grey to the same effect, they will listen to him. When he can offer the guarantee of anyone but a Romanoff, they will listen to him. But not before.

HOPE FOR RUSSIAN JEWS.

Editorial from "The Chicago Tribune," September 14, 1914.

The cradle of race hatred in Russia is the army. It is the army officers as a class that foster the persecution of the Jews. It is almost a fashion with them to assert themselves as anti-Semites, to cover up their own petty natures and dark dealings with loud mutterings about Russia's greatness and the need of downing all foreigners, and especially the Jews.

It is with considerable interest, therefore, that the Jews of the world will read the news that the Czar has decided to admit members of their race as officers in the Russian army and navy. It was well known in the past that, in spite of the restrictions which government has placed upon Jews as a people, it has recognized the abler among them in an unofficial way. Hatred of the Jews, for instance, has not prevented the Czar from calling out a Jewish physician from Berlin to attend his sickly heir, the Czarevitch. It is well known, too, that the editors of some of the most reactionary papers in Russia privately seek the advice of Jewish scholars and students of affairs—Russian affairs—just as the Russian government privately turns to Jewish bankers abroad for financial favors.

Apparently official Russia is growing tired of this ridiculous policy toward five million of its subjects. Permitting Jews to become army and navy officers is not yet granting all the Jews of Russia political and economic freedom. But it is a strong move in that direction. Not only Jews, but all fair minded people will hope that Russia will profit from its alliance with England* and France, at least, to the extent of adopting a humanitarian attitude toward a people it has outraged and oppressed for centuries.

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*Does "The Chicago Tribune" include itself among "all fair minded people, who will hope that Russia will profit from its alliance with England" to the benefit of the outraged and oppressed Jews? "But it is a strong move in that direction," says "The Tribune." We suppose it arrives at this conclusion because "the Czar called out a Jewish physician from Berlin to attend his sickly heir, the Czarevitch." It is remarkable what "profound" arguments are brought forward by a vast number of Anglo-American newspapers in their efforts to whitewash England's new comrade—Russia, in order to make their readers believe that such companionship will have the beneficial influence of forcing Russia to keep her promises to the Jews. We cannot share this present cheerful view of the Anglo-American press which, only shortly before the war, could not find terms hard enough to denounce Russia in its attitude towards the Jews. "Apparently official Russia is growing tired of this ridiculous policy toward five million of its subjects," says "The Tribune," in trying to find some further proof that the Jews in Russia will from now on be treated somewhat like human beings. It strikes us as somewhat peculiar that the editorial writer of "The World's Greatest Newspaper" should use the adjective "ridiculous" in referring to a long series of blood-shedding cruelties and outrages, trials of ritual murder and the restriction of the possibilities of making a living. The reports that are being received of the treatment the invading Cossacks are giving to the Jews in Galicia should tend to open the eyes of the editorial writer in "The Tribune," who seems to be but one of many who have been hoodwinked by the Czar's promises to his "beloved" Jews. It should make him realize that if Russia wins the lot of the Jews in Russia will be the same as before, if not worse; in other words, that it will be a repetition as cartooned in the first and third of the pictures illustrating "The Czar and His Beloved Jews." We also refer our readers to "The Jewish Year Book" and "An Open Letter to Israel Zangwill;" for the latter consult the Index.—The Editor.

RUSSIA'S DECLARATION OF LOVE FOR THE JEW AND POLISH.

Translation, Editorial, Illinois Staats-Zeitung, Chicago.

The present war brings strange things to maturity and makes strange bed-fellows. England walks arm in arm with Russia, pretending to fight for liberty and right, and the same England calls at the same time upon Eastern Japan against Western civilization.

Animated by the noble example set by England, Russia entered also the road of humanity and tries to prove how serious and sincere her fight for freedom is. Russia has rendered already the first evidence. The Jews were promised religious freedom and the Polish home rule.

Necessity teaches even Russia to pray. Russian self-consciousness, Russian belief in victory stands on lame legs if the almighty Czar thought it advisable to enter into negotiations with the despised Jews and with the fettered Polish to arouse sympathies in them in favor of Russia.

The sudden human inclination of Russia, even though it presents itself in the form of a Russian promise only, that inclination as well as the tears of the London Times, shed the other day, arouse the suspicion that the recent French and Russian victories do not look exactly as the cable dispatches from London, Paris and St. Petersburg would have them look.

It is more than suspicious to see Russia make love to the Jew and to the Polish. Great troubles seem to have confounded Russia's mind, which has never been altogether sound. The Czar and his advisers, if clear-minded, would never have assumed that a mere promise given to the Jews would extirpate from their souls the memory of the bloody pogroms, the trials of ritual murders, the restriction of the possibilities of making a living.

And a clear-minded Czar would not allow himself to think for one moment of the possibility of a mere promise converting the Polish to Russian patriots and induce them to shed their blood for the hangman of their national existence.

Since the overthrow of the resurrection led by Kosciousco and the third and final division of Poland in the year 1791, the Polish, who cannot and never will forget the glorious history of their country, nowhere else except in Russia met with the hardest and most brutal persecution.

The honeyed bread of the promise of home rule will hardly sweeten the bitter memories. The Polish in Russia will never warm up to the Russian that seized 200 Polish, part of whom were beheaded and part of whom were deported to Siberia thirty years ago.

The Polish in Russia will never forget that the Russians confiscated their church goods in 1865 and subjected them to the fanatics in St.

Petersburg. The Polish in Russia will never forget the brutal force which brought about their Russification.

And this Russia has the audacity to talk about the liberation of the Slavs. When had the Slav nationalities in Austria and Hungary to endure similar oppressions? When did Austrian or Hungarian authorities confiscate church goods of the adherents of the orthodox church?

And still the claim is that the oppression of the Slavs in Austria and Hungary was the primary cause of the present war. And England sings the same song and joined Russia to liberate the Slavs—outside of Russia—and glorify the orthodox church. And England calls this a fight for liberty and for civilization! If that word in the lips of England does not mean a simple phrase, if constitutional and democratic England is actually striving for the liberation of others, it should start with the subjects of its Russian ally. It should induce Russia to grant at least Finland and the Baltic provinces some liberty of speech and of religion.

As long as England does not even try to accomplish that her protestation of trying to further the cause of civilization should be reduced to the value of the Russian promise to the Polish and the Jew.

AS WAS EXPECTED.

Editorial from the "Milwaukee Free Press," October 3, 1914.

Skepticism anent Russia's good faith in promising relief to Jews and Poles appears to have been well justified.

The Russian embassy in London informs the press that it knows of no new privileges given to Jews in Russia, and intimations are being made that the promises to the Poles have been "withdrawn," on the ground that some natives of Austria and Prussian Poland have been fighting against the czar.

Since such an event was inevitable, its assignment as a reason must be regarded as a pitiable pretext—proof that the formal promises made to the Poles by Russia were meant to be broken from the first as soon as they had served their purpose.

With respect to the Jews, the Russian government does not see fit to manufacture so much as a pretext for its breach of faith.

It will be remembered that another of the czar's promises related to the forgiveness of political exiles provided they returned to fight for Russia. This appears to have been a similarly base subterfuge, since we are told that Bourtzen, the revolutionist, who went back to join the colors upon the strength of this assurance, was arrested in Finland and shipped to Siberia.

So Kipling's old warning seems still to hold: "Make ye no truce with Adamzad, the bear that walks like a man!"

The Brooklyn Eagle in seeking to explain this shocking duplicity of the Russian government says:

"We suppose the explanation is that the powerful state church influence has been exerting itself in Petrograd. Politically reactionary, it has no mercy for liberal thinkers on governmental problems. It is against the Jews as Jews; against the Poles as Roman Catholics. Perhaps it is seeking to stultify the czar without the czar's consent. In that case the autocrat's personal strength of character will be subjected, or is being subjected, to a severe test."

That is only half the truth. To say that the church "has been exerting itself at Petrograd" is to imply that it is not always in the saddle, riding hand in glove with the grand-ducal clique. The present czar has been a pawn in the hands of these ruthless reactionaries from the beginning of his reign; he was its tool in covering up the Russian preparations for war just as he was when he put his name to promises that were never intended to be kept.

His "strength of character" is undergoing no severer test today than it has for years past. Whatever that strength amounts to it is as helpless as a babe's before the real rulers of Russia.

Until these and their government are overthrown, there can be no hope for the oppressed races, the oppressed masses of the Muscovite realm.

ZANGWILL ASKS JEWS IN U. S. SUPPORT THE ALLIES.

Reprinted from the "Chicago American," September 10, 1914.

London, Sept. 10.—Israel Zangwill has sent to the "Standard" an appeal to Jews of neutral countries, especially those in America, to support the allies against Germany. He writes:

"Though the most monstrous war in human history was 'made in Germany' and although Germany's behavior in war is as barbarous as her temper in peace, I note with regret that certain sections of Jewry in America and other neutral countries seem to withhold sympathy from Britain and her allies.

"In so far as these Jews are German born their feeling for Germany is as intelligent as is mine for England, but in so far as they are swayed by consideration of the interests of Russian Jews, to whom Germany and Austria are offering equal rights, let me tell them that it would be better for the Jewish minority to continue to suffer and that I would far sooner lose my own right as an English citizen than that the great interests of civilization should be submerged by the triumph of Prussian militarism.

Explains Black Army.

"And in saying this I speak not as a British patriot, but as a world patriot, dismayed and disgusted by the inhuman ideal of the Gothic superman.

"I am well aware Germany's press agent paints Germany as the guardian of civilization, an angel fighting desperately against hordes of savages imported from Africa and Asia, but if we are using black forces it is for a white purpose. She is using white forces for black purposes.

"But it is not even certain the Jews of Russia would continue to suffer once England was relieved from this Teutonic nightmare. I have been privileged to obtain from Sir Edward Grey the assurance that he will neglect no opportunity of encouraging the emancipation of Russian Jews.

Trusts in England.

"This marks the turning point in their history, replacing as it does windy Russian rumors by solid political bases of hope. Nor is this the mere utterance of a politician in a crisis. I am in a position to state that I represent the attitude of all that is best in English thought.

"It is with confidence, therefore, that I appeal to American and other 'neutral' Jews not to let the shadow of Russia alienate their sympathies from the indomitable island, which now, as not seldom before, is fighting for mankind and which may yet civilize Russia and Germany."*

*See Dr. Meyer L. Seff's reply to Zangwill, the leading article of this section.—Editor.

"MY BELOVED JEWS."

From "The American Jew."

The Czar of Russia seems to realize that his Jewish subjects are, after all,—Men. Now, when the physical strength of the Russian Empire is put to the test, the barriers of religious prejudice and hatred fall, and in the gigantic chess game across the seas counts only the strength of arm, the clearness of vision, the bravery of heart. The Russian Jew is no coward. It takes strength, superhuman courage, to endure what has been meted out to our poor brethren in Russia. They who faced death a thousand times, death in its most barbarous form,—who welcomed the reaper's touch when Russian fiends desecrated their homes and tortured their loved ones,—know how to wage a loyal fight. It will take more than war to liberate the Russian Jew, more than mere words, spoken in the hour of need, to establish our faith in the Czar's promises.

THE CZAR'S UKASE.

From "The Fatherland," New York, September 30, 1914.

Apropos of the Czar's message to the Jews in Russia, the "Censor" in its last issue terms it "about as sardonic a bit of jesting as has come out of Russia in a long time," writes "The American Jew." "If the promise were meant to be kept," says the editorial, "it would still be a joke in its method of address, for as the world knows the Russian autocracy has always been in the habit of testifying its 'love' for the Jews by re-

morseless proscriptions, imprisoning them in ghettoes, and once and again promoting a 'pogrom' that slaughtered them without discrimination, for no other reason than that they were 'Jews'." Our esteemed contemporary cannot, therefore, agree with us when we commend the Russian Jew's loyalty to his country. The Czar's Ukase is sheer hypocrisy. He does not love the Jew. He does not mean to respect the Jew's rights. And the Jew knows it. Knows that he is the cast-off, despised plaything of Russian brutality—the social underling of Russian autocracy.

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN RUSSIA.

A Sofia paper writes that a Bulgarian wholesale house received a report from its St. Petersburg representative, relative to the increase to the revolutionary movement in Russia. The police of the secret service caused many hundreds of arrests during the last weeks. In St. Petersburg only the arrest of Social Democratic representatives to the Duma have been published. Reports have been spread regarding a plot against the Czar, in which Representatives Jekaterinoslaw and Petronski were entangled. In Lupansk wholesale arrests took place.

The calling in of the troops does not go on quite smoothly. In some districts, scarcely half of those liable to military service put in an appearance —the peasants have to be gathered by force. — "Hamburger Fremdenblatt," Hamburg, Germany.

The Czar's promises to treat the Jews just as he treats his other subjects are calculated to send a shiver of apprehension throughout Israel.—From the "Boston Transcript."

Great Britain's and Russia's Part in the World War

ENGLISH PERFIDY AND RUSSIAN ATROCITIES.

The Vital Issue, New York.

Editor's Note:

Below we publish one of the most remarkable articles ever printed in an American journal. It is very unusual that newspaper reprints have ever appeared in an American newspaper. Usually, the ordinary newspaper does not publish such telling material as we give below, but it is only right and fair that the great American public should be told. They want to know facts from both sides.

Here follows a letter written by one of the best known college professors in England to "Egypt" of August, 1912. Please remember that the letter was written two years ago and that it has therefore no reference to the present European Crisis. For this reason the manuscript is remarkable and not influenced by sentiments caused by the present European Crisis. Our English correspondent condemns bitterly the Russian government and its agents. We quote his own words: "Our 'Friends,' as the London 'Times' and its congeners persist in calliing the Russians." Remember that this was written two years ago by an English college professor, and it is true today. The pictures which we reprint herewith are reproductions from actual photographs, and show the most gruesome and abominable deeds of Russian governmental agents. These pictures show Russian methods in their despicable rôle. It is these Russians who precipitated the present European war. Similar methods were employed by them through the Revolution in the Baltic provinces a few years ago. It is these dreadful Russians who have now set out to destroy German Culture, German Ideals and German Thought.

The picture is mute evidence of the actual behavior of the Russians, and the article describes the sentiments and the attitude of a certain British clique. Their envy of Germany was rapacious and their commercial greed insatiable. **Russia would never have attacked Germany if before the outbreak of the war England had not quietly encouraged Russia.** Such underhand support is hard to prove, but now we see that this same British clique openly joins hands with despotic Russia to destroy German Culture and German Freedom. The British even ask the help of the Yellow Men and transported peaceful Hindus to Europe to help them in their devilish plans. What fearful responsibility must fall upon the shoulders of a band of men of such a low and perfidious character. May Heaven punish them!*

*I did not have the heart to give you more than the word-picture of these barbarities; out of charity toward the defenders I refuse to show the ghastly photographic reproductions of the incidents described. However, I emphasize the sentence in small black, above.—Editor of *War Echoes.*

By PROFESSOR ROBERT D. GREENE, of Oxford University, England.

Sir.—Today's papers are full of reflection on the result of the election at North-West, Manchester, and while they differ according to their political tenets as to the interpretation of the results, they all notice the significant fact that the success of the Unionist candidate was due less to any remarkable enthusiasm for the principles which he advocated than to a very conspicuous lack of enthusiasm on the part of Liberal voters, some 1,200 of whom appear to have abstained from voting.

This lack of enthusiasm is variously ascribed to dislike of the Insurance Bill, or of Home Rule, or of Welsh Disestablishment; but I have not seen it suggested that a profound mistrust and dislike of the foreign policy of the present government had anything to do with it. I think, however, that there is good ground for believing that this is the case. Liberalism, as a power capable of generating enthusiasm, is not a mere name or label, but an idea, or set of ideas, often denounced by its opponents as "sentimentalism," but at least inspired by a deep-seated belief in abstract justice and truth; a desire for and belief in moral advance; sympathy for the weak, and hatred of oppression; and a profound conviction that a nation cannot, any more than an individual, ignore righteousness, surround itself with an atmosphere of falsehood, or defy expediency with impunity.

Illiberal Foreign Policy.

Now I venture to say that seldom, if ever, in the history of this country has a foreign policy been pursued at once so illiberal, so immoral, so contemptible, and so perilous as that pursued by the present Government.

Illiberal, because, contemptuously regardless of the claims to our sympathy of small nations "rightly struggling to be free," it has shown itself as ready to go to war for a bad cause (such as the enslavement of Morocco to France), as it was unready to make any effective effort to restrain its new "friend," Russia, from acts of brutal aggression in Persia.

Immoral, because it has almost succeeded in muzzling our vaunted free press in all that concerns foreign affairs, poisoning the very well of truth, and, partly by suppression, partly by suggestion, in so distorting facts that only to such as possess special sources of information on any particular question of foreign policy is it possible to see things as they really are. Contemptible, because it has destroyed England's reputation for truth, honor, and love of fair play.

Perilous, because, in spite of constantly increasing expenditure on armaments, Lord Morley has to reply querulously to Lord Curzon's trenchant criticisms of the insane project of an Indo-Russian railway that we cannot say "No," lest worse things befall us.

The net result, then, is that, as the Persians say, we have neither this world nor the next, and that our expiring influence in Asia has been consistently used since this government came into power on the wrong side, the side of tyranny, reaction, and vandalism.

The Situation in Persia.

It is of Persia chiefly that I am thinking, and of an unusually odious leading article on Persia in today's "Times" (which, unhappily, too often foreshadows the intentions of the Foreign Office), and of two sets of documents which lie before me: the last White Book, and a dozen of the most frightful photographs it has ever been my misfortune to see. The latter (which it would be well that all Englishmen should see, were they not too horrible for publication) represent the way in which the Russian Government and its agents "Our friends," as the "Times" and its congeners persist in calling them—understand Christian civilization in the twentieth century, and how they celebrated last New Year's Day in the unhappy city of Tabriz.

The one "constructive" feature of their policy is the gallows, from which swing the poor, mortal remains of some of the bravest and most enlightened of the Nationalist

leaders of Tabriz; the other features, which can scarcely be called "constructive," include the closing of schools and printing presses, the dynamiting of ancient monuments and private houses, and the restoration of the worst elements of the old régime.

Some of the photographs show the Russians at work in the way familiar to all who have followed their doings in the Caucasus, the Baltic Provinces and elsewhere; others (yet more repulsive) show the work of Samad Khan Shuja-ud-Dawla, ardent reactionary and partisan of the ex-Shah, who followed them into the city he had so long failed to subdue, was recognized by them as de facto governor, and, with their sanction and approval, at once set to work to do such things as they could hardly do; to stab, mutilate, hang head downwards, cut men in two like sheep, and hang the pieces in the shop.

All this, appalling as it is, is only what anyone who had read history would have expected, but what shocks us most is to find the British Consul at Tabriz recommending the recognition of Samad Khan as Governor of the town, thinking that he "will not be a bad Governor," and telegraphing to the British Minister at Teheran that it was "in every way desirable to recognize him as Governor-General, as he was popular (!) and possessed influence among nomads."

I wish the photographs before me could have been reproduced as illustrations to the White Book, so that all its readers might at once have seen (what the text omits to mention) the methods by which Samad Kahn Shuja-ud-Wawla commended himself to the then British Consul at Tabriz as "not a bad Governor," and obtained "popularity" and "influence"!

I must not, however, pursue this topic further; but I enclose herewith some of the photographs to which I have referred, in order to convince you, Sir, that I do not speak too strongly, and, though I count myself a Liberal in the sense in which the word was used formerly, **and though I have no assurance that a Unionist Foreign Minister would or could reverse or ameliorate the lamentable foreign policy of Sir Edward Grey and his lieutenants,** I think I would do what I could to put the matter to the test in the certain assurance that things could hardly be worse than they are now. How I should vote is a matter of very little consequence, but I have reason to think that a very large number of Liberals are in the same position, and that a **deep disgust of the present Government's foreign policy played,** perhaps, a not inconsiderable part in the Manchester election, and is likely to play a still greater part in future elections.

ROBERT D. GREENE.

Oxford, England, August 9, 1912.

The above letter was written by an Englishman of international reputation, a historian and a student of politics. The letter gives proof of much knowledge.

We have an absolute legal and moral right to publish it; in fact, the letter was printed and circulated within a small but select circle two years ago. But whether the professor would like to see his name printed with his scorching letters at the present time is a question. Though not at fault, the British government (the humane and honorable members* who are his friends, have since resigned from the British Cabinet) might apply some drastic Russian punishment to the professor, so strong is his condemnation of the sneaking and intriguing policy of Edward Grey. For this reason, and because of friendly and personal feelings toward the professor as an individual, we have substituted another name, and we hope he will approve of our course.

The bad policies and the mean methods of Grey are well understood and severely condemned by a large part of the English public. It is openly stated that never before had the Morale in high English circles such a low standard. It has been hypocrisy, intrigue and underhanded work throughout for years past. Any man who will look at a photograph of Mr. Grey (Sir Edward) will see these words† * * * In this vein many British papers have written. **But will any of our readers point out a single American newspaper in which Professor Greene's letter and the above plain statements have appeared?** Few, if any, papers will you name. And yet this letter was published in London, England. Do you not find it rather strange that no (or few) American papers have reprinted such telling material? Does this not cause you to think? What is the reason? The reason is very plain: American Newspapers receive almost all their foreign news from English correspondents, and with little thought (if any) print what the British give them.

*Lord Morley and Hon. John Burns resigned their portfolios rather than follow Sir Edward Grey in his war upon Germany.—Editor.

†Again out of charity towards the offenders the Editor of *War Echoes* omits even a portion of the "Word Picture."

TAKES ISSUE ON RUSSIA.

Reprinted by Courtesy of The New Republic, March 13, 1915.

L. N. Harper.

Sir: My attention has been called to the article by H. N. Brailsford, "The Slavic Hope," in The New Republic for January ninth. This article shows either complete ignorance of or simply failure to grasp most elementary facts of Russian history and politics; it should not be allowed to pass unchallenged.

Panslavism and Slavophilism are related but not interchangeable terms. Further, it has always been clear that there is no real tendency toward political unity in the Slav world. Political Panslavism bears the trade-mark "Made in Germany." As one writer says (Levine, Political Science Quarterly, December, 1914): "Political Panslavism is, for the German, a useful cover for the deeds and misdeeds of economic Pangermanism." And whatever Slavophilism may be, Pobedonostev was not a Slavophil, but a simple obscurantist; he himself harked back to earlier Slavophilism, but when he did so he represented a perversion of Slavophilism. At the present moment a small unrepresentative group is calling up the teachings of the Slavophils, attempting to apply this theory to the present situation. To do this they must and do consider Germany and Europe as synonymous. This lack of respect for facts has been called to their attention. A Russian historian (Professor Kisevetter, in the Russkiya Vedomosti for January 21, 1915), writes: "No, we are not fighting Europe, but Germany. Furthermore, it is in alliance with Europe that we are fighting Germany, and we can do this only because we too are of Europe."

Mr. Brailsford compares the abolition of the government vodka monopoly to the decree of Peter the Great prohibiting the wearing of beards; he sees here proof of further loss "in liberty by this return to the habit of autocratic legislation." Is the writer ignorant of the movement for temperance that has been going on in Russia for many years, of the protests coming from conservatives as well as liberal and radical circles, against Russia's "drunken budget," to use an expression so current in Russian politics? Does Mr. Brailsford know of the debates on a local option law passed by the Duma and the Imperial Council just a year ago, and of the dismissal of a Minister of Finance on this very issue? And finally, did the writer take the trouble to read the Russian newspapers for the month of August last, the first month of the war? Had he done so, he must have seen how all parties worked to secure the permanent closing of the government vodka shops, which had been shut down originally only for the term of mobilization.

The attitude taken by all parties and all classes toward the vodka question, and this at a moment when the public was occupied with the many questions relative to the beginning of hostilities, testified to the moral awakening of the Russian people of which so many of her friends are firmly convinced. And the permanent closing of the vodka shops was a clear victory for the people as against the government policy and the bureaucracy.

Mr. Brailsford represents an important group of English thinkers. And it is interesting to note how now, as at other times, the views and statements of the English Radical with regard to Russian politics coincide most strangely with the views and statements of the Russian reactionary. As Russian newspapers are emphasizing, it is these two groups that are now evidencing, in their respective countries, the same "Germanophil" tendencies. The "peace party" in Russia at the present moment is the old friend whom we always called the "German party." Their recent intrigues have been exposed to the light

and thus rendered ineffective. They are led by Count Witte and Markov 2nd, who have always been the frank opponents of liberty and progress in Russia. By the attitude they take toward Russia, are not the English Radicals playing into the hands of these intriguers? Mr. Brailsford may believe that the Liberals in Russia are over-confident of the victory of their cause. But he should be more careful to collect his facts before he draws his inferences and states his belief.

There is another equally valuable article in *War Echoes* from *The New Republic*, The French View of German "Kultur." See: New Republic, or "Kultur," in the Index.—Editor.

WHERE OUR SENTIMENTS SHOULD BE.

Editorial from the "Irish Advocate"

It is not true to say that American sentiment is altogether with England, France and Russia in this war with Germany and Austria. There is enough German blood in this country alone to assure a large volume of German sentiment. Irish-American sentiment is more German than English or French, and this is only natural, considering that the Irish and German peoples have got along together in this country for two generations better than any other two nationalities.

The daily papers of America, for reasons best known to themselves, have tried to fasten on the Kaiser all blame for bringing the war to a head, and, therefore, according to this theory, American sentiment must of necessity be with the Triple Entente. Deep down in American minds and feelings there is no such sentiment. As for Irish-Americans they have every reason to feel in common with their German neighbors in this conflict. It may be very diplomatic for Mr. Redmond to express the sentiments of England in England's House of Commons, but this declaration does not bind Irish-Americans to pledge their moral sentiments in England's favor.

Anglo-Japanese Machinations and American Safety

JAPAN AND THE WAR.

This is the sixth article of a series on THE EUROPEAN WAR, which appeared in the October Number of THE OPEN COURT, under the title "Japan," written by the Editor, Dr. Paul Carus.

Consult the INDEX for the complete series, and, in order to see where, in the various Chapters of the book, the different articles of this treatise may be found, look for EUROPEAN WAR (THE). In this way the reader may read the entire series of articles in their original order, if he chooses to do so, while the present arrangement still gives him the advantage of bringing the various articles under their proper, respective Chapter-headings of the book.

This is a series of exceptionally fine articles on the subject in question, and they bear a unique and important relation to each other. Be sure to read them also in their original order.—Editor, "War Echoes."

Japan has joined the war.

The action of Japan has been received in the United States with feelings of deep distrust. On the one hand it seems an indication that the English cause must be very weak if Japan's help is needed, and on the other hand it seems to open the possibility of drawing the United States into the war. We have sympathized with Japan during the Russo-Japanese war, but since then the Japanese have shown a strange antagonism towards the United States in the Philippines, in Honolulu, in Mexico, and now they manifest an ambition to take possession of German China as well as of the German islands in the Pacific. Their assurance that they do not enter the war for the sake of self-aggrandizement has been officially believed by President Wilson and Secretary Bryan, but finds little credence among the people.

Here are some sentences quoted from the "Chicago American" showing William Randolph Hearst's reflections on this subject, views which have found an echo all over the United States:

"The intrusion of Japan into the European war is a matter to excite the especial interest and attention of the American public. Japan has no quarrel whatever with Germany or Austria, no reason, so far as surface indications are concerned, for injecting herself into the European situation. What, then, was the secret or subterranean reason for Japan's action?

"Great Britain has often assured the government and the people of the United States that no such intimate alliance with Japan existed, but the plain facts and Japan's frank acknowledgment are incontrovertible. The action of Japan is wholly inexplicable upon any other assumption.

"Never before in the history of the country has the far-seeing wisdom of George Washington in enjoining our government to keep free from entangling alliances with foreign powers been more apparent.

"But if, in order to keep free from conflicts like that now raging in Europe, we must not enter into any alliance with any other nation, then must we all the more depend on our own resources and have resources sufficient to depend upon.

"But we should have a great navy.

"Furthermore, we should have a Panama Canal owned by the United States, controlled by the United States, fortified by the United States and in time of war at the service of the United States alone.

"If the people of our nation imagine that the reason we are not involved in this war is because of any special diplomatic inspiration of our government, or because of any impregnable situation of our country, they are as absurd in their assumption as the ostrich, who thinks if he hides his head in the sand he will not be hit by the hunter.

"We always are and always will be anxious to avoid war, but in the light of recent events it is evident that no country can tell when it will be compelled to defend itself. A great navy is our best protection and all far-seeing citizens of the United States hope that the party now in power at Washington will end its foolish and dangerous "no navy" policy and proceed promptly to give our country the protection it needs and demands."

The attitude of Japan and her procedure against Germany is a warning. Might we not over night have a war on hand on account of the secret treaties between Japan, England, and Russia, in which Mexico and the South American republics would join just for the fun?

Japan.

And here is Mr. Jourdain's reply to the Editor's discussion of this subject.—Editor of *War Echoes.*

The action of Japan has been so correct that no reasonable American paper shows a trace of Mr. Randolph William Hearst's notorious scare on this subject[2] in the "Chicago American." The conclusion is so grotesque that it needs no comment or refutation. "The attitude of Japan and her procedure against Germany is a warning. Might we (i. e., America) not overnight have a war on hand on account of the secret treaties between Japan, England and Russia in which Mexico and the South American republics would join just for the fun?"

[2] "Ibid.," pp. 618-619.

By consulting the *Index* the reader can find the connection of the Foot Notes. To describe the possible alignment in any such a future difficulty as "crotesque" is not refuting its possibility, Mr. Jourdain; don't you think that plenty of men and women would have described the present European alignment as "crotesque" only ten years ago?—Editor *War Echoes.*

JAPAN AND KIAUTSCHAU.

Translation of Editorial Which Appeared in German in the "Illinois Staats-Zeitung," Chicago.

When Japan addressed its note of extortion to Berlin and turned up as the eighth foe of Germany, we knew that the black-white-red colors flying at Tsingtau were doomed to descend. The small band at this forlorn German outpost could not hope that its heroic resistance would save the colony for Germany: but it defended the honor of German arms to the last and threw away their lives for the ethical and moral treasures which the white race must protect against the covetousness of the yellow people, but which England betrayed for the sake of a shopkeepers' profit of five thousand men probably a few hundred had gathered within the walls of the Tsingtau forts at the call of the Kaiser. Three divisions of full strength crossed the sea

to take possession of this defiant burg. Although only a small force, the spirit that prevailed among the defenders of Kiautschau from the governor down to the rawest recruit, more than made up for the disparity in numbers. "We will fulfil our duty to the last," Meyer-Waldeck wired to Berlin when informed of the Japanese ultimatum and the German heroes in the far east stuck to their post until buried under the ruins of walls and ramparts.

The defense of Kiautschau will be mentioned first among the glorious German and Austrian feats of arms. Fortresses, which were considered impregnable, owing to their great steel sides and immense concrete walls and that were defended by tens of thousands and even hundreds of thousands fell after as many days as it took weeks to capture Kiautschau. We are pained that the inevitable regarding the fortress has come to pass; but we are consoled by the thought that owing to the disproportion in the strength of the opposing forces—ten against one—it cannot be said that the Japs covered themselves with glory.

As already stated, the honor of the German arms was preserved at Tsingtau. The harbor of Kiautschau would have furnished a fine base of operations against a British squadron in Asiatic seas and this it had been intended for. For that reason this territory was not in charge of a civil governor as is the case in all German colonies, but a naval officer in active service. The British-Jap alliance was badly disappointed in its hope of destroying the German-Chinese squadron when it took Kiautschau, for the Gneisenau and Scharnhorst, after making wrecks of two British cruisers prior to Japan's participation in the war had reached the high seas and shown, that without having a base of operations, they could become a terror to the enemy. At all events the only result of the fall of Kiautschau to be deplored is, that the squadron heretofore blockading the harbor can now be used in operations against German cruisers.

The tremendous losses suffered by the Japs in their struggle with the heroic band of German defenders makes Kiautschau a very costly acquisition: nevertheless their title will only be a temporary one: the fate of the German colonies will be decided on the battlefields of Europe, no matter what the outcome of the struggle on their own soil may be. If, at the conclusion of the war, negotiations regarding Kiautschau will be carried on with China, the second party will not be Japan, but Germany. Defeated England may then be given the task of regaining the German possessions in the Yellow and South seas from her Japanese ally, which she had incited. Honor the heroic sons of Germany, who in the far east fought for the glory of their country: their loss will be charged to England's account and Germany's mailed fist will rest heavily on the island kingdom until all accounts, among which will be Kiautschau, have been settled without a remainder.

THE CRYSTALLIZATION OF THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE.

New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, New York.

Herman Ridder.

A tragedy that will live as long as heroism is remembered is being staged today in a small outpost of western civilization on the coast of China. The spectacle of the 4,000 Germans in Tsingtao defying the Japanese nation is not one to be lightly regarded. There is more to it than the mere fact of a gallant defense—more to it than the fact that since Leonidas tried to hold Thermopylae against the East of his day, no greater example of determined gallantry and patriotism has been given to the world. There is a deeper meaning in the defence of Kiaochow, significant to all the West and peculiarly significant to America. It marks the beginning of the end of the West in the East.

The pretext which Japan advanced to cover her intrusion into the war was as transparent and as easily disposed of as was England's. The excuse advanced for her by her apologists that she harbors a feeling of enemity toward Germany on account of the latter's protest against the occupation of southern Fengtien by Japan in 1895, is true but not comprehensive. For France and Russia, who are now Japan's allies against Germany, were joined in this protest and Russia, who subsequently inherited the leasehold of Port Arthur, was its instigator. Japan threw in her lot with the Allies on account of her enmity for Germany; but the roots of that enmity were fed in far deeper soil than that of the Liaotung Peninsula.

A few years ago a great deal more was heard of the "Yellow Peril" than we hear today. Our interests in the Pacific have brought us into fighting distance of Japan and the phrase has consequently been forced, in this country at least, into the class of taboo. We scarcely longer dare discuss the internal administration of the Philippines for fear that we may give the jingoes of Tokyo cause for agitation. But not so Germany. The Asiatic "peril" was first enunciated by her thinkers and she has never ceased to realize and discuss its import. With perhaps no greater appreciation of its dangers than we have had, but certainly with a greater degree of fearlessness in discussion, she has never lost an opportunity to point out the significance and meaning of the coming struggle between the Occident and the Orient. Japan could not fail to remark this. And it is just this which underlies the intense and lasting hostility of Japan to Germany.

The aspirations of Japan to the pre-eminent position in Asia and in the Pacific are well known. Her leading men have taken but small pains to conceal them. In times of excitement they are a theme for her demagogues from Tokyo to Nagasaki. One nation, especially, stands in the way of their realization—the United States, whose shores, like those of Japan, are washed by the Pacific, and another nation, Germany, has stood by ever ready to assist the United States in the defense of its claims. On all the Continent of Europe Germany alone has stood out clearly and irrevocably for the West as against the East. England has long been an ally of Japan and today France and Russia are fighting under the same standard. On the other hand, Germany has never once retreated from her position as champion of the civilization of Europe and America. When it came to a choice between two evils she chose in 1904 the lesser and supported Russia against Japan. For all this Japan cannot and will not forgive her.

But it is not so much the Germany of Europe, which can never hope for predominency in the Pacific, that rancors Japan, but Germany the silent ally of the United States. Until the advent of the present war the efficacy of the Anglo-Japanese alliance in case of war between ourselves and Japan admitted of a certain amount of doubt. Japan may still think that

AMERICA AND JAPAN.

An American who has recently returned from Japan after a prolonged residence in that country states that in military, naval and official circles there is no longer any attempt to disguise the feeling that an approaching conflict with the United States is inevitable. In the event of a defeat of Germany in the present war it is believed in the Mikado's empire that England will fulfil her obligations as ally, and come to her aid against Uncle Sam. In view of the ready response on the part of Japan to England's demand upon her to attack Tsingtao, the Tokio government seems assured that it can rely upon England's fleet and army in the event of war with the United States.

The American declared that Japan has been carefully preparing for a long time for such a contingency. He said that every Japanese subject in America has an alloted task assigned to him by the secret service and that every Japanese in America is in reality a governmental spy. The bridges, tunnels, and railroad connections will be immediately destroyed by these Japanese, before Uncle Sam has time to collect his faculties, in order to prevent the transfer of troops and war material from the East to West.

The American military authorities are sadly negligent in guarding against such unexpected possibilities and before proper precautions are taken, there is no doubt that the gravest damage could be done to the lines of communication.

It cannot be too strongly urged on the American War Department to exercise control over all Japanese in the United States, that specific and definite instruction be given to all police authorities to keep watch over and report their movements and immediately confine them, if the situation became critical. — The "Continental Times," Berlin.

this condition continues to exist, though England's conduct has removed any such impression from the minds of the American people. In any event, her logic ran, the hour had struck for putting Germany out of the class of dangerous enemies. When she had been disposed of the one and only ally to whom the United States could look would no longer exist. To deal then with the United States would be a much simpler task. When, further, she argued, by warring on Germany she could put herself in possession of points in the Pacific particularly helpful in the coming conflict, the case of Japan was complete.

The possession of Kiaochow cannot be regarded as other than a secondary consideration with Japan. With half of Manchuria to develop in, she does not need it. The great things for which Japan is fighting are the destruction of Germany, the crystallization of the Anglo-Japanese alliance and the occupation of territories in the Pacific strategically important in the struggle which she knows is doomed to come with this country. All three of these motives bear directly on that struggle.*

It is for this reason that the American people should not forget the significance of the fight that is being put up by the handful of Germans in Tsingtao. It is impossible that this fight can go on much longer. The odds are too frightfully great. It will probably end in slaughter—and when it ends there will be great rejoicing in Japan. The last stronghold of Germany in the East will be in the hands of the enemy and the first and last ally of the United States in the Pacific will have been humbled. The victory itself will not have been great in material things but it will symbolize the racial aspirations of the Japanese.

The twenty-four centuries which divide the Spartan defence of Thermopylae against Xerxes and the hordes of Persia, from the battle to hold Tsingtao against the East, reveal nothing so significant in the conflict of races.

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*J. I. F. C. Have you any reason to state that the Japanese desire more than the recovery of Kiaochow to return it to China? Has she ever given reason to believe that she is working only for the peace of the Far East?

It is the opinion of those who know the Far East tolerably well that Japan will never return Kiaochow to China. As to your further question I quote from the Nokington of Tokyo of 1905, while the war with Russia was still on, as follows:

"There is something utterly ridiculous in the idea which our diplomats made the European powers believe in, that we are only fighting to insure peace in the East. They will soon know better when their turn to take the medicine we are now giving to Russia comes.

"Unless we had something of importance to gain for ourselves why should we have undertaken this war which has cost us so much valiant blood and so much treasure? We have a purpose and will keep that before our eyes until it is accomplished; that is when the foreigners have been shown the way back to the countries from which they came to swoop down like vultures on what they thought was a dead body. They probably see that they have made a mistake now for even if China is dead and unable to defend herself, Japan is very much alive.

"We will never allow the Far Eastern question to be settled by the Europeans and Americans, who have invaded this part of the world without a shadow of right, and who will always be aliens to us. The Far Eastern question must be settled by an empire which has risen in the Far East—Japan. The peace of the Oriental Far East requires that by a union of all Orientals in the Far East, under the transforming influence of Japan, a great empire be formed on the Far Eastern shores of the Asiatic continent."—From the "Questions and Answers" column in the "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung," October 28, 1914.—Editor.

Serbia's Cause, Position and Her Part in the World War

SERVIA'S DREAM OF EXPANSION.

The Literary Digest, New York.

The tragedy of Serajevo has not only acted like an earthquake whose shock has passed through Europe and the world, but, like an earthquake, it has laid bare things below the surface of which the world did not dream, and threatens to end in international catastrophe. It has not yet been shown that the death of Prince Francis Ferdinand is to be attributed definitely to any political party at Belgrade, but Servia's reply to Austria's ultimatum did not deny the possibility that Servian officers may have been involved in the intrigues against Austria. The deadlock that brought on the war lay in Servia's refusal to let Austrian officials have a hand in finding and punishing the guilty. And the Berlin Vossische Zeitung, in a long article, traces the tragedy to certain "revolutionary anarchists" who claimed to be patriots because they were striving to bring under the direct control of Belgrade the very outlying Slav provinces which Francis Ferdinand was laboring to unite under the crown of Austria-Hungary. Servia's culpability is thus indicated:

"The bloody crime of Serajevo was only one link in the long train of assassination and horror by which the revolutionary propagandists in Belgrade were working to promote the official policy of Servia. As early as the coronation of King Peter the Servian Minister of Foreign Affairs published the following program of the movement: Servia was to form an alliance with Montenegro and to enter into some agreement with Bulgaria regarding Macedonia. Belgrade was to give support to the Servian-Croatian opposition party in Croatia. Servia was to be emancipated from the trammels of trade with Austria. A revolution was to be stirred up in Bosnia, and the Austrian authorities there were to be discredited; the Adriatic question was to be settled with Italy, and a traveling committee was to be formed for the carrying out of these projects, as it was impossible for Servia to act officially in the matter."

Peter I. King of Servia.

This writer goes on to say that the program was directed to the end of uniting all the Slav inhabitants of the South Slavic countries. It was approved by King Peter in 1906, and his Minister of the Interior, Stojan Protitsch, spoke of it as "a torpedo which Servia is now in the act of hurling for the purpose of blowing up the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the whole Triple Alliance." This history of Servian intrigues, brought up to date, describes the methods by which the revolutionary propaganda was spread in the schools of the various Slavic populations:

"Since 1909, there has existed outside the governmental circles of Belgrade a band of revolutionary nationalists whose members were closely connected with the South Slavic youths of Austria-Hungary, so that in 1910 the nationalistic anarchistic propaganda reached a crisis and secret societies were formed in the grammar schools, the preparatory and other schools. The center of the movement, as hitherto, still remained in Belgrade. Measures were taken that the young men from the South Slavic countries of the monarchy in ever-in-

creasing numbers should flock to Belgrade. These youths were received with open arms, and on the recommendation of certain politicians were permitted to domicile there as trustworthy. They were employed at a wage of from ten to fourteen dollars a month on light clerical work for the office of the Skupshtina, which only required of them from two to three hours' work daily. From these lads, on their return home, were recruited the agitators of the Greater Servia propaganda. Among them mingled degenerates who adopted the ideal of Servian expansion as the last anchor of deliverance for their almost shipwrecked lives. From people of this type sprang the man of violence, Savro Princip, the murderer of the heir to the crown, Grand Duke Francis Ferdinand. He was just such a beggar student. In the Belgrade free coffee-stands, where a meal for five cents goes with the coffee, some dozens of these fellows were lounging ready at any time to commit violence, indulging their morbid vanity in order to be feted as national heroes."

The hatred of Servia for Austria-Hungary and the exultation felt over the fate of the Heir Apparent are reflected in the utterances of the Belgrade press. The Pravada is a liberal and progressive organ and remarks sarcastically:

"The public mourning for Archduke Francis Ferdinand made small excitement in Austria-Hungary. The only genuine tears shed for the Heir Apparent were those of his children. All others were crocodile tears."

Austria has more than twenty million Slavs in her population; inevitably they will, early or late, side with their compatriots. One of the English journals said yesterday, 'Whoever in Eastern Europe lifts his head against Russia or the Slavs will in due time share the fate of the Austrian Crown Prince. So it would have been with Prince Alexander of Bulgaria if he had not abdicated. The Bulgarian leader Stambouloff was killed because he was an enemy of Russia. Had not Russia a finger in the assassination of King Alexander of Servia? Had not the taking off of Austria's Crown Prince the same cause?' This finding the end of the cord that forced these assassinations in Russia is correct, we know, but while the Crown Prince was politically opposed to Russia, he was friendly to the Slavs; and was not the Princess, so ruthlessly murdered, herself a Slav?

"National rivalries were in evidence in the last century in every part of Europe, but those principal nations, the Germans and Italians, for example, observed reasonable limits in their ambitions. The Slavs are of an earlier race and have not been able to shake off the barbarities of their origin, bloodthirsty still even in their most sacred aspirations. Here is, in our opinion, Europe's most troublesome problem in the Balkans.

The Balkan regions (Belgrade) had formerly among its chief contributors the noted anarchist Cicevarics, who contributes an article on the assassination, in which he remarks:

"It is not the Heir Apparent as an individual that ought to be mourned over, but only his worth to the country, which was practically nil."

In Germany the Servian threats and muttered complaints against Austria-Hungary were considered to be mere "sound and fury signifying nothing." The Lokal Anzeiger (Berlin), which is considered to echo the opinions of the military authorities and the court, said, in an article on "Europe's solidarity against the great Servian agitation," that "Austria-Hungary will take no steps against Servia," an idea which subsequent events have belied. A further quotation is interesting as showing how unexpected the Austrian thunderclap was to even this well-informed court organ:

"This self-restrained attitude of the Danube monarchy is more intelligible when we consider that no decided result of the inquiry into the responsibility for the Serajevo assassination has yet been arrived at. . . . But we believe that we are not mistaken when we declare that to men in other states where moral order reigns this attitude of the Danube monarchy is incontrovertibly correct."

THE "TRIPLE" ALLIANCE
GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND OTHER ALLIES

Germany, Austria, Italy; Turkey

DEFENDING THE FATHERLAND

The Underlying Causes of the Great War; The Part Germany Had In Its Advent

INTRODUCTION

AN ADDRESS BY REV. ALFRED E. MEYER

DEFENDING THE FATHERLAND.

Mass Meeting of German-Americans. Auditorium, Chicago.

Address by Rev. Alfred E. Meyer.

(Translation from the German, published by the "Abendpost," Chicago, in its issue of August 12, 1914.)

The die is cast. The dark war clouds that have gathered over Europe for years have burst. The tempest, dreadful, devastating, murderous, has broken out. In the bolthole of the Balkans it arose, hurling its first flash when the bullet of the conspirator hit Austria's heir to the throne. From the black Ural Mountains it reverberated dismally, awaking shrieking echoes, like fiendish laughter, in the distant Vosges and over the English Channel. And in the path of the storm the peaceful realms of our dear old Fatherland!

We stand shocked, frightened, horrified, aghast! For a tornado it threatens to become, such as the world has never seen before. And in its path our dear old Fatherland! War, war! Horrible word! Terror of man! Uttermost abomination! And such a war, in the heart of civilization, with the murderous weapons of modern times! Have mercy upon us, O Lord God! And in the midst of that war, in the battle towards East and West and North our beloved Fatherland!

Was it not possible otherwise? Did it have to come? Could not the strong man in the heart of Europe avert the world-calamity, William II., the strong pillar of peace?

Ask, good friend, for an answer the Anglo-Saxon press of our country and the larger part of it replies with a loud, embittered Yea! It was in his power to avoid the war, but he did not want to. It is he who with mailed fist extinguishes the light of civilization, who alone has the responsibility for the greatest disaster that ever befell Europe. Did he not declare war to Russia? Did he not have his army invade peaceful France? He it is and Germany who are accountable for the dreadful European conflagration.

Terrible accusation! If it be well founded, what a guilt! What prospects for Germany before the almighty, righteous God, "who dispenses a strict and rigid judgment?"

But What About That Accusation?

We German-American citizens do not believe it. We know that it is unjust and unfair in the highest degree. Therefore we **protest.** Therefore we demand that the other side, too, be heard and discussed in the Anglo-American press. We demand no favors, no privileges, only justice, fairness and truth, no more. But that much we German-Americans as a strong and integral part of the American nation, have a **right** to expect, a right, by the rivers of German blood shed for this country in the battles for its independence, from England and for the preservation of the Union; a right by the German labor and toil without which America would never have been what it is today; a right by the German culture and mental accomplishments which we and hosts of other Americans have gathered in Germany and brought to the land of our choice; a right by all the laws of justice towards a nation which has always lived in peace with the United States, whose independence, among all rulers of Europe, a Hohenzollern first recognized, Frederick the Great of Prussia; a right by the sacredness of truth which to serve, especially in crises like the present, is an imperative duty of those who would be leaders of public opinion.

We know that Germany did not want war, that it declared it because it was compelled to do so; that it does not bear the responsibility for the European conflagration. We have good reasons to believe the German "White Book," which shows clearly that the declaration of war was an act of defense, an act necessary to preserve the existence of a people whose destruction for a long time had been decided in the councils of jealous and envious peoples. We believe the "White Book," because we know from history that German official declarations may be trusted, which of some other nations' official publications and bulletins cannot always be said. But we have other reasons besides the "White Book."

Should a people which alone of all the leading nations of Europe has preserved peace for over forty years and has become what it is by its marvelous works of peace, throw it away by sheer eagerness for war which it has never known? For centuries the despised battlefield of Europe, without natural protection at its frontiers, spurned, assaulted and sat upon by ruthless enemies on all sides until it was welded together in the "blood and iron" of a great time, its very national hymn a true mirror of its soul, a song not of aggression, but defense, not vainglorious challenge, but watchful love of home and Fatherland, The **Watch** o'er the Rhine.

The present war, too, is a war of defense; more than that—a war for Germany's existence! Whosoever knows the A. B. C. of the premises of the present war cannot deny that. What are the premises? Not a sudden eruption of passions, not an unexpected clash of interests, but a political situation that had taken ever more the form of a plot to destroy Germany, resting on three factors which we may well call **the A B C of the present situation!**

A, The implacable hatred of France; B, The insatiable greed of expansion of Russia with the ideal of Panslavism; C, The spiteful jealousy of England.

France's Hatred

About the A we do not need to say much, for every schoolboy with German blood in his veins knows France's slogan and bloody cynosure since 1870; **Revenge!** Revenge on Germany because it had dealt a severe blow to the vanity of "La grande nation;" revenge, because she had taken back Alsace-Lorraine which France had stolen from Germany some centuries ago. Therefore

THE DUCHESS OF BRUNSWICK, THE KAISER'S ONLY DAUGHTER
(To the Reader's Left)

THE GERMAN CROWN PRINCESS
(To the Right)

Wearing the Uniforms of their respective Regiments

(By Courtesy of the "Open Court")

the feverish exertion of a nation which has condemned itself to slow extinction by race suicide. Therefore the unbearable revolutionary activity in the German frontier provinces. Therefore the introduction, as a last measure of war preparation, of the three year military service which meant to all who had open eyes imminent war. For that burden France for physical as well as political reason could not bear long.

The B of the political situation leading to the war is Russia's insatiable greed for expansion with the strong admixture of Panslavism as a political ideal. Not content with its immense European and Asiatic possessions whose inner administration has not yet overcome the conditions of semi-barbarism it has always sought expansion on the way of least resistance. A friend of Germany at Bismarck's time with whom it had a temporary protective agreement, it changed its position when that agreement was suspended by the successor of the great chancellor. French gold and flattery brought about the alliance with France which strengthened immensely the latter's hope for revenge. But it was no help to Russia in the Far East, for England, then Russia's enemy, with characteristic political shrewdness, had made Japan its police officer to lick Russia without any harm to John Bull. Weakened and reconciled by some concessions in Persia, Russia was drawn into the Triple Entente which on France's and England's side was mainly directed against Germany while Russia looked for compensation in Turkey or the Balkans respectively, thereby becoming a constant menace to Austria whose very existence it threatened by its panslavistic agitation. But right there on the Balkans one mistake showed which Edward VII, in his "encircling policy" had made. The physic which he had Japan administer to Russia had been a little too strong for the welfare of the Triple Entente, and when Austria, to prevent further panslavistic agitation laid her hands on Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Germany, faithful to her ally, stood by her, Russia felt too weak to strike the desired blow. Growling she retired with hate in her heart against Germany never known before in that intensity and preparing for war against her with such energy and insistance that the law had to be passed in the old fatherland augmenting the standing army to be prepared for any emergency.

England's Jealousy

The third factor which led to the present war is England's spiteful jealousy of Germany which found its principal political expression in the policy of Edward VII, whose evil seeds have now borne fruit. It is a well known fact that the cause of this jealousy is the unparalleled development of German commerce and the German navy. England, the proud mistress of the seas, the first commercial power of the world, was rapidly caught up with in what, in characteristic British impudence, it considered its personal privilege, and that by a power to whom yet in 1861 Lord Palmerstone had communicated by his press that the German might be good enough at plowing his field, sailing with the clouds and building air castles, but not at sailing in Zeppelins. But never had he had the genius of navigating the oceans or even the smaller seas.

Some statistics: From a commercial power which, as an absolutely negligible quantity to England, already in 1892 Germany had risen to a commercial position where the volume of its trade, both exports and imports, exceeded half of the British: Eight billion marks against England's fifteen billions. In 1900 it was eleven billion against England's eighteen and in 1907 seventeen billions against England's twenty-three and a half. Looking backward statistics show that for every two steps that England took forward in its commerce Germany took **three**, so that with the past relative growth, without an interruption like the present war, within about fifteen years England's volume of trade would have been reached by Germany.

A large commercial fleet like Germany's scattered all over the world, needs for its protection a navy, and the German navy could have been more than two-thirds as strong as England's without being disproportioned to the commerce it had to protect, at least if it took England's proportion for an example. It was therefore mere hypocrisy when England said of the German navy which was and is so much smaller numerically than England's, that it constituted a menace to England. If compelled to fight, however, as it is now, it may prove more formidable than England expects.

The real thoughts of England, not only regarding the German navy but also German trade were revealed by such voices as that famous article of the "Saturday Review" of September, 1897, which clearly brought out the idea that England could only prosper if Germany were destroyed. England, it said in this article must meet the severest competition of Germany in every corner of the globe. A million of small frictions are making for the greatest war which the world has ever seen. **If Germany would be destroyed to-morrow there would be no Englishman in the world who would not be so much richer for it the day after to-morrow.**

Can there be a more selfish, ruthless, brutal incitation of war than in these words?

Further the article says: The growth of the German navy will only add to the severity of the blow which will be struck at Germany. Her ships would soon be at the bottom of the sea or be captured. When England's work were done she could without difficulty say to France and Russia: Get your compensations. Take of Germany what you want, you may have it. "Germaniam esse delendam." "Germany must be destroyed!" so this article is concluded.

In the same sense, only that his words were still weightier because he was an active member of the government, spoke Arthur Lee, civil Lord of the Admirality in a public address on February 3rd, 1905. The balance of naval power, he stated, had changed within recent years. England would in the future have to direct its attention to the North Sea. If a war should break out the English navy could strike the first blow before the other party would find time to read in the papers that war had been declared.

Referring to this speech the "Daily Chronicle," one of the widest circulated and most influential papers of England said: "If the German navy had been destroyed in October, 1904,

(referring to the incident with the Russian navy), we would have had peace in Europe for sixty years. Therefore I consider the declaration of Mr. Lee **as a wise and peaceful declaration of the unchangeable determination of the mistress of the seas.**

This, then, was the wise (!) and peaceful (!) unchangeable determination of England: her "Ceterum censeo: **Germaniam esse delendam,**" Germany must be destroyed! This was the aim of the policy of Edward VII, which gave new and strong impetus to France's and Russia's aggressive attitude, won Japan as England's ally, befriended Spain through a marriage, while Portugal became practically a dependency of England, and tried to sow the seed of discord in Italy, in short, created the conditions which at the given moment had to lead to the European conflagration, so coolly and cynically predicted by the "Saturday Review." What flagrant hypocrisy for a people and government that has with evil diligence for years planted the mines with which to destroy a neighboring nation, and has repeatedly and openly declared this intention in brutal words, to pose, when the fuse burns, as a lover of peace! Albion, we know thy bloody, faithless, cruel history!

Be Fair

Friends, does that look as if that part of the press were right which so emphatically says: The blame for the war is Germany's? If a people knows that its destruction is intended and planned, that its very existence is at stake, has it a right to draw the sword in self-defense, or should it wait until the others had gotten ready to strangle it?

Therefore we as German-American citizens ask with just indignation those of the Anglo-Saxon press who judge and condemn Germany without thinking of giving it a fair trial: Why do you forget that justice and fairness which is such a great trait of the American character, when Germany is concerned? Why those insulting cartoons, those misleading headlines, those inimical editorials of your press? Give us justice, give us equity, be fair!

"Germania Delenda"

Germany, our dear old Fatherland, with its ally fighting against tremendous odds, fighting for its very existence! What can we German-American citizens do for her?

This is our first duty: Try to heal the wounds which the terrible war is striking at this very minute, heal, relieve, assuage under the sign of the Red Cross. A special appeal to you for this purpose will be made. Follow it. You who wear on your breast the "iron cross" of Germany's greatest time, you who look up to the cross as the sign and symbol of your faith and love, you all on whom presses the blood-red cross of a world's dire distress.

And Thou, Germany, with the ally Austria marching in the same step, battling for thy existence, for thy all —land of our fathers, land of our brothers—God with Thee!

The German Government and the German People

THE GERMAN POSITION.

Dr. Durnberg's Statement.

New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, New York.

Herman Ridder.

I reprint below the statement of Dr. Bernhard Dernburg in connection with the charge which has been made so frequently in American papers of late, that the German Emperor alone was responsible for the declaration of war against Russia and that the German people had no voice in the matter. This statement first appeared in the New York "Sun" and was later copied by the New York "Times" and by the latter made the subject of editorial comment. The "Times" leader is also reprinted.

DR. DERNBURG'S STATEMENT.

When I arrived in New York a fortnight ago, I was greatly surprised on reading in the papers big headlines such as "The Kaiser's War," "The Kaiser's Army," "The Kaiser Beaten," etc. I thought at first that this was only a sort of abbreviation and that the "Kaiser's" name stood as a symbol for the whole of Germany in this war forced upon our nation. I soon had to see, however, that something quite different was meant and that a large portion of the American people were of the opinion that the Emperor was more or less responsible for the breaking out of the war, and that the German people, whom they all knew to be good and peaceable, had been dragged into it in consequence of autocratic institutions peculiar to Germany, and as a sequel to militarism rampant in Germany.

I consider it, therefore, of interest to explain here the constitutional basis on which our institutions rest. The German Empire is a Union composed of all the States which formerly belonged to the German Federation, with the exception of Austria-Hungary. The Eleventh Article of the German Constitution says: "The Union shall be presided over by the King of Prussia, whose title is to be 'Deutscher Kaiser.'" There is a great similarity with the Constitution of the United States, which is also a Union of a number of independent States, who have given part of their sovereignity in favor of the Union. While the Kaiser represents the empire in its foreign relations, he may not declare war in the name of the empire without the consent of the Bundesrat, representing these single States forming the empire, except when German territory is attacked. In this Bundesrat of fifty-four equal votes the Emperor in his capacity of King of Prussia has only seventeen votes. It follows that the Emperor could not, and, as a matter of fact, has not, declared war on his own account, but that he had to have, and in fact, had the consent of his allies, represented by the Federal Council. This consent was unanimous. This is a much greater check than the control placed by the Constitution of the United States on the President, who of all great rulers of the earth concentrates in himself the greatest power. The German Kaiser can no more than the President of the United States, make war at pleasure.

Neither is the Emperor what is called here "The War Lord." He has not the disposal, that is, the absolute command, of the forces of the entire German Army. Article 66 of our Constitution says that the German Princes, more especially the Kings of Bavaria, Württemberg, and Saxony, are the chiefs of the troops belonging to their territory (six army corps of twenty-four); they nominate the officers for these troops, they have the right to inspect these troops, etc. Consequently the absolute disposition of the German Army passes on to the Kaiser only in the moment when the consent of his allies, viz., the States who with Prussia, form the empire, has been obtained for the declaration of a war. But there is a further and much heavier check on the Emperor's doings. All measures providing ways and means for conducting war must be passed by the Reichstag. The Reichstag is a body elected on the most liberal ballot law that exists anywhere, more liberal even than the ballot law of the United States for the election of a President. The German law, ever since 1867, has been a one man, one vote, universal, secret and direct ballot law. The German people are represented as directly and democratically in the Government as the American people are in theirs. The right to vote does not depend either on a census or on any educational test. Any German being twenty-five years and over may vote. The Reichstag consists of 397 members. The conservatives, the so-called "War Party," from which most of the officers are being recruited, is in a hopeless minority, about 55. There are 110 Social Democrats and about 100 Liberals, so that in fact there is a Liberal majority in the German Reichstag. Notwithstanding this composition, this Reichstag has voted unanimously the necessary laws and credits for conducting the present war, and although the Social Democrats reject war on principle in their program, they have indorsed unanimously the policy of the empire as specifically announced by the Emperor's Chancellor.

I say this to prove that this war is not "a Kaiser's war," because he cannot make a war, but it is the "German people's war." A modern war, according to Prince Bismarck's great speech in 1887, with its enormous armies comprising whole peoples, cannot be undertaken with safety nor carried through with success except by the full consent and enthusiastic assistance of the whole nation. Americans returning from Ger-

ALSO A VOLUNTEER

A new kind of Peanuts for the famous Hagenbeck Park Elephant to handle

(By Courtesy of the "Chicago Abendpost")

many will tell you that this consent and enthusiasm are there in the highest degree and that there has never been such a unity of the German people, between Princes and people, between parties and creeds as there is in these trying times, where no less than seven nations have joined hands to down our people.

(From the "Times.")

DR. DERNBURG'S ARGUMENT.

Far and away the ablest and the most subtle presentation yet made of Germany's case is that from the pen of Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, which in this issue of The Times we reprint from The Sun of yesterday. Having been a part of the German Government, a Secretary of State for the Colonies, Dr. Dernburg knows his subject, he knows precisely the impression he wishes to produce, and he has surpassing skill in marshaling his argument to produce just that impression. His method is so exceedingly adroit that if he be not read with constant wariness of mind the reader may find himself granting one assumption after another until he is swept helplessly along to a conclusion that Germany has been the most peaceful nation on earth, that the Kaiser is merely the humble servant of his people, and that the war was imposed upon Europe by a higher fate quite beyond human control.

There are three leading contentions in Dr. Dernburg's argument. The first is that the German Emperor is no more a man of war than our President and has less power to make war. . . .

Dr. Dernburg points out that except when German territory is attacked the Emperor may not declare war without the consent of the Bundesrat, and that this is "a much greater check than the control placed by the Constitution of the United States on the President." But our President cannot declare war at all. Congress alone has that power. Dr. Dernburg asserts that the Emperor "must have, and in fact had, the consent of his allies, represented by the Federal Council," and that the consent was unanimous. We do not question the statement, but we recall no report of a meeting of the Federal Council. The declaration of war was contained in a telegram of the Imperial Chancellor to the Ambassador in St. Petersburg, declaring that "his Majesty, the Emperor, my August Sovereign, in the name of the Empire, takes up the defiance and considers himself in a state of war against Russia." Dr. Dernburg insists that Wilhelm II. has been a man of peace. In his aversion to war he is put on a level with President Wilson. If the comparison is just, then we must assume that in the Emperor's place Woodrow Wilson would have given Austria a "free hand," would have warned all civilized nations that they must not interfere between Austria and Servia, and would in the crisis of the affair have gone to war with Russia, France and England. Do we believe that? Does Dr. Dernburg expect us to believe that the firm mind and hand that kept us out of war with Mexico would have plunged all Europe into a bloody strife in support of Austria's unbearable attitude toward Servia? The difference is not merely in the men, the training and environment count for everything, and what they are in the case of the Kaiser one may learn from the book of von Bernhardi, one of the chiefs of the war party, in which war is lauded as "the greatest factor in the furtherance of culture and power."

It will be observed that in its comment on Dr. Dernburg's argument the "Times" pursues no less adroit a method of securing the good will of its readers than that which it ascribes to the gentleman whose assertions it wishes to rebut. It opens with an attempt to poison the reader's mind by the insinuation that Dr. Dernburg's points are established rather by effects of style than by their intrinsic verity. When one has read the feeble defense opposed by the "Times" to the logic of its self-chosen adversary, the necessity for this method is readily seen.

The first statement of Dr. Dernburg to which the "Times" takes exception is that "the Emperor may not declare war without the consent of the Bundesrat, and that this is 'a much greater check than the control

placed by the Constitution of the United States on the President.' "

The "Times" replies: "But our President cannot declare war at all. Congress alone has that power."

We need not read so very far back in American history to find the quibble. The "Times" has expressed a theory, but the facts have differed widely from it in recent years. When President Wilson went before Congress and asked its approval of his conduct in Mexico he had already declared war on that country. It was to our purpose at the time to proclaim that "a state of hostilities existed in Mexico," but no war, and that we "got away" with it was due solely to the fact that the Mexican Government was impotent to protect itself against that most incontrovertible declaration of war—the infringement of a nation's sovereignty by the seizure of its territory. If we go back to 1898 we find a still more cogent refutation of the "Times" position. On April 25th of that year, Congress passed a joint resolution "That war be, and the same is hereby declared to exist, and that war has existed since the twenty-first day of April, anno Domini eighteen hundred and ninety-eight, including said day, between the United States of America and the Kingdom of Spain." In other words, four days after a state of war had existed with Spain and then only at a suggestion from President McKinley, contained in his special message of April 25th, Congress came through with that formal declaration of war on which the "Times" places so much importance. Was it, in this instance, Congress or the President, who first made war on Spain?

The second point on which the "Times" bases its contention is the language in which the Chancellor's telegram to St. Petersburg was couched. Without denying that a meeting of the Bundesrat was held and the declaration of war decided upon by that body, and overlooking the fact that it was made by the Emperor "in the name of the Empire," the "Times" attempts to read into the form in which it was presented to Russia something autocratic and un-American. The truth is that the Bundesrat was convened and is still in session, and that it voted the war. The Chancellor was but its spokesman in conveying the sense of its action to St. Petersburg. The essentials are not contained in the words of the Imperial Chancellor, but in the action of the Bundesrat itself.

The object of the "Times" is apparently to blind its readers to the fact of the Constitution on which is based the whole structure of German unity and which in essentials differs from our own only in the method of constituting courts and the tenure of the Executive. As a matter of fact, there is less dissimilarity between these two constitutions than there is between the Constitution of the United States and that of any other country of Europe. There is no evidence at hand to show that the German Emperor on any one point has exceeded his legal rights under the supreme law of the land.

The question of Emperor vs. President as a candidate for the Nobel Prize is one on which every American will form his own opinion. The fact is that Austria, and her ally, put up

THE GERMAN ARMY IN BELGIUM

The advance Troops are ever on the alert, and seek the most advantageous screens to watch the movements of the Allies. Notice the Soldiers in front, wearing the Iron Cross. No doubt they are going to have Chicken Dinner. But Order and Seriousness mark every Scene

(Photograph by the International News Service)

for years with conditions on her borders that would have made General Weyler blush at his own moderation. When out of those conditions came open and flagrant murder not even "the firm mind and hand" of President Wilson would have availed to restrain the righteous indignation of the sufferers thereby. The spirit of 1898, that drove Spain from Cuba, was not one whit more justifiable than that which prompted Austria to demand redress for her wrongs and her ally to support her in that demand.

IT IS NECESSARY TO FIGHT WITH THE WEAPONS OF THE ADVERSARY.

New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, New York.

Herman Ridder.

Among the many able friends of Germany in the United States who have defended their convictions by pen and voice, Dr. Bernhard Dernburg ranks with the first. The second article from Dr. Dernburg's pen, which appeared in The Sun of the 27th inst., leaves little to be desired from the points of view of logic, comprehensiveness and lucidity. I agree with The Sun when it says of Dr. Dernburg that "both in temper and in method of presentation he is by far the most effective of all the advocates now writing or speaking in behalf of Germany's cause. . . . Dr. Dernburg's arguments are all legitimate, and the tone of his expression is so moderate and his line of reasoning so plausible that it is not impossible he may lead many American minds into that very attitude of biased unneutrality which he warns us against (if the sympathy be for England) as incapacitating the United States for a mediatory rôle."

The Sun continues, however:

"We shall therefore content ourselves with saying that if Dr. Dernburg's spirit and skill and tact had directed the unfortunate efforts of some of the organized and volunteer and individual propagandists who have undertaken to create in this country a public opinion favorable to Germany, the sentiment here might be quite different from that of which they complain."

This implied criticism of the efforts of other and less fortunately situated friends of Germany to counteract the designs of her enemies needs little answer or explanation. It is necessary to fight with the weapons of the adversary. I can sympathize with the point of view of those who have been taunted into possible hyperbole or violence of expression by the evident bias of the Anglophile press. Would that it might be given to us all to maintain an attitude of calm logic and friendly good nature under the extreme provocation of seeing what we respect and admire trampled ruthlessly under foot. Too often, however, the human hand is directed by the impulse of a superheated collar. Too often we respond to the sting of some glaring injustice, and our pen runs riot. The human element grips us strongly and we react to the beat of our hearts. It is not, however, for those who laid the train to such explosions to criticize the result.

Germany—the German Emperor and the German people—is making a magnificent fight for existence. One may differ from her in opinion, but we cannot withhold the admiration that is due a determined nation fighting for all it holds nearest and dearest in life. Surrounded by enemies actuated by the most divergent motives and one only in the desire to crush Germany, overwhelmed by numbers, she, with her single ally, is showing the world an example of patriotism, of united effort and determination, for which history cannot fail to give her full credit.

The German papers in this country have shown a united front in preaching the cause of Germany. I do not refer, of course, to other than bona fide German papers, and certainly not to Mr. Hearst's German editions, in which the word is the word of the German, but the thought the thought of a Hearst. In this connection we quote "Collier's Weekly" as follows:

"The war shows again the brazen effrontery with which Hearst dishes up the stuff he publishes. One day last month the so-called "American" (New York) had a cut with the line: 'This is the type of English soldier who is doing such tremendous work on the battle front in France.' On the same day the German edition had the same cut, but gave it this title: 'British troops who are able to sprint so fast that the German soldiers cannot catch up with them.' If you want to be buncoed, just read the Hearst papers. William Randolph will do the rest—and you."

There is no stronger defender of the German side of the war than the German Herold of Mr. C. B. Wolffram. In the columns of this paper Mr. Wolffram has, in a quiet, careful, unobtrusive manner conducted an able campaign for the advancement of German thought and the presentation of German arguments.

The times have given rise, also, to a weekly publication, The Fatherland, which is no less inspired by patriotic motives in its attempt to represent the spirit of fair play. In its issue of the 30th inst., The Fatherland puts the following questions:

"To the fair-minded American citizen, who can't be fooled all the time, even by the newspapers, the following questions are offered for consideration:

"First—Why is Zabern cited, but Kishineff forgotton?

"Second—Why is it a crime against humanity for Germany to maintain the biggest army in the world, but a mere means of defense, just, natural, and proper, for Great Britain to maintain the biggest navy in the world?

"Third—Why is it hysterical or hypocritical for Germany to speak of 'the Slavic peril,' but wise, foresighted, and righteous, all this last decade, for England in every possible way to fill the minds of her people with the idea of 'the Germanic peril?'

"Fourth—Why was it outrageous of Austria to question the sincerity of Servia's acceptance of seven of the eight conditions of the ultimatum, but mere statesmanly foresight on the part of Sir Edward Grey to question the sincerity of Germany's efforts to keep the peace?

"Fifth—Why was it disgraceful of Germany to keep faith with her ally, Austria, but noble and heroic of England to keep faith with her ally, France?

"Sixth—Why is Germany's invasion of neutral (?)* Belgium an outrage, but Japan's invasion of neutral China a negligible matter?

"Seventh—Why is every Belgian, French and English account of German outrage to be swallowed, hook, line and sinker, while German accounts of Belgian and Russian outrages are to be sneered at as mere fakes?

"Eighth—Why is it improper and a breach of neutrality for Americans of German descent to express their sympathy with Germany, but proper and commendable for Americans of English descent to express their sympathy with England and her allies?

"Ninth—Why is it fanatical and barbaric of the Germans to believe in the destiny of Germany, but right and natural of the Englishman to believe in the Heaven-appointed destiny of England to rule the earth?"

I have attempted in my own small way to offset as much of the hostile and unfounded criticism levelled at Germany as possible, by presenting the readers of the Staats-Zeitung with the other side of the shield. There is a certain amount of right, of logic and of pure, unquestionable faith in the justice of its own cause to be found in each of the armed camps of Europe. Only when the attempt is made to convince the American people that this is not true of Germany I object—and I object not as a German but as an American, not more because of the direct injustice done thereby to a friendly nation than because the American people are being educated in error. I have been assailed both in the press and by those anonymous letter writers whose views are not worth their signatures. For every letter of that sort which I have received, however, I have had ten from intelligent and sympathetic friends of Germany and fair play.

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*Read the following articles printed elsewhere in this book. (The index gives their exact location): "Belgian Neutrality," "Has Germany Violated Belgian Neutrality?," "Bernhard Shaw Points Out England's Factor of Responsibility for Europe's War," "Belgium's Change of Policy," "More English Faithlessness," and in "Germany and the Great War," the paragraph headed "What is the justification for the violation of the Belgian neutrality to which Germany was a party?"; also "An Authority on Neutrality," "War or Vandalism," and "An Excuse for a Minister's Mistakes."

THE ALLIES.

Sir John French: Through my glasses I see distinctly, mon Général, that the retreating columns are French.

General Joffre: Take my glasses, sir, and you will see that they are English.

GERMAN WAR SUBSCRIPTION.

Military Fund of $1,125,000,000 Quickly Raised by Public.

The Daily News, Chicago.

[By The Associated Press.]

Berlin, Germany, Sept. 28 (via London, 2:50 p. m.).—The response of the German public to the efforts of the government to raise a war fund of 5,000,000,000 marks ($1,250,000,000) has, it is asserted here, removed all anxiety the nation may have had regarding its ability to meet financial obligations due to the war. Already 4,500,000,000 marks has been subscribed by the public without straining seriously the financial resources of the empire.

Had $125,000,000 at Start.

According to military authorities, the war is costing Germany about 20,000,000 marks ($5,000,000) a day, inclusive of the money spent on behalf of those who have been deprived of their bread winners.

The means of the government at the beginning of the war, not including the permanent war treasure, but including the reserve funds of the reichsbank, amounted to about 500,000,000 marks ($125,000,000), which, however, has been considerably increased through the issue of notes.

It is thought, therefore, that the money available for the purposes of the campaign can be increased, if necessary, by several billion marks.

Count on $2,000,000,000.

The amount which the government could borrow from the reichsbank is unknown, but it is estimated at about 3,000,000,000 marks, making a total of about 8,000,000,000 marks ($2,000,000,000). At the rate of 20,000,000 marks ($5,000,000) a day, this sum would permit Germany to carry on the war for more than a year.

It is said here that these estimates concerning Germany's financial resources are low rather than high.

GERMAN ASSOCIATIONS REPORTED FAVORING PEACE.

Story of Petition of Economic Bodies Believed to Have Been Censored by Teutonic Authorities.

From "Chicago Daily News," Feb., 1915.

Berlin, March 13, 3 a. m.—The Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, in an editorial, referring to yesterday's petition by economic organizations, reasserts the inadvisability of discussing peace terms at this juncture.

The paper says that such a discussion might weaken the impression abroad of complete German unanimity in the determination to persevere to the utmost.

It would be better, says the editorial, to gain a definite victory before talking about the reward for all the sacrifices made and the shape a peace treaty should take. The polemical attitude of the associations against the decision of the highest military and civil authorities is inopportune and will not hasten victory in the field, asserts the paper.

Attacking and Defending Germany in the Crisis

CONGRESSMAN BARTHOLDT'S PLEA FOR GERMANY.

The Fatherland, New York.

(On September 27, before a packed house in Terrace Garden, Representative Bartholdt, of St. Louis, made one of the strongest addresses yet made on the war here. Because it boldly upheld the Teuton cause the speech was denied that prominence it deserves. We are glad to publish in substance the entire address.)

"Germany wants peace, as her history shows. For forty-three years she has consistently maintained it, in spite of many irritations as well as numerous opportunities to make gains by aggression. The sole purpose of the triple alliance was for defense and for the preservation of the peace of Europe. German militarism was purely for defense, and Germany would never disturb the peace if let alone by her neighbors. The efficiency, thrift and culture of the German people would easily make them the master nation of Europe if only they were permitted to enjoy permanently the blessings of peace.

Calls Press Unfair.

"The hostile attitude of a large part of the American press toward Germany is the most bitter disappointment of my life. While on German Day we usually point with justifiable satisfaction to the proud history of the American Germans, today we are obliged to ask the humiliating questions whether our diligent cooperation in the upbuilding of this country has ever been noticed by our non-German contemporaries.

"If it had, we could at least have cherished the hope that our Anglo-American fellow-citizens might have gained a more favorable conception of the country from which we hail, of its culture and its institutions, than we now find expressed in the newspapers, a conception which we thought might have prevented the American press from printing the many absurd and outrageous stories which emanate from London and Paris to poison public opinion in our neutral country against Germany. We believed that the complete identification of the Germans with American institutions, their unswerving loyalty to the stars and stripes and their diligent and intelligent efforts in all fields of American activity had earned for them at least just consideration and fair treatment, but we must now reluctantly admit that in this we are sorely disappointed.

Germans Entitled to Sympathy.

"The German nation, owing to its traditional friendship for the United States, is even entitled to the outspoken sympathy of the American people. Or have we forgotten that Frederick the Great sent us Baron von Steuben, whose achievements as the drillmaster of the revolutionary army made possible the final triumph of the colonies? Have we forgotten that in the civil war Germany was our only friend, while England, in open sympathy with the South, destroyed our commerce and refused any and all aid to the Union.*

"In the hour of his greatest distress Abraham Lincoln sent three emissaries to Europe to float Union bonds. These envoys were shown the door in both London and Paris, and Gladstone declared openly that the English hoped for Confederate success. But when Lincoln's emissaries came to Germany they were received with open arms, and Bismarck, then promoter of Prussia, told the Berlin and Frankfort bankers to advance to the Union all the money they could spare. The purchase of these Union bonds by Germany made it possible for President Lincoln to continue the war and carry it to a successful conclusion.

"Have we not a right to remind our fellow-citizens of this historical fact just at this time and does this not furnish at least one valid reason why in the present war drama, when Germany's very life is at stake, American sympathies should go out to our arch-friend rather than our arch-enemy?

Japan to Demand Pay.

"England's summons to the black men, the brown men and the yellow men to fight her battles against a white and highly cultured nation will not be the end of it. Japan will demand her pound of flesh, which is bound to be cut out of the skin of one Uncle Sam. Even now supremacy in the Pacific may have been promised the yellow man in return for his present aid and for the protection by Japan of India. Who, I ask you, would be America's natural ally, when that time comes? Under her treaty obligations England will be bound to back up the Mikado, hence Germany again will be our only stand-by, as she was when, some years ago, John Hay looked around for support for his policy of the open door and Chinese neutrality.

"England and France came in only after Germany had demonstratively joined hands with our great Secretary of State. For this very act, Japan asserts, the Germans are to be pun-

*Nor is it an accident in Prussian History and Character that Frederick the Great was among the first of the rulers to recognize the independence of the United States of America.—Editor.

VON HINDENBURG AND HIS STAFF
(By Courtesy of the "Chicago Abendpost")

ished now, because it frustrated some fine Japanese plans. This being so, will not the Mikado have it in for the United States for the same reason?

Militarism Protest Insincere.

"If the protest against German militarism were sincere, I would rejoice in it, but alas, it is not, for the same papers which are objecting to Germany's militarism are loudest in their support of American militarism. England's navy is the climax of militarism and France's army, too, proportionately larger than Germany's.

"Even the peace advocates, of whom I am one, admit that as long as the world remains an armed camp Germany has more justification in keeping up an efficient army than almost any other country. When divided she was the spittoon of Europe, the battles of all nations having been fought on her soil. It was to protect the Fatherland against being everybody's battle ground that she built up a strong army as soon as her unity had been achieved as a result of the Franco-German war, but it was an army, as her history shows, merely for her defense and not for aggression."

The Peace Programme.

In conclusion, Mr. Bartholdt ventured a prophesy by saying:

"A defeat or dismemberment of the German Empire will mean eternal war; because the Teutonic race will never accept such a result. A victory of the two German nations, however, will signify permanent peace. Both Germany and Austria-Hungary cherish peace, and their two rulers wish for their people the blessings of fruitful civilization, the growth of industry and trade and the highest development of the arts and sciences, and the condition 'sine quo non' of such progress and the healing of the wounds caused by this horrible war is a secure and permanent peace anchored upon an international agreement providing for disarmament and for a high court of nations which will adjust all the peoples' differences, and whole decisions will be backed by an international police force.

"This is the programme to which for many years I have devoted my humble efforts, and the realization of which will, let us hope, be in the near future."

BRITONS IN PROTEST.

Milwaukee Free Press.

F. Hugh O'Donnell, formerly foreign editor on the "Morning Post," the "Spectator" and other leading London journals, writes as follows to the New York "Evening Post":

"Every man who has had a connection with the honorable British journalism of the past ought to thank you for your just and moderate rebuke of the pretended censorship which has passed off such a mountain of falsehoods on the public of both hemispheres. I suppose I am the Doyen of the foreign editors of London, and well I know that under Gladstone and Beaconsfield it would have been impossible to find either writers or censors for the abominable fictions which have been spread in order to inflame the British masses against their German opponents. The tales of German officers filling their pockets with the severed feet and hands of Belgian babies, and German Catholic regiments deliberately destroying French Catholic cathedrals, would decidedly not have been accepted by any editors of the "Times" or "Morning Post" in the days of Queen Victoria.

"The worst part of these infamous inventions has been that they have stirred up the blind fury of the English populace against tens of thousands of inoffensive and useful foreigners who have done nothing but good in a hundred honest professions, and who are now, in the midst of savage threats and insults, torn from their industrious homes and thrust into bleak and miserable prisons without a single comfort on the brink of the wintry season. The spectacle is a hideous one and the military censorship which has spread the exciting calumnies has gained no enviable place in truthful history."

Mr. O'Donnell is certainly a noble exception to the prevailing spirit in England in the crisis. Nor is he without company, as we have become familiar with such names as Trevelyan, McDonald, Burns, Morley and many others.—Editor.

This goes to show that not all Englishmen are by any means in sympathy with the manner in which the British press, aided and abetted by the government censor, is poisoning and perverting the news; to many indeed it appeals as a sad reflection on the deterioration of British character.

When a retired army officer like Major Redway can declare, as he did, in the London "Globe," that "we must learn to look upon the manufacture of mendacities during the war as a heroic attempt to keep us going in the absence of truth," he makes a serious charge against his countrymen that ill comports with England's ancient reputation for manliness and square dealing.

For our part we incline to the opinion that the great majority of the public wants the truth, wants fair play for its opponents. And we further believe that as this public gradually awakes to the double dealing of the government which involved Great Britain in this war and to the cowardly and dishonorable character of its censorship, there will come about a revulsion of feeling against the responsible Liberal ministry that will overthrow it at the first opportunity the war permits.

With enlistments lagging, with colonial rebellion spreading and with the voice of criticism becoming more emphatic this event may be much nearer than any one anticipates.

ENGLAND'S CASE.

By Viscount Bryce in The Times, New York.

Commented Upon by Herman Ridder, New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, New York.

The consignments of spoon food received from England during the last two months have glutted the market. We are tired and sick of it all. The "sabre-rattling" and "jack-boots" of Sir Arthur have had their run. We want novelty in this country and nothing could pall more upon us than the repeated dinning into our ears by every English organ from "The Times" up or down, of the few catch phrases, copied by that master of English word-cinematography. I have read Sir Arthur's effusions, along with those of H. G. Wells, Anthony Hope, Rudyard Kipling, Israel Zangwill and the rest of the war-mad English penmen, and for the life of me I am unable to come to any other conclusion than that their readings on Germany have been confined to Bernhadi and Treitschke, those two German writers who were never a part of German intellectual life and were both disowned by the German people. It would be easy to point out writers in England who have advocated theories far more radical than either Treitschke or Bernhardi, who have had their little day and passed into their little grave "unwept, unhonored and unsung." It would serve no useful purpose, however, to do so, for Englishmen are notoriously fond of making a mountain out of a mole-hill. Even Lord Roberts was not above warning England three years ago that her immediate opponent was Germany, but her eventual enemy was the United States.

It is a relief, therefore, to happen upon a writer for England who is above the level, intellectually and as a novelist, of the crowd of literary freebooters who have attempted so zealously to force Bernhardi down our throats. Such a writer is James Bryce, whose contribution to "The Times" of Sunday last will do much to raise England's case from the mire out of which the poets, dramatists and fiction writers of the country have tried in vain to drag it. It matters little whether it is "Mr." Bryce or "Viscount" Bryce who writes. Whatever the name of James Bryce is subscribed to Americans will always read with pleasure and seldom without conviction. He has been "among us" and we know him, not simply as a profound and elegant scholar, but as a great, generous, lovable soul. The fact that he is the author of "The Holy Roman Empire" and "The American Commonwealth" is scarcely the basis of our affection for Viscount Bryce. It is rather the fact that as British Ambassador to Washington he showed himself big enough to serve his own country without losing the good will of ours.

I know of no one better qualified to present England's case to the American people than he—surely no one in the motley throng that rushed into the first breach with no other equipment than their quivering goosequills. Their mighty efforts are adumbrated by his quiet logic and the faith which we have in his knowledge of his subject.

I have no more sympathy for Bernhardi than any other free-born, liberty-loving American has — no more than the quiet, industrious German has, who looks upon militarism as the Englishman regards navalism, as a national necessity and a national evil—and therefore I can welcome these words of Viscount Bryce: "What are these doctrines? I do not for a moment attribute them to the learned class in Germany, for whom I have profound respect, recognizing their immense services to science and learning; nor to the bulk of the civil administration, a body whose capacity and unrightness are known to all the world, and least of all to the German people generally. That the latter holds no such views appears from Bernhardi's own words, for he repeatedly complains of and deplores the pacific tendencies of his fellow-countrymen."

As a matter of fact Bernhardi is not even read in Germany. Of his works, published by Cotta, only 800 copies have been given to the public to date! And that to a public of 65,000,000! The writings of Treitschke, as a historian, are regarded by Germans as brilliant, but Treitschke is remembered by them as a man of intense party feeling, who labored under the spirit of 1870 and was incapable of true sympathy with their racial aspirations. If Americans are in search for a German historian whose ideals are one with those of his people and whose work will live when that of Treitschke, Bernhardi and the rest of their ilk has long been forgotten, I would suggest Professor Lamprecht, of Leipsic.

So logically and truly deduced are the conclusions of Viscount Bryce that Bernhardi was in but not of Germany that it is difficult to reconcile with them his assertion that it was the teachings of Bernhardi that moved Germany to war and controls her present conduct of it. This condemnation of Germany, however, vis-à-vis of England, cannot be effected by the statement that her policy was dictated by a military caste of which Bernhardi was the spokesman. England has had her own war party, which for years has urged upon her the crushing of Germany and to which Sir Edward Grey has shown himself to have been no insignificant adherent. In the circumstance of the actual conflict "the German people generally," to whom least of all Viscount Bryce would attribute any acceptance of Bernhardi's principles, have shown themselves far more in sympathy with the decision of their Government than have the British.

It might almost be suspected that Viscount Bryce has said so much of Bernhardi, simply to hang on a text chosen from "Germany and the Next War," a sermon to the German nation on the duty of greater to lesser states. If Bernhardi is followed, says Bryce: "They (the smaller and weaker nations) will be absolutely at the mercy of the stronger, even if protected by treaties guaranteeing their neutrality and independence. They will not be safe, for treaty obligations are worthless, 'when they do not correspond to facts,' i. e., when the strong power finds that they stand in its way its interests are paramount."

As the learned writer of these lines has repudiated Bernhardi as a spokesman for Germany, it cannot be assumed that he looks to Germany to work upon any such principles. It may be assumed, however, that they were penned to offset some of the suspicions which the history of the last century has cast upon England's attitude toward her smaller and weaker neighbors.

"If a state hold valuable minerals," continued Viscount Bryce, "as Sweden has iron, and Belgium coal, and Roumania oil, or if it has abundance of water power, like Norway, Sweden and Switzerland; or if it holds the mouth of a navigable river, the upper course of which belongs to another nation, a great state may conquer and annex that small state as soon as it finds it needs minerals or water power or river mouth."

Precisely. The inference, however, which we are asked to make is that Germany will reach out for Belgium, Roumania, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland as soon as it finds it needs minerals or water power or river mouth.

I do not wish to question Viscount Bryce on the history of the distant past. The author of "The Holy Roman Empire" is a much more learned man in such things than I. I wish only to mention a few facts and to ask a few questions having to do with those years which both he and I can claim as our own.

When, then, during the last sixty years has Germany shown herself ungenerous to her smaller neighbors or covetous of their resources? During what one of those same years has England not been guilty of the very conduct which Viscount Bryce pictures as so reprehensible? Was it not England who attempted to break the Union that she might rule all America? Was it not the "auriferous nature" of the soil and the mouth of the Orinoco that led her to expand her Venezuelan claim in two years from 76,000 to 109,000 square miles? Was it not the diamond mines of the Transvaal that led her to wipe out the Boer republic? It is not necessary to point out the motive which has actuated England to the very last to maintain the yoke of Indian opium about the neck of the Chinese people, nor am I going to add to the list of England's crimes against smaller and weaker nations. They are too many and too well known. The British Empire is founded on them.

We are asked to deal with theories and possibilities. We should deal rather with facts; not with what Germany might do, but with what England has done and is continuing to do. The whole history of Germany's relations with the smaller nations of the world points to her continued generous treatment of them. Will the history of England bear the same test?

THE STOCK COMPANY OF KITCHENER, ASQUITH, CHURCHILL, AND BALFOUR AT THE GUILDHALL.

New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, New York.

Herman Ridder.

Monday night's Guildhall meeting in London served the two-fold purpose of installing a new Lord-Mayor of London, and of furnishing the well-known stock company of Kitchener, Asquith, Churchill and Balfour an opportunity for a display of their histrionic abilities. This quartet has been touring the country preaching patriotism, lecturing, and when necessary, playing the rôle of recruiting sergeant. Mostly it has been necessary.

They have divided their work each according to his temperament and ability. Kitchener, blunt old soldier, representing the martial spirit called the present armageddon "a struggle for the existence of the Empire"; Asquith, fine tempered statesman, representing the British conscience, devoted himself with less flight of imagination but with subtle British hypocrisy to proving that it was a struggle "to place upon an unassailable foundation the right of smaller nations"; Balfour, silver tongued spell-binder, representing the popular voice, appealed to both military and political prejudices and delivered himself of the shop worn phrase that the war was a fight "against reckless and brutal militarism"; and finally Churchill, the Pied piper of London town, representing the English spirit of prophecy, dilated upon the remarkable efficiency and preparedness of the British navy, flatly contradicting thereby the previous remarks of Kitchener to the general effect that England did not want war because she was unprepared for it. Nobody apparently noticed the discrepancy as the spirit of patriotism ran high.

On the whole Lord Kitchener was nearest to the truth. For England the present war is a life and death struggle, more so than any other war which she has ever been engaged in. Britain has a great stake at issue, the loss of which would mean disaster beyond repair. South Africa, Egypt and India once severed from the Empire would never return.

The Food problem in England is a most serious one. Denmark, Holland and Belgium, always England's active suppliers of fresh food products, have practically ceased to be such. But worse, the modern weapon of mine-laying will soon so endanger the approach to all British harbors, that few merchantmen will be willing to take the risk, insurance or no insurance.

No fleet, however powerful, will prevent daring German mine-layers from creating more and more danger zones around the British Isles, such as are said to have kept the giant Olympic from proceeding. Furthermore, Kitchener realizes, that mere territorial forces, mere defence within the borders of the islands, would be wholly insufficient, and that the enemy must be attacked on the Continent, to deliver England from disaster. It is a curiously incongruous remark by the straightforward ruthless soldier Kitchener, that England's military unpreparedness proves her pacific intentions, while the German thoroughness of organization clearly proves the contrary. When Pied piper Churchill paid a glowing tribute to the preparedness of the British Navy, he carefully refrained from drawing any such rash conclusions about pacific or war-like intentions. Churchill, incidentally, tried to gloss over the fact, that the "rats" have succeeded in pretty well "rattling" the British navy. Kitchener's speech was hardly one to encourage the belief in the efficiency of the new English army of 1,250,000 soldiers. He made it very clear, that such preparations were required by modern warfare, that a long time would, of necessity, have to pass, before an efficient army could be created. He might, had his speech been less carefully revised, readily have pointed to the half-baked soldiery which had been sent by order of the autocratic Pied piper Churchill to hapless Antwerp.

Mr. Asquith's traditional and cheaply popular manner of cloaking English with moral pretenses was, on this occasion, chiefly applied to the rights of small nations. This sham is thrown into a strong light by the recent organization in England of "The Union of Democratic Control." Its members include such men as Ramsay McDonald and Charles Trevelyan, who, with Mr. Morley and Mr. Burns, withdrew from the British Cabinet rather than be a party to a plan of allowing England to be forced into this war through secret treaties, negotiated by a few English autocrats like Grey and Churchill. "Democratic Control" is the Society's chief object. Its formation in the midst of a titanic struggle, one which is inspiring in Germany and France the strongest bonds of national unity, is highly significant as showing England less united, and confirming Kitchener's plaintive remark "Without a great national impulse we can do but little." The "Democratic Control" Society protested against those English foreign policies of the last decade, which the German people have been complaining about namely, secret treaties, secret alliances, and secret "balance of power" arrangements. To cap the climax this organization states as its object "to prevent the sudden conclusion of a peace arranged secretly by the diplomatists, who made the war inevitable." So much for the fine moral pretense of true democracy by Mr. Asquith.

It is a pity, that Mr. Balfour's address about militarism was not followed by some words from Great Britain's new Sea-Lord, Lord Fisher. As a British delegate to the 1899 Hague Convention he startled everybody by his ruthless views about the conduct of war. No German or Frenchman of either military or naval prominence has, thank goodness, ever approached the brutality of this "purely English" mind, for let us not forget, that this quality made Fisher the successor of the Prince of Battenberg, who was accused of the lack of such a "purely English" mind. This is what Mr. Fisher had to say when the Hague Conference tried to establish more humane methods of warfare. "War should be made as hellish as possible. When you have to wring a chicken's neck, you don't give the chicken intervals for rest and refreshment." When the treatment of captured sub-marine crews was being discussed, Lord Fisher, this "pure" Britisher, shocked the assembly by barking "Sub-marines? If I catch any in time of war, I will string their crews up to my yard-arm." This is the "navalism," which placed captured German sailors into the bow of the "Amphion," while she was searching for mines, so that they might surely be killed, should anything happen. What a contrast to German navalism, which thinks of the safety of the prisoners first, before putting up a last fight, as, for instance, the auxiliary cruiser "Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse," did in African waters. She first transferred her captured enemies, then she went, fighting, to her certain doom. What a contrast between the brutal words of Lord Fisher and the generous action of the German commander of the "Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse."

"MADE IN GERMANY."

This war was not made in Germany, but "Made in Germany" caused the war.—From the Charleston "Deutsche Zeitung."

"RIDING INFANTRY"

Modern "Barbarians" seem to have a wholesome Sense of Humor

(By Courtesy of the "Chicago Abendpost")

A PASSIONATE DEFENSE OF GERMANY.

Editorial, The Chicago Evening Post.

The indefatigable, we may even say the inevitable, Hugo Muensterberg has come to the rescue of the fatherland. "The War and America" has reached us from the publishers, D. Appleton & Co., and is announced on the cover jacket as "the first authoritative work on the great European war," showing "the true inside of the war, its real motives and issues and their important meaning for our country."

The claim is rather too big for the book. Professor Muensterberg's hastily and passionately compiled work will not help much to a real understanding or a fair valuation of facts.[1] It may be read with interest as a product of patriotism, admirable, indeed, in any man, but not conducing to impartial weighing of evidence or calm judgment on issues.

"Audi alteram partem" is a Latin proverb to be commended to all open-minded people, and for this reason we commend the reading of "The War and America" to those who regard the kaiser and the German military system as the aggressors in the strife that has shaken civilization. Professor Muensterberg argues earnestly against this view. It is his belief that Germany is the unhappy and unwilling victim of jealous nations whose swords have long been whetted to cut her throat.

It is early yet to write history, but Professor Muensterberg might have been more convincing had he made greater use of the official documents now available in the white papers of the governments involved.[2] We have much of his opinion, and little of authentic material to support it.

We are told that Belgrade was willing to concede everything to the Austrian demand until a cipher telegram arrived from St. Petersburg. "A few hours later a refusal was sent to Vienna which could mean nothing but war," are the words in which the historian describes the Belgrade reply. By such unfairness[3] Professor Muenster-

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[1]Read Mr. Herman Ridder's comment on this book, reprinted elsewhere in "War Echoes," under the title "The War and America." Then read Professor Muensterberg's book and you will be able to judge for yourself whether or not "The Chicago Evening Post" is correct in stating that his "work, hastily and passionately compiled, will not help much to a real understanding or a fair valuation of facts."—The Editor.

[2]Our readers will find extracts from "The White Books" of Great Britain and Germany, "The Orange Book" of Russia and "The Grey Book" of Belgium, and comments on them reprinted on other pages. The index gives their exact location. The British White Paper and the German White Book have been published by the New York "Times" in one pamphlet for which ten cents is charged. They also have been printed in very convenient form as one of the monthly issues of the American Society of International Conciliation, 407 West One Hundred and Seventeenth Street, New York. Therefore we are not reprinting these documents as it would add unnecessarily to the size of our book.—The Editor.

[3]After reading the sixth paragraph commencing "The oft-repeated assertion that the Czar did his best to preserve the peace of Europe . . ." in the article entitled "The Russian Orange Paper," reprinted elsewhere in this book, we leave it to the fair-minded reader to judge for himself as to whether "The Chicago Evening Post" is right or wrong in asserting that "By such unfairness Professor Muensterberg discounts much of his plea."—Editor.

berg discounts much of his plea. We know the answer of Servia was in all but one particular[4] a concession to Austrian demands, and that particular a detail the granting of which meant the utter humbling of national self-respect.

Whatever may be said as to the provocation offered by Russia in the persistent mobilization of troops after protest from the kaiser—and there is room for argument on this point which may turn to the justification of Germany—we think unbiased opinion is pretty well satisfied that Austria's ultimatum was couched with bellicose purpose, and that Servia's answer, had not a desire for war existed on the part of the dual monarchy, would have satisfied Germany's ally.[5]

It is a pity that Professor Munsterberg has spoiled[6] his plea for fair play by this show of bias in his opening chapter. With his assertion that "America ought to be no more anti-German than anti-French or anti-English" we heartily concur. We deplore the tendency in some quarters to deride and denounce Germany and German institutions, and to believe every story of barbaric behavior that a hostile cable feeds to American newspapers. We admire the spirit of Lord Roberts of England, who urges his fellow countrymen to be charitable in their judgment of their foes. Let us all be charitable. Let us reserve the final verdict, not until we have read the professor's book, as his publisher advises, but until peace has afforded us the perspective and mental disposition in which to consider all the facts and reach sound conclusions.

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[4]"It is believed by many people in the United States that Servia accepted all, or nearly all, of Austria's demands. In reality she did not accept the most important one, namely, that of issuing to the officers of the Servian army an official condemnation of Pan-Slavic propaganda and of the assassination of the Crown Prince. Now it has been proved that the assassination of the Crown Prince was prepared and arranged by Servian officers. He was shot with a Servian army revolver."—Count J. H. von Bernstorff, the Imperial German Embassador in "Germany and the Great War" reprinted in full on another page.—Editor.

[5]As to "The Chicago Evening Post's" assertion that "unbiased opinion is pretty well satisfied that Austria's ultimatum was couched with bellicose purpose, and that Servia's answer would have satisfied her, had not a desire for war existed on the part of the dual monarchy," we believe that REALLY UNBIASED readers, after reading Mr. Herman Ridder's article entitled "The Russian 'Orange Paper,' " and a mass of other authentic evidence reprinted elsewhere in this book, will not agree with "The Chicago Evening Post," and that therefore: Professor Muensterberg has NOT spoiled his plea for fair play.—Editor.

This war is one thing that England wishes to see labeled "Made in Germany."—From "The Daily News, Chicago, August 7, 1914.

VIOLENT OUTBURSTS OF THE ENGLISH PRESS.

The Fatherland, New York.

According to press reports from England, Lord Roberts has made a dignified attempt, through the medium of the "Hibbard Journal," to denounce "the unsportsmanlike practice of abusing one's enemies," reminding the British public of the "gross charges absolutely untrue, which were brought against our brave soldiers fighting in South Africa."

It seems, however, rather doubtful that the veteran officer's voice will be heard in the tumult of violent anti-German outbursts, which has been raging in England for the last two months, with only too ready echoes on this side of the Atlantic.

As a specimen of the present journalistic standard of the majority of English newspapers, a leader of the London "Financial News" of September 16, deserves to be quoted. It bristles with intemperate language, rarely to be found in an English paper of standing.

Under the headline, "No Compunction Now!" the said journal assails "The Economist" for expressing the view that no such harsh peace terms ought to be imposed upon Germany "as no proud nation could possibly accept, except as a last extremity." To this the Financial News replies:

"A proud nation which destroys Louvain from sheer lust of destruction, which pitches babies on bayonet points, cuts off the hands of nurses and soldiers, outrages women, slices old men, gouges out the eyes of the wounded, tears off women's breasts, trains its soldiers in the art of rape, rejoices in a multitude of obscenities too frightful to be recorded in cold type, and does it all deliberately, exultingly and of set purpose, by order of the Kaiser, is simply a horde of brigands and murderers, and deserves precisely the mercy which should be meted out to that class of people. **Britain exists to humble such 'pride' as that."***

What mercy, the "Financial News" asks, *should be shown such "barbarians" and what could prove to us*† that the German people are not in sympathy with the royal ruffian, who has so recently scuttled out of France just on the eve of what he hoped would be his triumphal entry into the capital of the Republic which he so wantonly attacked. They just love his cowardly deviltries. There has been no foul act during this campaign, no shooting of a helpless mother. No dismembering of a terrified child, that has not received the whole-hearted indorsement of the German nation, from the bloodthirsty Professor Harnack down to the humblest Dienstmann at the railway station. It follows that the German nation, having made their bed, must lie on it. Our mission is to see that the last pfennig of the allied doctor's bill has been well and truly paid. Devils need expensive medicine, and they must pay for it."

As a matter of fact, the "Financial News" lays down already—a trifle early—what it calls "the elementary principles of the post-bellum settlement." Here they follow:

"The Hohenzollerns must go, bag and baggage. If the Kaiser should survive defeat, nothing but banishment to a lonely island will be a safe finish to his career. St. Helena is not the place for him, with his memories of who, with all his faults, was a man and not a ghoul. Tristan l'Acuncha would be more suitable. Next, there must be the largest war indemnity that Germany can pay without absolute bankruptcy. A tentative figure of 1,000,000,000 pounds sterling will serve for present contemplation. In the third place, the present German Empire must be broken up into its constituent parts, and to some extent redistributed, as has meted out to Germany can be guessed from the following passage: "Let us steel ourselves in advance to crush the last drop of lifeblood out of German militarism; and all this Mr. Churchill has already suggested, in accordance with racial considerations. The Krupp works must be leveled to the ground, so that not one stone is left upon another, the German fleet must be handed over to its conquerors and all the fortifications of the Heligoland Bight utterly dismantled. The Kiel Canal must be internationalized. Finally, all these terms must be imposed by the allied armies encamped at Berlin."

The best augury for the carrying out of this programme, however, the paper sees in "the quiet, restraint temper of the whole nation."

Evidently, the "Financial News," with the proverbial lack of humor of the English, does not realize what an exquisite exposition of "quiet, restrained temper" it has furnished to the reading public by its intemperate language.

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*Emphasized in bold type by the Editor.

†Italicised words are my own.—Editor.

APPEAL TO THE CIVILIZED WORLD.

By Many Noted German Representative Men.

As representatives of German Science and Art, we hereby protest to the civilized world, against the lies and calumnies with which our enemies are endeavoring to stain the honor of Germany in her hard struggle for existence—in a struggle which has been forced upon her.

The iron mouth of events has proved the untruth of the fictitious German defeats, consequently misrepresentation and calumny are all the more eagerly at work. As heralds of truth we raise our voices against these.

It is not true that Germany is guilty of having caused this war. Neither the people, the government, nor the "Kaiser" wanted war. Germany did her utmost to prevent it; for this assertion the world has documental proof. Often enough during the 26 years of his reign has Wilhelm II shown himself to be the upholder of peace, and often enough has this fact been acknowledged by our opponents. Nay, even the

"Kaiser," they now dare to call an Attila, has been ridiculed by them for years, because of his steadfast endeavors to maintain universal peace. Not till a numerical superiority which had been lying in wait on the frontiers, assailed us, did the whole nation rise to a man.

It is not true that we trespassed in neutral Belgium. It has been proved that France and England had resolved on such a trespass, and it has likewise been proved that Belgium had agreed upon their doing so. It would have been suicide on our part not to have headed them off at their own game if possible.

It is not true that the life and property of a single Belgian citizen was injured by our soldiers without the bitterest self-defense having made it necessary; for again and again, notwithstanding repeated threats, the citizens lay in ambush, shooting at the troops out of the houses, mutilating the wounded, and murdering in cold blood the medical men while they were doing their Samaritan work. There can be no baser abuse than the suppression of the report of these crimes with the view of letting the Germans appear to be criminals, only for having justly punished these assassins for their wicked deeds.

It is not true that our troops treated Louvain brutally. Furious inhabitants having treacherously fallen upon them in their quarters, our troops with aching hearts, were obliged to fire a part of the town, as a punishment. The greatest part of Louvian has been preserved. The famous Town Hall stands quite intact; for at great self-sacrifice our soldiers saved it from destruction by the flames. Every German would, of course, greatly regret, if in the course of this terrible war any works of art should already have been destroyed or be destroyed at some future time, but inasmuch as in our love for art we cannot be surpassed by any other nation, in the same degree we must decidedly refuse to buy a German defeat at the cost of saving a work of art.

It is not true that our warfare pays no respect to international laws. It knows no undisciplined cruelty. But in the east, the earth is saturated with the blood of women and children unmercifully butchered by the wild Russian troops; and in the west, Dum-Dum Bullets mutilate the breasts of our soldiers. Those who have allied themselves with Russian and Servians, and present such a shameful scene to the world as that of inciting Mongolians and Negroes against the white race, have no right whatever to call themselves upholders of civilization.

It is not true that the combat against our so-called militarism is not a combat against our civilization, as our enemies hypocritically pretend it is. Were it not for German militarism, German civilization would long since have been extirpated. For its protection it arose in a land which for centuries had been plagued by bands of robbers, as no other land had been. The German army and the German people are one, and today, this consciousness fraternizes 70 millions of Germans, all ranks, positions and parties being one.

We cannot wrest the poisonous weapon—the lie—out of the hands of our enemies. All we can do is to proclaim to all the world, that our enemies are giving false witness against us. You, who know us, who with us have protected the most holy possessions of man, we call to you:

Have faith in us! Believe, that we shall carry on this war to the end as a civilized nation, to whom the legacy of a Goethe, a Beethoven and a Kant, is just as sacred as its own hearths and homes.

For this we pledge you our names and our honor:

Adolf von Baeyer, Prof. of Chemistry, Munich.
Wilhelm von Bode, General Director of the Royal Museums, Berlin.
Alois Brandl, Professor, President of the Shakespeare Society, Berlin.
Prof. J. Brinkmann, Museum Director, Hamburg.
Prof. Peter Behrens, Berlin.
Emil von Behring, Professor of Medicine, Marburg.
Luju Brentano, Professor of National Economy, Munich.
Johannes Conrad, Professor of National Economy, Halle.
Franz von Defregger, Munich.
Adolf Deissmann, Professor of Theology, Berlin.
Friedrich von Duhn, Professor of Archæology, Heidelburg.
Albert Ehrhard, Professor of R. Catholic Theology, Strassburg.
Gerhard Esser, Professor of R. Catholic Theology, Bonn.
Herbert Eulenberg, Kaiserswerth.
Emil Fischer, Professor of Chemistry, Berlin.
J. J. de Groot, Professor of Ethnography, Berlin.
Ernst Haeckel, Professor of Zoology, Jena.
Prof. A. von Harnack, General Director of the Royal Library, Berlin.
Karl Hauptmann, Schreiberhau.
Wilhelm Herrmann, Professor of Protestant Theology, Marburg.
Richard Dehmel, Hamburg.
Prof. William Dorpfeld, Berlin.
Prof. Paul Ehrlich, Frankfort on the Main.
Karl Engler, Professor of Chemistry, Karlsruhe.
Rudolf Eucken, Professor of Philosophy, Jena.
Heinrich Finke, Professor of History, Freiburg.
Wilhelm Foerster, Professor of Astronomy, Berlin.
Eduard von Gebhardt, Dusseldorf.
Fritz Haber, Professor of Chemistry, Berlin.
Max Halbe, Munich.
Gerhart Haupmann, Agnetendorf.
Gustav Hellmann, Professor of Meterology, Berlin.
Andreas Heusler, Professor of Northern Philology, Berlin.
Ludwig Hoffmann, City Architect, Berlin.
Leopold Graf Kalckreuth, President of the German Confederation of Artists, Eddelsen.
Arthur Kampf, Berlin.
Theodor Kipp, Professor of Jurisprudence, Berlin.
Anton Koch, Professor of R. Catholic Theology, Munster.
Karl Lamprecht, Professor of History, Leipsic.
Maximilian Lenz, Professor of History, Hamburg.
Franz von Liszt, Professor of Jurisprudence, Berlin.
Josef Mausbach, Professor of R. Catholic Theology, Munster.
Fritz Schaper, Berlin.
August Schmidlin, Professor of Sacred History, Munster.
Reinhold Seeberg, Professor of Protestant Theology, Berlin.
Franz von Stuck, Munich.
Hans Thoma, Karlsruhe.
Karl Volmoller, Stuttgart.
Karl Vossler, Professor of Roman Philology, Munich.
Wilhelm Waldeyer, Professor of Anatomy, Berlin.
Felix von Weingartner.
Wilhelm Wien, Professor of Physics, Wurzburg.
Richard Willstatter, Professor of Chemistry, Berlin.
Max Rubner, Professor of Medicine, Berlin.
Adolf von Schlatter, Professor of Protestant Theology, Tuebingen.
Gustav von Schmoller, Professor of National Economy, Berlin.
Martin Spain, Professor of History, Strassburg.
Hermann Sudermann, Berlin.
August von Wassermann, Professor of Medicine, Berlin.
Theodore Wiegard, Museum Director, Berlin.
Ulrich von Wilamowitzmoellendorff, Professor of Philology, Berlin.
Wilhelm Windelband, Professor of Philosophy, Heidelberg.
Wilhelm Wundt, Professor of Philosophy, Leipsic.
Sebastian Merkle, Professor of R. Catholic Theology, Wurzburg.
Heinrich Morf, Professor of Roman Philology, Berlin.
Albert Neisser, Professor of Medicine, Breslau.
Wilhelm Ostwald, Professor of Chemistry, Leipsic.
Max Planck, Professor of Physics, Berlin.
Georg Reicke, Berlin.
Alois Riehl, Professor of Philosophy, Berlin.
Fritz Ang. von Kaulbach, Munich.
Felix Klein, Professor of Mathematics, Goettingen.
Alois Knoepfler, Professor of History of Art, Munich.
Paul Laband, Professor of Jurisprudence, Strassburg.
Philipp Lenard, Professor of Physics, Heidelberg.
Max Liebermann, Berlin.
Ludwig Manzel, President of the Academy of Arts, Berlin.
Eduard Meyer, Professor of History, Berlin.
Friedrich Naumann, Berlin.
Walter Nernst, Professor of Physics, Berlin.
Bruno Paul, Professor of School for Applied Arts, Berlin.
Albert Plehn, Professor of Medicine, Berlin.
Prof. Max Reinhardt, Director of German Theater, Berlin.
Karl Robert, Professor of Archæology, Halle.
Wilhelm Rontgen, Professor of Physics, Munich.

German Character and the German Cause in the War

WITH GOD FOR OUR FATHERLAND

Six Emperor's Sons now take the Field as brilliant examples to the World; God grant that our Emperor's Sons Crown a noble, manly Victory!

THINKS GERMANY WAS FORCED INTO THE WAR.

Special Correspondent Analyses Minutely Causes of Conflict. Peace Sought by Kaiser. Attitude of Both Russia and London Declared to Have been Favorable to Outbreak.

The Chicago Daily News.
Raymond E. Swing.

Berlin, Germany, Aug. 13.—The fabric of life is today torn to shreds. Coherence, cool thinking, objectivity, seem impossible. The great European war is well under way. The terrors, the miseries, the horrors which men have always known to attend war are again present. Hatred and lying are rampant. But in spite of it all it is of great importance that clear statements of the events of the last few weeks be made, and that thinking men and women read such statements, digest them, and prepare for the moment when they can decide deliberately what the great forces were which precipitated this immeasurable chaos.

It is not my intention to attempt even the beginning of a history of the last few weeks. That can be done only after time has revealed more sources of information than are now available. It is not my intention to pass final judgment on any nation or race. Such an attempt would show colossal stupidity in view of my ignorance of many of the essential facts. But I shall try to put down what facts I have learned, and through them make it possible for any reader of these lines to reconstruct with some degree of accuracy the spirit—the very thrilling spirit—which we of Berlin have known in these extraordinary times.

Must Go Back to Murder.

To understand this war it is necessary to go back to the murder of the Austrian crown prince and his wife. Every American knows that these two were victims of bombs thrown by Servians on June 28, 1914. Immediately following this murder, there was considerable talk from Austrians of complicity with the assassins of Servian patriotic societies with the membership embracing the highest officialdom in Belgrade. No definite charges were made publicly to my knowledge, but the understanding was that men very high in the goverment of Servia knew of the assassination plot and at least did not prevent it.

Proofs in such matters, I should say, are difficult to obtain. I know that it was the conviction of Austrian officialdom and of the official circles of Berlin that the Austrian assassinations were even more than the outgrowth of societies and that the men in some way responsible for the assassination were to be found in the very palace of Belgrade, if not in official circles of St. Petersburg. That is a strong conviction and I give it not as a fact, but as a conviction, and before this war can be understood this conviction must be appreciated.

Reason for the Ultimatum.

It was the consequence of this conviction which led Austria to deliver her ultimatum to Servia. There has been considerable speculation as to whether Germany knew of this ultimatum before it was delivered. Every twist of diplomatic language has been employed to make it appear as if Austria took her step without the knowledge of her allies, Italy and Germany. But such an effort, while it might have served an immediate purpose, is in the end useless, and it is as well to realize now that Germany did know of this ultimatum, approved of it and joined in the profound wish that assassinations, particularly as the means of furthering tremendous political movements, should be punished severely. And Italy, I have reason to believe, after having discussed with Austria certain Balkan differences, also gave her approval and her pledge to remain true to her alliance in event of war. These facts, I feel sure, will eventually be established.

The text of Austria's ultimatum is already known in America. It might have seemed at the time as if some of Austria's demands were exaggerated and that no nation could have submitted to them without resigning her national sovereignty. Two clauses were particularly strong, the one demanding that Austrian officials be allowed to participate in the investigations of the assassinations, the other that Servia's submission to the ultimatum be published in the official Servian war bulletin. These two clauses Servia declined and Austria thereupon broke off diplomatic relations.

Where the Kernel Lies.

At the very beginning of the trouble we come to the kernel of the situation. Was Austria justified in making these two demands? The publication in the army bulletin seems a trivial matter, and one might easily believe that Austria would have stricken this from the ultimatum if the other clause had been accepted. The first question to be answered, then, in understanding the causes of this war is: Did Austria have the right to demand the participation of Austrian officials in the investigation of the assassinations?

The question at once oversteps the bounds of pure legality. If Austria had the conviction and a reasonable amount of proof that the Servian bomb throwers were not only assisted by high officers of the Servian goverment, but even personally encouraged by a resident of the Belgrade palace with the support of certain official elements in Russia—and this certainly is the direction of Austrian discoveries—then it would have seemed absurd to leave the punishment and the really responsible men to the Servians themselves. Such a resignation on the part of Austria would have meant her own downfall. The affair already in June took on the appearance of a grave international plot. And Austria surely believed that she not only had the right to make this demand, but that this demand above all others must be acceded to if war was to be avoided. And this belief I am sure, was shared in Berlin and Rome.

All Hinges on One Point.

About this one point hinges everything which later grew into the present war, and it is to be hoped that the Austrian government will soon make public the evidence in its possession at the time of the ultimatum. This point is vital, too, because upon it hinges the moral right of Germany to stand by her ally in the face of Europe. And about this point must play every argument which tries to lay upon the Germanic people or the Slavs

the blame for having precipitated this war.

Conceding for the time being that Austria, and consequently the triple alliance, was right, we shall proceed with a statement of subsequent events, with the hope of understanding what happened in Berlin. The most striking event on the day of Servia's reply to the Austrian ultimatum is the following: Russia took the initial steps for mobilization against Austria on that very day. My authority for the extraordinary and significant statement is a telegram of the czar of Russia to the German kaiser, as follows:

"Peterhof, July 30, 1914, 1:20 p. m. —I thank you from the bottom of my heart for your speedy reply. I am sending Tatisheff this evening with instructions. The military preparations now in realization were decided upon five days ago, and as defense against the preparations of Austria. I hope from the bottom of my heart that these preparations will in no way influence your position as mediator, which I value very highly. We need your strong pressure upon Austria to bring her to an understanding with us.

"NICOLAUS."

Was the Day of Servia's Answer.

"Five days ago," said the czar, and five days before was the day of Servia's answer. And five days before Austria had not commenced mobilization, not even against Servia. And when Austria did commence mobilization not one extra soldier was sent toward the Russian frontier and only a small army was sent out to fight Servia.

This telegram of the czar throws illuminating light on the situation, because it shows with startling clarity that some one at the very start wanted war. I am inclined to believe that the czar himself may have been unaware of what was happening around him, but it is certain that men in charge of the Russian army were not unconscious and at the very beginning, before the rest of Europe even dared whisper the word of general war, openly had taken the action most sure to precipitate it.

Remembering that this step of Russia's was taken on the day of Servia's answer, let us refer again to a state document.

Sends Message July 29.

Four days later, on July 29, the German military attaché in St. Petersburg sent a message to his government, of which I quote the following:

"The chief of the general staff has just sent for me and informed me that he has just come from his majesty. He was empowered by the war minister to tell me that everything stands just as the war minister declared things to stand two days ago. He gave me a written statement and also his word of honor for it that no mobilization, i. e., the calling out of one reserve or one horse, had begun up to that very moment, 3 p. m. There are, however, numerous dispatches reporting the calling in of reserves in various parts of the empire, including Warsaw and Wilna. I was forced, therefore, to tell the general that I could not look upon his statement as being less than a riddle. Hereupon he gave me his word of honor as an officer that my dispatches were untrue and were probably traceable to false alarms. I must regard his statements as deliberate attempts to delude us about the steps already being taken, which are so amply proved through my sources of information."

On July 29, in the very midst of the kaiser's efforts at mediation, a significant dispatch was published from Paris which quoted on excellent authority a conversation said to have been held between the Russian War Minister Suchomlinow with the German ambassador at St. Petersburg, in which the German was at last told that Russia was taking precautionary steps against Austria, i. e., was mobilizing on the Austrian frontier, and adding that similar action would be taken against Germany as "a precaution, because Russian mobilization lasts longer than in other countries."

Why Take Precaution?

But why this precaution? Had Germany once used the word war? Had Austria threatened the Russian empire? Was there any step being taken except by Austria to punish what she had reason to believe was an international plot to destroy her empire? With these facts before any intelligent man, it is hard for him to come to any conclusion other than that influential Russians wanted war, not only against Austria, but against Germany as well.

In the meantime, in the midst of these military preparations in St. Petersburg, the kaiser was proceeding with his mediation efforts. What is most astonishing, in the face of the information which he must have had, is that he could consent to undertake mediation at all. But it is an established fact that he did attempt to bring pressure to bear in Vienna.

But in the midst of Russia's military preparations St. Petersburg began to send out more peaceful statements. The hope that the general war might be averted grew brighter in Berlin.

Dramatic Scene Played.

And here at this time was played a dramatic scene of the most significant sort. Gen. Von Moltke, chief of the general staff, appeared at the palace of the German chancellor and laid before Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg private dispatches which established beyond the shadow of a doubt that Russia was making every effort to mobilize her forces for war.

We may never know what these two leaders said to each other in this interview, but I have been told that Von Moltke demanded German mobilization at once. In the face of his information he must have felt that he could submit to no other course. And the chancellor, I am told, opposed this radical step with all the vigor in his possession, and he begged that this fateful step be postponed, even at considerable cost to the German nation. Germany could not go to war until every means to bring peace had been exhausted. And Von Moltke, surely knowing that the kaiser stood with his chancellor, submitted.

England Has Own Problem.

In the meantime, England was obsessed with the Ulster problem. The government, the entire British press and the English public were unaware of the gravity of the situation on the continent. When it was already felt in Berlin that general war might be unavoidable, London editors, in some cases, were still cabling their Berlin correspondents to send the Servian situation only briefly. It might be interpolated that American editors in some cases were guilty of the same error in judgment. When England finally did wake up, Sir Edward Grey, without sending out, as is usually done, a "feeler" to the other powers, suggested his conference of diplomats. This conference was immediately refused by the kaiser, because Austria already had formally declared war against Servia, and, therefore, it was too late.

This action by Germany and Austria has, undoubtedly, been construed in many quarters as proving an avid desire for war. Certain it is that the French nationalist press placed this construction upon it, and the Matin went so far as to address a peace appeal to the kaiser, which left the general impression that the kaiser was in a position to prevent the Austrian war upon Servia.

Motives Not Considered.

This construction upon the action of Germany and Austria does not take into consideration the motives behind Austria's ultimatum. A conference of ambassadors would have meant giving Russia time, and Russia wanted only time to be ready to strike quickly. In fact, every diplomatic move of Russia's throughout the early period of the crisis was a play for time, and Germany knew how this time was being utilized. A conference of ambassadors also, could hardly be considered the proper court for trying a member of the Servian royal house for complicity in assassination, nor for tracing his connection with Russian official circles. The action of Sir Edward Grey was regarded in Berlin as precipitate and unfortunate, showing, at least, a lack of understanding of what the forces at play had already grown to be.

But the mediation was still not out of the question. Austria had repeatedly given her pledge that Servia's territorial integrity should be maintained, and the German emperor had vouched for the fulfillment of this pledge. The second proposal of Sir Edward Grey to the effect that Austria should dictate her terms after the invasion of Servia, with the intimation that Russia would be allowed to stand by and see that Servia's sovereign and territorial integrity was finally to be respected, was handed by Berlin to Vienna with the strong recommendation that it should be accepted. Austria was ready. There was every reason to hope that Russia would accept this solution. Her answer was general mobilization.

Thinks Mediation Was Offered.

I feel confident that a final revelation of all the facts will show that the form of mediation above outlined was offered, and that Germany felt that this gave Russia every opportunity honorably to avoid war if she really wished to avoid war.

In the midst of an exchange of telegrams between the kaiser and the czar,

and in the midst of the mediation efforts being made by the kaiser on the direct appeal of the czar, the lightning struck. Russia announced the order for full naval and military mobilization. There could then be no doubt in any German mind that Russia wished war.

At this point it is well to call attention to the one hopeful symptom in this otherwise hopeless situation. It must stand to the undying credit of the German kaiser that one radiant beacon of idealism shines through the darkness of these times of national selfishness and misery, and that this beacon is the kaiser's resolve to maintain peace at any honorable price so long as he could humanely do so.* It was four days before German mobilization that Von Moltke had gone to the chancellor with his demand for the fateful order. Von Moltke had been right, and the waiting had cost Germany much, for it must be remembered that Germany's whole military action centers around the one plan and the one plan alone, and that is to strike quickly.

Four Days Had Been Lost.

Four days of striking had been lost, and, as every German knows, the loss of four days can mean decades of sorrow for the German nation. And this is the price that the kaiser paid for the cause of peace. This is the measure of the progress of the last century. The pessimist may feel that this is small progress indeed, but the world is a very old world, and a hundred years is a very short time, indeed, to bring any great change in human nature. **The spectacle of the kaiser holding off his forces at a national sacrifice until the last hope for peace had been dissipated is one which must win him a resplendent place in the annals of modern times.***

The war between Germany and Austria on the one hand, against Russian and Servia on the other having become unavoidable, the center of interest in Germany shifted to the attitude of France and England. It was, of course, to the interest of Germany that these two countries remain neutral, and one may rest assured that every fair means was employed to bring them to such a decision. No doubt great conferences on this point were held, and one is tempted to speculate about the prices and the propositions offered. Surely the map of the world could have been remade in these few days.

France Sees Interest.

But France saw it to her interest to make war, and I can hardly believe that any intelligent German foresaw any other decision. The French have not whetted their appetites for revenge these forty years not to be hungry for it today. France faced overwhelming financial losses in a defeated Russia, and her own financial system was already in ruins. To wait until later meant only to pay again this terrific price. And the day of reckoning had evidently come. I repeat that I cannot conceive of German intelligence expecting France to remain neutral under the circumstances of the moment and with 1870 still within memory.

*Emphasized by the Editor.

The great question then became the attitude of England. On this point there is much hard feeling in Germany, and from what we are allowed to know these hard feelings are to a great extent justified. It is said in the best informed circles in Berlin that not very long ago England's king solemnly pledged that England should remain neutral in event of a continental war. How much weight can be given to the promise of an English king? The German fleet and German business efficiency have for long ranked in the English mind. The time to strike, from the standpoint of pure selfish interests, had come, and strike England did.

England's Excuse Given.

It was the violation of Belgian neutrality which England gave as her reason for breaking off diplomatic relations. Shortly after the chancellor's speech in the reichstag, admitting the imminence of Germany's invasion of Belgium, the British ambassador called at the foreign office and asked for a pledge that Belgium neutrality would not be violated. He was informed that such a pledge could not be given. A few moments later he called again and demanded his passes. England had entered the fight.

England may be able to induce part of the world to believe that the violation of Belgian neutrality forced her into the war. Let us examine this position from the German standpoint. In violating Belgian neutrality Germany admittedly committed a breach of right. The chancellor in his speech in the reichstag expressed this opinion, but linked it with a solemn pledge before the world that Belgium should be repaid for damage inflicted upon her in any case, and, in event of English neutrality, should maintain her territorial integrity. Why was Germany willing to make this pledge and at the same moment enter Belgium? The reason is not far to seek. French troops already lined the Franco-Belgian frontier. Were these troops to be used against Belgium? The question is absurd. Germany was convinced, and reasonably so, that these troops were eventually to be used against Germany.

France Had Made Pledge.

France, to be sure, had pledged herself in Brussels to observe Belgian neutrality as long as Germany did so. But France could wait; in fact, every day of French waiting was a day gained. If Germany, however, waited until French troops violated Belgian neutrality, as French aëroplanes already had done, she would be at an immense disadvantage. With the war already begun, it at once became a war for national preservation and the matter of Belgium's lesser rights must, from the German standpoint, remain to receive justice later on rather than that Germany should risk her own defeat and annihilation. Belgium, it seems, is fated to be the world's battlefield, and the German army could hardly be asked to hold off while the foe entered first and intrenched itself in the advantageous position.

Germany cannot credit any statement that England was forced into this conflict. Certainly the presence of French troops in Belgium would not have forced England to intervene on behalf of Germany any more than the violation of Belgian and Dutch neutrality by French aëroplanes and French reconnoissance parties forced England to intervene.

Could Have Believed Kaiser.

England could easily have taken Germany's solemnly pledged word, assured herself of Germany's sincerity in desiring to repay Belgium for whatever damage was inflicted upon her and then have stood ready with all the moral force of the world behind her to punish Germany if the promises were not carried out to the letter. But England did not show the shadow of a willingness to take this attitude, and consequently the German believes that England, too, wanted war.

And so Germany found herself faced by a tremendous foe. In the twinkling of an eye the land of the deepest political hatred became one united people. There were many ironhearted men who wept like children in the imperial castle, where the Kaiser had called together his first united reichstag and shook by the hand every party leader. There were many who wept, too, in the later session when the social democrats declared their patriotism and for the first time in history cheered a chancellor's speech.

Spirit of Women Noble.

Nor were these sights more moving than the spirit of the women and the children who tramped loyally to the vacated harvest fields to take up the work of the men, nor more than that of the men who bade their families farewell and went to the wars. Germany became one land, with one heart, one mind and one enthusiasm! And what a wonderful enthusiasm!

There is only the one belief in Germany today. The nation is beleaguered from all sides. She is at war for her existence and is fighting after making every honorable effort to keep the peace. This peace has been denied her by three great European powers, two of which certainly will with difficulty escape the charge of duplicity. In Germany there is no division of opinion as to where the right lies. And her men are fighting the fight most dear to the human heart in all these centuries of war, the fight for justice and the fatherland.

A QUESTION FOR MR. ROOSEVELT.

Why does Mr. Roosevelt perpetually cite the alleged violation of the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemberg? What of the violation of the neutrality of China by Japan and the violation of the neutrality of Egypt by Great Britain and the violation of the neutrality of Morocco by France? Coming even nearer home, we might add, as a chapter of special interest to Mr. Roosevelt, the violation, justified, no doubt, but nevertheless glaring, of the small State of Colombia "WHEN I TOOK PANAMA."—Reprinted from "The Fatherland,"

A BREATHING SPELL

(By Courtesy of the "Illinois Staats-Zeitung")

THE GERMAN CAUSE AND THE WAR.

This is the fourth article of a series on THE EUROPEAN WAR, which appeared in the October Number of THE OPEN COURT, under the title "The German Cause," written by the Editor, Dr. Paul Carus.

Consult the INDEX for the complete series, and, in order to see where, in the various Chapters of the book, the different articles of this treatise may be found, look for EUROPEAN WAR (THE). In this way the reader may read the entire series of articles in their original order, if he chooses to do so, while the present arrangement still gives him the advantage of bringing the various articles under their proper, respective Chapter-headings of the book.

This is a series of exceptionally fine articles on the subject in question, and they bear a unique and important relation to each other. Be sure to read them also in their original order.—Editor, "War Echoes."

And what are the Germans fighting for? Our British author tells us that for the sake of securing these two hundred million pounds Germany must be exterminated. That appeals to the thoughtless, but what does it mean for the Germans? It implies that the Germans have to fight for their very lives, and the Germans know it. They feel that they fight for their civilization, for their right to labor and to earn a fair living, for progress and for the right to progress, for the right to do better than others, for the right to play a prominent part in the development of humanity, for their homes, their hearths, their liberty, their manhood, their national existence, for "all they have and are."

There have been so many lies in French and English papers, e. g., that Dr. Liebknecht, the Social Democrat, had been shot, that a revolution of the Social Democrats was impending, that the Kaiser's throne was tottering; but the reverse is true. The liberals, like all the political opponents of the government and of the aristocratic or conservative faction, stand by the Kaiser in their faithful devotion to the German fatherland, and the *furor teutonicus* comes *unisono* from all ranks. In glancing over journals of a recent date, we find a poem coming from the pen of G. Tschirn of Breslau, a freethinker whose political confession approaches more nearly that of a democrat than that of a monarchist, a man who is against militarism in any form, an advocate of the ideal of peace on earth; but he sees that Germany is fighting for her existence and so he calls his poem "The Battle Wrath of the Friend of Peace," which ends thus:

"Jetzt gilt es, Notwehr zu üben
In tapfer-tapferstem Streit
Für alles, was wir nur lieben,
Was das Dasein zum Leben erst weiht.

"Drum auch durch Donner und Blitze
Schreitet der Friedensheld,
Dass er wahre, rette und schütze
Unsere Zukunftswelt."

[Onward with courage to battle
Into the heart of the strife,
Defending all that is dearest,
All that will consecrate life.

So afar, 'mid fire and slaughter
The guardian of peace will raise
His standard, defending, preserving
Our homes for the oncoming days.]

The Social Democrats are against militarism and imperialism and oppose war as a matter of principle, but in the present case, they have declared in support of the government, because they are opposed to the Czar and his friends. They do not believe that the Russians and their allies take up arms to bring them deliverance from the yoke of social injustice, and they propose to fight them, not to uphold the Kaiser but to defend their homes.

Germany, faced by the danger which the Triple Entente has brought upon her, has risen in all her greatness, and holy wrath has come over her. Germany is seized with the determination to meet her foes and die rather than yield, a spirit which is well expressed in the following lines:

"For all we have and are,
For all our children's fate,
Stand up and meet the war—
The Hun is at the gate.

"Our world has passed away,
In wantonness o'erthrown;
There's nothing left today
But steel and fire and stone.

"Though all we know depart,
The old commandments stand.
In courage keep your heart,
In strength lift up your hand.

"Once more we hear the word
That sickened earth of old:
No law except the sword,
Unsheathed and uncontrolled.

"Once more it knits mankind,
Once more the nations go
To meet and break and bind
A crazed and driven foe.

"Comfort, content, delight—
The ages' slow-bought gain—
They shriveled in a night.
Only ourselves remain

"To face the naked days
In silent fortitude,
Through perils and dismays,
Renewed and renewed.

"Though all we made depart,
The old commandments stand.
In patience keep your heart,
In strength lift up your hand.

"No easy hopes or lies
Shall bring us to our goal;
But iron sacrifice
Of body, will, and soul.

"There's but one task for all,
For each one life to give.
Who stands if freedom fall?
Who dies if freedom live?"

These lines have been written by Rudyard Kipling, and are meant to stir English patriotism, yet so far they have not lured many volunteers to the British colors. In quoting them we have changed but one word in the last line, inserting "freedom" where the English poet writes "England." Otherwise the poem might serve the purpose of any nation that is ready to defend her highest ideals, her liberty and her very existence, but it does not fit the English. The hymn might have been sung by the Boers when attacked by the British army, it might inspire the Hindus when asserting their independence of the English yoke, it might express the patriotism of the many Irish who laid down their lives for Ireland; it might have been written by an American minuteman when joining George Washington in his fight for independence, but it seems out of place in the mouth of a British poet, who ought rather to have sung in the present case that they will fight

"For the market which we want,
For two hundred million pounds,
For the ruin of other commerce—
For *this* our bugle sounds."

The war was not begun by England for the sake of protecting the English nation, but for ruining the trade of brethren on the European continent, and it was begun because victory seemed easy.

The English have gradually found out during the course of the war that the Germans are not so easily conquered and that the tables might be turned. The English wanted the Hun to appear at the gate of Germany, but suddenly the possibility rises that the German may knock at the gates of England, and now the German is called the Hun.

Some time ago the right to hold slaves was declared "liberty" by the slave-holders of the United States, and the Romans called the suppression of a country under the Roman yoke its pacification. When the Celts were conquered the Roman historian used the phrase *Gallia pacata*. In the same sense the English poet laureate speaks of England as "Thou peacemaker," and this variety of peace-making is called "glory" by the old French conquerer while in England it is praised as "honor." The Germans having become ambitious to develop a nationality of their own, independent of England, are regarded as disturbers of the peace and are called "slaves of monarch Ambition." Here is the poem of Robert Bridges who complains that England is too pleasure-loving. Her monopoly is endangered and she will have to fight for the liberty of owning slaves. He says:

"Thou careless, awake!
Thou peacemaker, fight!
Stand, England, for honor,
And God guard the right.

"Thy mirth lay aside,
Thy cavil and play,
The foe is upon thee
And grave is the day.

"The Monarch, Ambition,
Has harnessed his slaves,
But the folk of the ocean
Are free as the waves.

"For peace thou art armed,
Thy freedom to hold,
Thy courage as iron,
Thy good faith as gold.

"Through fire, air and water
Thy trial must be,
But they that love life best
Die gladly for thee.

"The love of their mothers
Is strong to command;
The fame of their fathers
Is might to their hand.

"Much suffering shall cleanse thee,
But thou through the flood
Shalt win to salvation
To beauty through blood.

"Up, careless, awake!
Yea, peacemakers, fight!
England stands for honor,
God defend the right."

We say "Amen! God guard the right and God defend the right." But we do not believe that in the present war the right is on the English side.

It is difficult to say when the English have waged a righteous war. Was the Opium War in China righteous? And how shall we excuse General Gordon's suppression of Chinese Christianity, called the T'ai Ping movement? Was the Boer war undertaken for the protection of English homes, and English liberty? Was the treatment of Ireland fair? Was the subjection of India an enterprise for English honor? And what shall we say of General Cornwallis's Hessian soldiers in the English colonies of North America?

The German Cause.

And here is Mr. Jourdain's reply to the Editor's discussion of this subject.—Editor of *War Echoes*.

There is very little to discuss in this section, in which patriotic poems are quoted. In the concluding paragraph, however, a list is given of indefensible and partly-defensible English wars,[9] such as the Opium war in China, and the Boer war of the Transvaal.[10] All nations, unfortunately, have some blots in their accounts, but especially Prussia, from the day of Frederick the Great's brazen theft of Silesia to the cold-blooded quarrel with Austria in 1866 and the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 which was contrived by Bismarck down to its precipitation by the falsified Ems telegram.[1] *

[9] "O. C.," pp. 612-613.*

*See Jourdain in the *Index* for the full reference of this note 9.—Editor, *War Echoes*.

[10] "Was the Boer War undertaken for the protection of English homes and English liberty?" asks the Editor (p. 613).† Certainly it was, though the English liberty and English homes were in the Transvaal. The fact that it was a foreign government that interfered with their rights did not minimize the responsibility of England.

[1] In October, 1892, Bismarck said to Harden: "It is so easy for one who has some practice, without falsification merely by omissions, to change the sense. As the Editor of the Ems dispatch....I should know. The King sent it me with the order to publish it either completely, or in part. After I had summarized it by deletions, Moltke, who was with me, exclaimed: *"Vorhin war's eine Chamade jetzt ist's eine Fanfare."* "Zukunft," October 29, 1892, p. 204; and December 3, 1892, p. 435.

*Your *veni, vidi, vici*, Mr. Jourdain, may convince "The Street" (Italy) that has just declared war on Germany, but for people who know History, who are not misled by a pseudo-democracy, you must adduce *"Facts"!*—Editor, War Echoes.

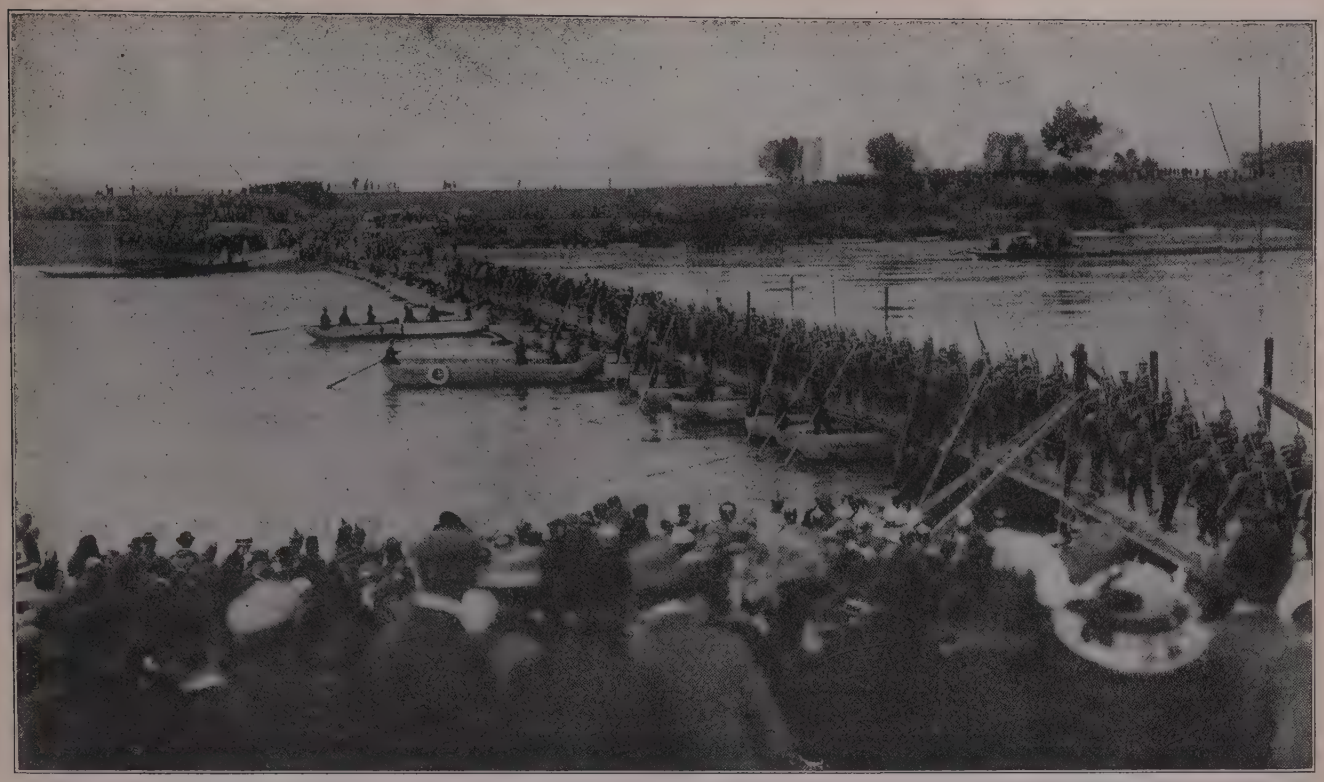
†See the number of the magazine of the "Open Court" of 1914, quoted at head of this discussion.—Editor, *War Echoes*.

THE CASE FOR GERMANY.

The Outlook, New York.

W. G. Nasmith.

It was at the special request of a representative of The Outlook that Mr. Nasmyth wrote the following article presenting the German point of view. Mr. Nasmyth was one of the delegates to the Church Peace Congress, which was to have held its sessions at Constance, Germany, during the week beginning August 2. A member of The Outlook staff, Mr. Ernest Hamlin Abbott, was also a delegate to that Congress, but, as explained in his editorial correspondence, was unable to reach Constance before the outbreak of the war. Knowing that Mr. Nasmyth had spent several years in Germany, had learned during that time to know and appreciate the German people, was sympathetic with the German point of view, was an admirer of German achievements, and had grasped the feelings of Germans, particularly of the intellectual class of Germans, concerning this war, he asked Mr. Nasmyth to present this point of view in terms that would be plain to American readers. This request was made in London within a day or two after the declaration of war between Germany and Great Britain; but because of the delay in communication between England and the United States Mr. Nasmyth's article was received too late for publication in any issue before this. It seems to us to be the strongest and most persuasive statement of Germany's case that we have seen. Mr. Nasmyth has been enabled by his experience to understand the point of view of many nations. For some time he organized Cosmopolitan Clubs in foreign universities, and for a while was the head of the Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs in this country, which comprises clubs in many colleges and universities composed of students of different nationalities. He is now director of the International Students' Bureau of the World's Peace Foundation. Inasmuch as the Foundation is avoiding all appearance of partisanship, it should be distinctly understood that Mr. Nasmyth in this article is expressing his personal view and understanding of the German spirit and is not speaking officially for the Foundation. Most of the statements in defense of Germany have been written from the point of view of the militarists. The distinctive characteristic of this article is that it is



GERMAN REGIMENT CROSSING PONTOON BRIDGE

(Photograph by the International News Service)

a defense of Germany written from the point of view of an anti-militarist and an active leader in the peace movement.—THE EDITOR.

It is clear that, if we are to form a just opinion of the issues involved in the European struggle, we must try to realize the point of view of both parties. It is possible that America will be called upon to play the rôle of mediator at the end of the conflict, and, if a permanent peace is to be established, it will be America's duty to see that no humiliating or crushing terms are imposed upon the side which suffers defeat. At present the people of the United States are getting practically all their news of the European war through English sources. It seems worth while for us to make a special effort to realize the German point of view in the struggle, and I shall attempt to put the essential facts of the case as I gathered them from close association with leading Germans during three years of study in the German universities. It is unquestionable that 67,000,000 German people sincerely believe that they are in the right in this matter, and if at the end of the war Germany should be crushed and the German people "stamped into the mud," as one of her historians expressed the conditions of a hundred years ago, no real peace could be established, but only a breathing-spell until Europe could gather its forces for another Armageddon.

The one factor which seems to be forgotten in the conflict is Russia, and this promises to be the most important of all. Long after England, France, and Germany are weary of the fruitless struggle, Russia will still be gathering her forces and throwing millions of peasants into the theater of war. An agricultural country, with almost no foreign commerce or highly organized industries to be destroyed, Russia can keep up the war for months after the highly organized nations of western Europe have been compelled to yield to the pressure of economic forces.

"For Germany it is the struggle of Western civilization against Russian barbarism; the conflict between enlightened Europe and the half-Oriental Slavic powers of darkness was inevitable," said Professor Rudolf Eucken at Jena University on the day that the Russian order for a general mobilization put an end to the Kaiser's efforts to maintain peace; and this is the keynote of the public opinion of educated Germany. The recent law for the re-organization of the Russian army and navy, the calling of 600,000 additional soldiers to the Russian colors next fall, was considered throughout Germany as the preparation for the coming attack on Germany by Russia. Since the conflict was inevitable, according to the German point of view, the German nation must prepare herself for the inevitable and instead of waiting with resignation for her fate, must gather together all her power and go out and meet the foe without giving it time to concentrate its overwhelming forces.

The tragedy of the conflict, from the German point of view, is that Europe, instead of realizing that Germany is fighting the battle of civilization against barbarism, is uniting to crush the last obstacle to the Slavic advance. But yesterday England was preaching that the standing menace of the Western World was Russia, with its 170,000,000 of semi-barbaric people, of whom seven-eights cannot read or write, governed on absolute methods by a reactionary bureaucracy which is frankly militaristic. Although a Russian soldier has never set foot upon English shores, England has fought one great war to stop the progress of this nation, to check her march towards English possessions. But it is not in a distinct possession that she threatens Germany; it is on her own soil.

"Allied with this Slavic power on our eastern frontier," says the educated German, "we have an enemy on our west, from whom we have suffered as no other civilized people have suffered at the hands of enemies. You know the story of the wars of Napoleon, of the invasions of Louis XIV, who cut off with the sword German-speaking Alsace and Lorraine from the German body, of the Thirty Years' War, and all the rest of them; how our cities have been destroyed by the invader, mainly by the French and the Russian, or his hirelings and allies. You know how they ravaged our country again and again, and actually, literally, cut our population in half, stamped it into the mud. Try to get the perspective. Picture a score of your finest cities wiped out, not merely that the houses were destroyed, but that every man, woman and child within those places had perished, and this in not some distant past, but so near to you that your great-grandfather could have told you the story, having got it from the mouths of those who witnessed it.

"Of course you cannot conceive, no man can conceive, what the destruction of ten million human beings means. Yet by that number of beings was the population of Germany de-

creased during these wars. A state as populous as England when Queen Victoria came to the throne was in one war reduced to the population of Holland. What has any civilized country to compare with this, to set beside it? When, indeed, has any civilized nation had to watch vast uncounted multitudes of its women and children driven forth homeless, their corpses massed in the country roads, with grass in their mouths, the only food the invader had left? And these same invaders, who have poured in devasting floods over our land today, boast that again they will invade us if and when they can. I say boast. Can you find me one French public man who will say that France should abandon the hope of attacking us? It is their declared, their overt policy.

"So that is our situation: on our right and on our left enemies from whom we have suffered as no other civilized country has suffered in modern times. The history of both is a history of conquest—in one case passionate insatiable conquest — whose ambitions England and Germany have had to resist shoulder to shoulder in the past, and that Power which was the enemy of England for centuries makes no secret of its intention to renew the aggression upon us when it can. It is in the creed and blood of Frenchmen that they will attack us at the first opportunity. Oh, yes, they are a military people. Do you wonder? But we have fought on our own soil, or returned to it as soon as the invader was repulsed."

The facts in the history of the crisis leading to the present conflict which are given in the official documents should be more widely known if the position of Germany is to be understood. The documents show that the German Emperor, by threatening to tear up the Treaty of Alliance with Austria, compelled Austria to reopen diplomatic relations with Russia after they had been broken off, and to adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards Russia's demands. The negotiations between Russia and Austria had practically reached an agreement, on the basis that Servia should render satisfaction to Austria, without, however, sacrificing her autonomy or endangering her independence. Then, like a bolt out of the blue sky, came the Russian order for a general mobilization, producing such a panic in Germany that the Kaiser was compelled to surrender the control of affairs to the military leaders. And now Germany is fighting the battle for European civilization, not only against the oncoming Slavic tide, but against the other countries of Europe, blindly allied with the greatest peril.

The great issue of the conflict, which will become clearer to the outside world as events proceed, is whether the civilization of western Europe shall continue to exist or whether Germany, the last obstacle to the Slav advance, is to be crushed and the German leadership in education, science, and social organization is to be replaced by the dominance in Europe of Russia, with its mediaeval social conditions, with its autocratic government at the head of 200,000,000 ignorant and superstitious Slavs, with its Tartars and Cossacks. This is the choice which Europe and the world must make, and this issue the great conflict will decide.

German Ideals and German Character in Action

GERMANY OF TODAY.

Charles Tower.

If the future of the German Empire lies, as the German Emperor maintained, upon the water, it would seem to be at least as certain that the past history of that part of Central Europe now included in the Empire has been largely influenced and in part perhaps determined by water: not indeed by the water of the Baltic or the North Sea, but by the water of the rivers, which now, as of old, are the natural and cheapest means of transport, and at times have also formed natural divisions. It is only necessary to recall such catchwords and phrases as "there must be no line of the Main" (that is to say, the particularist or separatist tendencies of North and South Germany must be made to disappear), or "the Junkers East of Elbe" (that is, the land-owning and ultra-conservative squires of Eastern Prussia), or "the line of the Lippe" (which forms an almost complete division between the seats of the poorer Evangelical and wealthy Catholic landlords and nobles of Westphalia), to see that even today rivers play a great part not only in the unity of the Empire but also in its internal divisions and dissensions.

The Germans, their ambitions, achievements, methods, men and manners are so continuously the topic of private conversation and public debate in English-speaking countries, that sometimes there is a tendency to forget the outlines of the map of the Germany of today. In fact, "you forget the map" is apt to be one of the complaints made by German newspaper-writers and even German statesmen when defending German military budgets against the charge of Jingoism. So it is well to begin with the map.

AT HOME

German Soldiers share meal with Belgian children. This rings true of the home-loving German as compared to what Germany's enemies try to make out concerning them

Modern Germany consists, geographically, of a territory drained by the four rivers, Rhine, Weser, Elbe and Oder, flowing northwards, together with a southern section drained, it is true, by rivers flowing in the other direction, but finding its commercial connection northwards for political reasons. In the development of the modern Empire out of the mere congeries of petty States, formed in part by watershed divisions, it was geographically natural that the northern States should be the first to combine and it was also natural that a struggle should take place before the southern portion of the Empire, south of the Main, broke loose from its geographically more natural connection with Austria and found its outlet northwards. Hence one might expect to find sharply defined contrasts between the portions of the Empire north and south of the Main, and it becomes easy to bear in mind the fact that all German development has been and still is profoundly modified by the contrast, for example, between the Bavarian and Prussian character and their political, religious and economic tendencies. Even to the present day there is probably too little mutual give-and-take between North and South Germany: there is still a clearly defined "line of the Main."

Leaving out of account for the moment certain accretions, such as Alsace-Lorraine, Schleswig-Holstein, and Prussian Poland, there is yet another marked division whereof politically too little notice is sometimes taken, the division marked roughly by the course of the Oder, to the west of which lies the industrial region of Northern Germany, to the east the agricultural section. Quite frequently discussions in England regarding "Germany" appear in reality to be discussions only about Prussia, and even about one part of Prussia, the old monarchy east of the Oder. It is possible that some of the antipathy sometimes displayed is felt instinctively not for the German Empire, but the old Prussian nucleus, whose character, manner of thought, and even political aspirations, are to quite a considerable extent determined by geographical and geological conditions.

West of the Oder is Industrial Germany, east of it Agricultural. Westphalia, the Rhineland, the valley of the Weser, these are the districts which developed Germany's foreign trade, and for whose protection in their infancy the high tariff-wall was partly destined: these are the countries interested in the "open door," in the maintenance of the best possible commercial relations with all foreign countries, and therefore also in the maintenance of good political relations throughout the world. It is after the traveller from London to Berlin has passed the Porta Westphalica, that picturesque gap in the semi-circle of the Teutoburg hills, that he enters the long and dreary stretch of flat country, which, at first pleasantly pastoral, interspersed with red-roofed villages, and sometimes timbered farm houses, gradually merges in the pine-forests and sand-dunes of Brandenburg, the ungenerous soil from which the East Prussians gather a hard living. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that the predominance of Prussia in the partnership of which the Empire consists has been brought about precisely by the difference of soil and climate here intimated. In East Prussia, for example, nearly one-quarter of all the land is naturally unproductive sand, fifty-two per cent is sand with a greater or less admixture of loam, and only sixteen per cent is good loam. In the province of Brandenburg nearly half (42 per cent) is sand and only ten per cent loam. Hannover has forty-one per cent sand, West Prussia forty per cent, Pomerania thirty-five per cent, and so forth. On the other hand Westphalia has sixty per cent good loam, Hesse-Nassau sixty-three per cent, and the Rhineland sixty-seven per cent. These figures are perhaps more strikingly characteristic than any amount of description.

The northeastern part of Prussia knows conditions of climate, extremes of heat and cold, almost as great as those of Central Russia. The farmer has no rich black soil to deal with, but largely sand; timber worth the cutting must be grown carefully; the husbandman cannot eat such things as "grow of themselves," and he grows hard as his labour, ungenerous as the soil, stubborn as the effort which wins him his livelihood. But he also grows strong and wiry. The descent of a hardy mountain or steppe-folk into a soft country of luxuriant natural conditions, easy subsistence, and abundant reward of light labour has almost always in history been followed by a slackening of the national muscles, a dimming of the national keenness of vision, and presently a relaxation of the national vigilance. That Prussia is today the predominant partner in the federation of States called the German Empire may well be due largely to the fact that she has always had the hardest task to subsist at all.

This, however, is the next point to which we must turn. The German Empire is neither the successor of the old Holy Roman Empire, nor is it itself a unity. It is a federation, a close political coalition for certain purposes, chief of which is that of defense. Bavaria, Saxony and Württemberg are independent kingdoms, Baden, Saxe-Coburg, Saxe-Weimar, Saxe-Altenburg, the Mecklenburgs, are independent Grand-Duchies, the two Reusses are independent Principalities—with their own legislatures, their own constitutions, and in the case of Bavaria and Saxony their own State railways, in the case of Bavaria alone her own coinage and postage-stamps. They levy taxes and excise independently both of Prussia and of the Empire, they maintain diplomatic representatives at each others' Courts and expect foreign countries to be independently represented at their Courts. But they combine for the purpose of national defense, and thus possess an imperial, that is, a federal army; they are comprised within one imperial Tariff-Union (the Zollverein), they contribute through their individual exchequers to an Imperial Treasury conducted for imperial purposes, and they recognize as visible symbol of this federation, a federal chief, the German Emperor, who is also King of Prussia.

The formation of the Zoll-verein or Customs Union was facilitated by the very differences of soil, climate, and natural resources which we have already noted. The west, rich in minerals, needed the assistance of the agricultural east; the little Duchies and States by the head-waters of the rivers needed unrestricted access to the sea along the water-ways, and the gradually developing industries needed an unchallenged market in the districts which are not industrial. The combination, which was not possessed by individuals, was possessed by all together. But there was, at the time, a still weightier reason why the various German kingdoms and principalities should combine in the form of a federation, however much their mutual antipathies and jealousies might and did stand in the way. This reason was that the individual States had for centuries been the cockpit of European wars, the victims first of this conquering army, then of that, the prize of victories in which they had no share, and the goal of ambitions in which they had no interest. The necessity for the foundation of the present Federal German Empire lay much less in the bickerings and quarrels of the individual States now included in the Federation than in the quarrels and ambitions of the neighboring powers, the ambitions and rivalries of foreign princes and of foreign representatives of various creeds. Perhaps the most illuminating illustration of the conditions of life in the German country which ultimately made the Empire a necessity is to be found in a book called "Simplicius Simplicissimus," retailing the adventures of a farmer's son in the period of the Thirty Years' War, and recently published in English. The castles of western Germany have for the most part been blown up or burned, not by the troops of opposing political factions, Roundhead or Cavalier, White Rose or Red, but by foreign aggressors, who ravaged Germany from the Rhine to the Vistula, from the Baltic to the Giant mountains. That they might live at last in peace, might develop their own resources by mutual assistance, the States of modern Germany, led by iron-handed Prussia, came to found the modern Empire.

It is thus geographically clear that the new German Empire might be expected to develop first out of a confederation of the States north of the line of the Main. Politically this must involve a dispute between a northern and the chief southern Germanic State for the hegemony, in other words, between Prussia and the old hegemon of the Holy Roman Empire, Austria. Such a dispute involved the break-up of the loose alliance which had subsisted since the formal end of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806. It follows that, although actually the present Empire has been gradually developed since 1806, there is a complete break of continuity marked by the foundation of the North German Confederation, the nucleus of the present Empire, by a majority vote of the delegates on April 16, 1867. It came into force on July 1 in the same year, which is therefore the birthday of the North German Confederation, and in reality of its later extension, the German Empire. What had happened is most briefly expressed in the words of the Treaty of Prague after the short campaign between Prussia and Austria: "His Majesty the Austrian Emperor hereby recognizes the dissolution of the existing confederacy of German States and will not oppose a new formation in which Austria shall have no part. Furthermore, the Emperor will recognize the closer federation which the King of Prussia shall establish north of the Main * * * and will admit of the formation of a federation of the States south of the Main; the relations of the southern federation to the northern bund to be regulated later by mutual agreements between them."

The northern federation consisted of twenty-two States, all the States north of the Main except the Kingdoms of Hanover and Saxony, and the Duchies of Kur-Hesse, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Luxemburg.

Subsequently the two Mecklenburgs, and Hesse, so far as it lay north of the Main (note the sharp river division), the elder Reuss, Saxe-Meiningen, and the Kingdom of Saxony came into the Bund, raising the number of States subscribing to the terms of April, 1867, to twenty-two. The next step was to bring the northern bund into relations with the States south of the Main. The southern confederation provided for in the Peace of Prague was never formed, but even before the formal publication of the terms of the northern confederation, Prussia had made an offensive and defensive alliance with the southern States, providing for the placing of all the forces under the command of the King of Prussia in the event of war, and also providing that all forces should be trained on the Prussian model, thus ensuring uniformity. A military federation was thus virtually in existence before even the North German confederation had been definitely announced,

and that early military federation is in a closer form the basis of the present German army.

We next turn to the commercial federation, the other great binding link in the Empire. A German customs union had been formed as early as 1833, and it still existed in 1866. In July, 1867, the North German confederation made a fresh tariff agreement with the southern States, to run for twelve years, and the affairs of the tariff were regulated by a Bundesrath or Federal Council and a Tariff Diet. The Council consisted of the Federal Council of the North German Bund, together with South German representatives, and the Diet or Tariff Parliament consisted of the Diet of the northern bund together with eighty-five members elected by the south German States on the basis of manhood suffrage in a secret ballot. The Tariff Council was practically identical with the present supreme Federal Council of the Empire, and the combined Tariff Parliament paved the way for the Parliament of the Empire or Reichstag. It needed only an external impulse to develop these special agreements between north and south into a definite agreement or complete federation. The northern bund provided for this future development by the terms of its constitution. Article 79 provided that "the entry of the south German States or any one of them into the federation may ensue upon the proposal of the presidency of the federation and in the form of federal legislation."

The agreement for united action in the event of war was soon put to the test. The outbreak of the war with France brought the northern and southern troops into the field side by side as had been agreed, and the successful conclusion of the war made the closer union of the States not only rational but inevitable. The southern States came to the conclusion that an international relationship was no longer sufficient; a national relationship must succeed it. The Kingdom of Bavaria notified the presidency of the northern bund in September, 1870, that it did not consider the international agreement any longer sufficient, and "thus it happened that in the latter half of October representatives of all the south German States assembled in Versailles to discuss the foundation of a German **Federation"** (speech of the Chancellor of the Federation, before the Reichstag, December 5th, 1870). It is worth while to note that, in this report of the proceedings given to the Reichstag on December 5th, 1870, the minister (Delbrück) uses the word federation (bund) to describe the new relationship of all the German States to each other.

The line of the Main, created politically by the formation of the North German Bund in 1866, disappeared politically by the entry of the south German States into the northern bund in 1870. There were three treaties made: first, an agreement between the northern bund, Baden and Hesse, whereby a German bund was formed and its constitution agreed to. In the second agreement the northern bund, with Baden and Hesse, made an agreement with Württemberg, and in the third they made an agreement with Bavaria. Bavaria obtained a number of special privileges, which will be detailed later, and which are called the Bavarian "Sonderrechte." The treatises were in form entries of the various States into the northern bund on condition of certain alterations of the federal constitution. It should be noted, too, that they were not agreements of all the German States severally, but agreements between the northern bund as a political unit and the southern States severally. The new bund, which was even formally only an extension of the old northern bund, was given a new title, the German Empire (not the Empire of Germany), and the president, who continued to be the King of Prussia, was also given a new title, namely, German Emperor (not Emperor of Germany).

THE GERMAN CROWN PRINCE INSPECTING HIS VICTORIOUS REGIMENT OF MASSIGES
(By Courtesy of the "Illinois Staats-Zeitung")

Such in brief was the development of the Empire out of the close coalition of the northern States. The Empire remains what it was, a federation of States which guard, some of them with very great jealousy, the smallest remaining item of their independence, and which also watch jealously any suggestion of accretion of power by any one of them such as might disturb the balance between them. Besides the strictly German parts of the Empire, there are certain non-German elements which constitute "problems." Prussia is chiefly troubled by her Polish provinces, acquired at the time of the division of Poland in 1795, and to some small extent by the problem of the Danish strip acquired by her victory over Austria. The third problem was that of the territory ceded by France after the war of 1870. The Alsace-Lorraine territory was acquired by the victories of all the German States. It was, therefore, vested as a proprietary district in the new bund, and became **Reichsland**, Imperial territory. Recently the question of ar-

ranging the final relationship of the Reichsland to the Empire became acute, and there was not wanting a demand that it should in some way be more closely attached to Prussia than heretofore. The other States would have raised an exceedingly vehement protest had the proposal actually reached maturity, but finally the Reichsland was given a constitution with an electoral assembly and a second chamber. Its nominal head is a viceroy, who represents the rights of the original federal States, but it has been made a member of the federation with a voice in federal discussions and agreements and a seat in the Bundesrath, or Federal Council.

Thus the Empire now consists of twenty-six States, twenty-two being monarchical, three being republican city-States, and one a semi-independent Viceroyalty. That is the simplest formula for expressing the nature of the federation which is called the German Empire. It may be as well to enumerate these States. They are: Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Württemberg (kingdoms), Baden, Hesse, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Oldenburg, Brunswick, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Saxe-Altenburg, Anhalt, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen, Waldeck, Reuss (elder and younger lines), Schaumburg-Lippe, Lippe (the last seven principalities, the others duchies or grand-duchies), Lübeck, Bremen and Hamburg (republican city-States), and the viceroyalty of Alsace-Lorraine. In a further chapter we shall see how these States differ in their forms of government and in their relations to the Imperial Federation and the Federal Government. For the present it is desirable to note that certain of the old political divisions have disappeared. Prussia, for instance, has swallowed amongst other once independent units the old Kingdom of Hannover, which is now the Prussian Province of Hanover; a portion of the former Kingdom of Saxony, the swallowed portion being now the Prussian Province of Saxony; Frankfurt, which is now a Prussian city instead of being an independent city-State like Hamburg and Bremen; and so forth. Inasmuch as Prussia also includes now Westphalia, the Rhineland as far as Frankfurt, and the Eiffel uplands west of the Rhine, it is by far the largest partner in the federation, and stretches "across the map" from the Belgian to the Russian frontiers. Oldenburg, the Mecklenburgs, and the republican city-States break its coast-line, and the small Duchies intervene in part between Prussia and the old dividing-line of north and south, whilst it is also broken up by occasional excrescences like the Principalities of Lippe and the Schwarzburgs. It should be added that the tendency is for these little Principalities, whilst retaining their individual ducal or princely familes, to combine for purposes of internal revenue and administration, and also, as recently in the case of the Schwarzburgs, for representation in the Federal Council. But there is no tendency to relinquish any kind of privilege to Prussia.

It may be added that the map of the small central German or Thuringian States shows curiosities comparable only to the map of Scotland. The Duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, for example, is not even territorially united; the Gotha part of it is separated by a fragment of Saxe-Weimar territory, and a big strip of Saxe-Meiningen from its Coburg section. There are eleven different sections of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach scattered all over the map of the Thuringian States, and even the two parts of the little Principality of Reuss Elder Line are some fifteen miles apart. Sondershausen, the northern part of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, is at its extreme southern limit twenty-five miles as the crow flies from the extreme northern limit of its middle part at Arnstadt, which is again separated by a bit of Gotha and a trifle of Rudolstadt territory from its southern part at Gehren. A glance at a good colored map of the Thuringian States * * * is itself sufficient to show the difficulties involved in the self-government of such complicated territories, so long as there was no adequate central authority and no common protection. Even County Councils might find it difficult to carry on their work with one bit of the county at Brighton, another tiny section in the middle of Surrey, and a third round Salisbury. Development, one might suppose, was only possible when some central authority had provided norms or general lines of procedure for the principal functions of self-government, and had further removed difficulties of inter-State communication by road and rail. That is what was achieved partly by Prussia and later by the Empire.

DOING WITHOUT GERMANY.

The Literary Digest, New York.

The assertion of the German government that the export trade of that country will shortly be resumed ought to be cheering news, for, according to The Engineering News (New York, September 17), there is probably no other nation in the world whose sudden isolation commercially would cause such wide-spread loss. And, more than any other nation, this paper goes on to say, Germany has won its place, not by natural resources or location, but by the skill and intelligence with which its people have attacked modern technical problems. We are now learning what it is to go without the things that are "made in Germany," and The News says that some people are having their eyes opened to the extent and importance of the field covered by these articles. While engineers and chemists, we are told, are generally aware of Germany's leadership in science and technology, the events of the past few weeks have been a great object-lesson to the general public. We read:

"Few have realized the extent to which the whole world has relied upon German scientists, chemists, engineers, and manufacturers for the supply of many materials necessary in the arts. Manufacturers in America and in England who were congratulating themselves on their enlarged opportunities for foreign trade in markets where the supply of German goods was cut off have in not a few cases found their own productive operations seriously hampered because they could no longer obtain certain materials from Germany.

"As is well known, steel manufacturers were greatly worried to know what they were to do for their supply of ferromanganese. Manufacturers of fertilizers have had to face the possible shut-down of their works through the cutting off of the supply of German potash. In the textile industries, manufacturers suddenly realize that with access to German ports blockaded by warships there was every prospect that the supply of dyes and dyeing materials would be seriously interfered with. In the drug and chemical trade, prices doubled and trebled when it was realized that, with further supplies from Germany cut off, the world would have to get along for a time without certain drugs and chemicals which have become well-nigh essential both in the pharmacy and in certain industries.

"The above list might be greatly extended."

But can we not furnish at home "something just as good" as most of these German products? Possibly, "The News" thinks, if we are granted time enough; but this would mean a very long time indeed, in most cases. It would take many years, for instance, to bring our facilities for supplying potash up to the demands of our own farmers and manufacturers—what are they to do in the meantime? Says the writer:

"The same thing holds true of numerous materials in the dye and chemical trades. Physicians and druggists accustomed to use of some of the varied products of coal-tar, most of which have originated in and are solely produced by Germany, are in a quandary to know what they can do if the source of supply is entirely shut off.

"It is of particular interest to note, moreover, that the manufacturers of England, Germany's great commercial rival and present enemy, are almost as badly hit as those of the United States by the cutting off of the supply of German products. Our English exchanges reveal that while English manufacturers are making large plans for capturing the export trade in many lands which Germany can not now reach, they find themselves handicapped at every turn by the cutting off of supplies which they themselves have been accustomed to obtain from Germany.

"Fortunately, the war has not yet closed all the avenues by which Germany can send out its product to the world. Through Holland, a neutral nation, shipments from Germany can reach tide-water and be distributed by neutral vessels."

Thomas A. Edison, in "The Iron Age" (New York), tells how he gets along without one German product, and incidentally offers a bit of good advice. He writes:

"Carbolic acid is not obtainable in this country, as our tars contain scarcely any; hence we are depend-

ent on England and Germany. I am the largest single user of carbolic acid here, and the embargo placed on shipments by England, together with the impossibility of obtaining any from Germany, has put me in a pretty tight place. However, by massing a big gang of men in three shifts, I have erected all the machinery and apparatus for making phenol synthetically from benzol, and my plant is now working, but I shall manufacture only for my own use in the production of phonograph-records. It occurs to me that there are many things we are short of in the chemical line that could be made here quickly, if some people in the trade would act—not talk."

GERMAN SUPREMACY IN AGRICULTURE.

The Outlook, New York.

The August number of the "Navy" contains a paper by Mr. Frank A. Scott, an influential industrialist of Cleveland, Ohio, on the industrial progress of the German Empire since the Franco-Prussian War. It was written and published before the present European war broke out, but it has nevertheless a war significance because it shows in a very clear way the industrial domination and prosperity which Germany has risked destroying for the sake of pursuing military domination.* The area of Germany, Mr. Scott points out, with its 208,000 square miles, is about equal to Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan. She has an average population of 311 to the square mile. The United States has a population of 32 to the square mile. The result of this intensive population is that Germany has applied her wonderful scientific research to the problem of intensive cultivation. In the thirty-two years between 1881 and 1913, Germany increased her production per acre of wheat eighty-six per cent, of rye seventy-five per cent, of oats eighty-one per cent, of potatoes forty-seven per cent. On the other hand, the production per acre of these food essentials in the United States remained practically stationary. This is partially explained by the steady bringing into the agricultural field of undeveloped lands in this country. Mr. Scott readily admits that in the United States such intensive cultivation as is recorded by these German statistics is at present impossible in the United States; "but," he adds, "the German figures are interesting to us as showing what can be done by a diligent nation on a naturally poor soil in a rigorous climate."

German Supremacy in Commerce and Industry.

It is not merely in agriculture that Germany has made wonderful strides by applying the researches of the scientific laboratory to the daily work of commercial production. In the production of pig iron Germany today stands second in the civilized world, with an output of seventeen million tons. Her native ore is poor, and yet by scientific methods she produces one-fourth of the total pig iron of the world, surpassing England by over fifty per cent annually. This extraordinary production is largely aided by a chemical process which dephosphorizes the ore, and the phosphate by-product is used as an agricultural fertilizer. By the application of science to industry, Germany has not only increased her domestic welfare, but has enormously added to her foreign trade. In twenty-five years her foreign trade has increased one hundred and eighty-five per cent.

The highest on her list, the product in which she has advanced most, from 1883 to 1912, is machinery of all kinds. The value in marks in 1887 of machinery exported was 52,800,000 marks; in 1912 it had risen to 630,300,000 marks. Coarse and fine iron goods rose from 96,000,000 marks in 1887 to 581,000,000 in 1912. Coal—now think of it—coal from that small country, from 79,900,000 marks to 436,600,000 marks in 1912. Coke, in 1887, 9,000,000; in 1912, 126,000,000. Cotton, wool, and silk, from 261,000,000 in 1887 to 966,000,000 in 1912. These figures explain to all of us who have been in countries where we seek foreign markets why we find the German there, and we do find the German there, and he is there very strongly intrenched, and he deserves it.

To promote her foreign trade, Germany employs not only scientific methods of manufacturing, but intelligence in selling. She is willing to meet the wishes of a customer; she quickly adopts new and approved methods of reaching new markets, she is interested in every question, historical, ethnological, philosophical and financial, that pertains to economic life and development. "I am sure," says Mr. Scott, "that any American who has been in the Far East, or in South America, or in Mexico, or in any of the great countries where German competition is now becoming very strong, will agree that in shipping facilities, in banking facilities, in social touch with the customers, Germany is rapidly becoming the leader." This industrial supremacy has developed, not by the military power of the German Government, but by the energy and intelligence of the German people. They must inevitably, we think, begin to realize as the war goes on that they have thrown away a very real and constructive leadership in exchange for a chimerical and destructive ambition.

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*It would be interesting to know whether the Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott, Editor-in-Chief of the evident pro-British "Outlook," really believes that Germany could have accomplished such wonderful progress without her powerful army to protect her from her "friendly" neighbors. In twenty-five years her foreign trade has increased one hundred and eighty-five per cent. "Too many things **'Made in Germany'** are the Briton's grievance against her." Does the Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott join Great Britain in her protest that Germany should not be permitted to build an adequate navy to protect her ever-growing foreign trade? Does the Rev. Doctor believe that if the United States acquired this vast foreign trade of Germany—and to judge from some of the hysterical editorials printed almost daily in the Anglo-American press, this will be an easy matter to accomplish—that this republic would require no additions to its present navy in order to protect its increased commercial interests in distant parts? If she built the additional cruisers and battleships which the United States Government deemed necessary, would the American people permit it if Great Britain tried to prevent such increase because she was mistress of the sea and considered her supremacy challenged? We believe there is only one answer possible to such interference and the American Nation would give it as one man. She would remind Albion to mind her own business. Can the American people claim the right to such a reply and in the same breath deny this right to Germany because she is an empire and not a republic?

Mr. Scott's article, entitled "The German Inspiration,"* contains much of vast interest for the American people that cannot be gleaned from the short extract made by "The Outlook." We believe our readers will appreciate our reproducing the article in full on the following pages. In order that our readers may not get the wrong impression—that an article such as "The German Inspiration" could only have been published in a paper friendly to the cause of Germany in her present struggle against such terrible odds, we shall not omit to state that "The Navy," wherein said article appeared, can certainly not be accused of being pro-German in its sentiments, as the following excerpt from its editorial in the same issue proves:

"It is doubtful if the active interference by Germany was anticipated by the other European powers at the outset. The German Emperor's arrogant attitude has eliminated any possibility, except that of war, and has called into active life the slumbering animosity of the French nation towards Germany."—The Publishers of "War Echoes."

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*The Editor was recently sorely disappointed to find that a part of the proofs of this article had been lost, misplaced or destroyed; it is quite beyond his ability to replace it.—The Editor.

The understanding was that the Nobel Prize committee had about decided to give this year's peace prize to the Kaiser, in recognition of his supposed efforts to avert a general European war at the time the Balkan war was in progress, but his name has been taken off the list. Now it is a question whether the prize should go to President Wilson for his handling of the Mexican situation, or to Sec. Bryan for his 20-odd peace treaties. The announcement of the award will not be made until December, and perhaps the President may do some more peace-making before then. From "The Boston Globe."

By arresting all German residents Jamaica injects a little ginger into the situation.—From the "St. Louis Globe-Democrat," August 18, 1914.

BISMARCK ON THE PURPOSE AND POLICY OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

The Fatherland, New York.
Dr. Julius Goebel.

In view of the awful designs upon the map of Europe, upon the Monroe Doctrine, and upon the world in general which are attributed to Emperor William by frightened Englishmen and their faithful echo, our American newspaper writers, in case Germany should be successful in the present war, it may be well to recall what Bismarck said concerning the true purpose and policy of the German Empire. The passage I quote in the following is taken from the "Reflections and Reminiscences" of Prince Bismarck, a book which may be said to contain his political legacy and his parting advice to the German people. While in the eyes of the Anglomaniacs among our journalists the words of the arch foe of English supremacy will not have the weight of the prognostications of political soothsayers such as Asquith and Grey, they will, nevertheless, be pleased to learn that Lord Palmerton used to say of Bismarck, "Look out for that man, he means what he says." The passage reads as follows:

If Germany has the advantage that her policy is free from direct interests in the East, on the other side is the disadvantage of the central and exposed position of the German Empire, with its extended frontier which has to be defended on every side, and the ease with which anti-German coalitions are made. At the same time **Germany is perhaps the single Great Power in Europe which is not tempted by any objects which can only be attained by a successful war. It is our interest to maintain peace, while without exception our continental neighbors have wishes either secret or officially avowed which cannot be fulfilled except by war. We must direct our policy in accordance with these facts—that is, we must do our best to prevent war or to limit it.** We must reserve our hand, not allow ourselves before the proper time to be pushed out of a waiting into an active attitude by any impatience, by the desire to oblige others at the expense of the country, by vanity or other provocation of this kind, otherwise **plectuneur Achivi.**

Our non-interference cannot reasonably be directed to sparing our forces so as, after the others have weakened themselves, to fall upon any of our neighbors or a possible opponent. On the contrary, **we ought to do all we can to weaken the bad feeling which has been called out through our growth to the position of a real Great Power, by honorable and peaceful use of our influence, and so convince the world that a German hegemony in Europe is more useful and less partisan and also less harmful for the freedom of others than that of Russia, France or England.** That respect for the rights of other states in which France especially has always been so wanting at the time of her supremacy, and which in England lasts only so long as English interests are not touched, is made easy for the German Empire and its policy, on the one side owing to the practicality of the German character, on the other by the fact (which has nothing to do with our desserts) that we do not require an increase in our immediate territory, and also that we could not attain it without strengthening the centrifugal elements in our territory. **It has always been my ideal aim, after we had established our unity within the possible limits, to win confidence, not only of the smaller European states, but also of the Great Powers, and to convince them that German policy will be just and peaceful, now that it has repaired the injuris temporum, the disintegration of the nation.**

In order to produce this confidence it is above everything necessery that we should be honorable, open and easily reconciled in case of friction or untoward events. I have followed this recipe not without some personal reluctance in cases like that of Schnaebles (April, 1887). Boulanger, Kauffman (September, 1887), as toward Spain in the question of the Caroline Islands, towards the United States in that of Samoa, and I imagine that in the future opportunities will not be wanting of showing that we are appeased and peaceful. During the time that I was in office I advised three wars, the Danish, the Bohemian, and the French, but every time I first made myself clear whether the war, if it were successful, would bring a prize of victory worth the sacrifices which every war requires, and which are now so much greater than in the last century. Had I to say to myself that if after one of these wars, we should find some diffi-

EMPEROR WILLIAM II

A recent picture of the Kaiser leaving the palace to review the German troops

(Copyright by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.)

(From "The Chicago Tribune," October 23, 1914)

culty in discovering conditions of peace which were desirable, I should scarcely have convinced myself of the necessity for these sacrifices as long as we were not actually attacked. I have never looked at international quarrels which can only be settled by a national war, from the point of view of the Goettingen student code of honor which governs a private duel, but **I have always considered simply their reaction on the claim of the German people in equality with other great states and Powers of Europe, to lead to autonomous political life, so far as it is possible on the basis of our peculiar national capacity.**

GERMANY'S PLACE IN THE SUN.

By Benjamin Ide Wheeler, President of the University of California.

(Dr. Wheeler is one of the foremost educators of the day, and a scientist of international repute. He has a complete and comprehensive knowledge of conditions in Germany. His statement as it appears below is one of the most important contributions yet made by an American on the Great Conflict.)

We who love the old German Fatherland recognize the unextinguishable debt which we as individuals, and with us the entire world of civilization, owe to it for the enrichment and liberation of our single lives and of the whole community life of man upon the globe. In the face of tidings of distress and death we join together at the call of the land's Chief Magistrate to lift our hearts in prayer, unspoken or expressed, that swift honorable issue may be found out of that strife, which sweeping across the pleasant places of man's abode, stirs hatred in the hearts of those who should be brothers, and threatens, if prolonged, to annihilate the accumulated stores of Christendom, both as to ideals and as to goods, and leave the European world a desert.

Each of us has his own experience and ties which make Germany for him what it is; I must as an individual speak and fast and pray out of the store of my own experience. These began with the new Germany just issuing forth out of the readjustments of 1870-71, and undertaken to give shelter and provide security and dignity to the life of those who inherited German traditions and German speech; and to hold the map of central Europe in fixity and order by the erection of a German Empire guaranteed by unity of power.

I came to know it first as a Germany of ideas and intellectual aspirations, a spiritual Germany, the Germany which taught the world philosophy and music, philology and theology, law and government, the history of art, the natural sciences and their application to the industrial arts, and withal the use of the methods of science in every field of human endeavor.

The Germany I knew first was the Germany of the universities. I sat on the benches of Leipzig, Jena, Heidelberg and Berlin and listened to the patient unfolding of ordered knowledge from the lips of Curtius Zarncke, Lange and Brugmann at Leipzig; Osthoff, Wachsmuth, and the inimitable Kuno Fischer at Heidelberg; Delbrück, Haeckel and Kluge at Jena; Scherer, Kirchhoff and Freitschke and Schmidt at Berlin; but better, wandered over the hills of Jena and Heidelberg, up to the Forst and down the valley of Kunitz, up the Neckar, and over the Königstuhl in company with one or another of these men, communing by the way over things of the spirit, and learning to know from Germany and her men what it means to stand on the frontiers of the known, to study at first hand, to think independently, and above all, having done this, to teach "with authority"—not the authority of a stamped and well-engrossed diploma, but with the authority of independent knowledge—to "teach with authority and not as the scribes." This—which is the real Germany—I saw first, then later the Germany of government, law, order, which made the inner life possible. Every noon as I left the University of Berlin I saw the "old Emperor" standing at his window in the Palace as the guard marched by. Now and again I saw the towering figure of Bismarck. At the autumn manœuvres in Hannover I saw the forty or fifty thousand men pass in faultless review before a group of three on horseback, the old Emperor, the Crown Prince Frederick and von Moltke.

Very different men in outward guise were these trim soldiers from the bent and towsled professors who first interpreted to me Germany, but I came to find out that each group respected the other, and that both went to make up Germany as the whole. Without the professors it were a hollow thing; without soldier and Emperor, without order and defense, it were feeble and poor, crushed between the two jaws of the vise, Russia and France, the Slav and the Roman.

Now within the last four years by the chance of three visits I have renewed, after an interval of a quarter century, my acquaintance with the land and its people. Forty years of peace guaranteed by soldier and government had given full rein to patient industry and scientific orderliness, and brought to high fruitage the alliance of shop and laboratory.

For twenty-five years and more the present Emperor has actively sustained and administered the prosperous peace begotten of the union between science and competent power. He understands both and the mechanisms by which both exist.

A few days before the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession, early in June, 1913, I spent a memorable evening with him at Potsdam. After supper in the garden for two hours we walked up and down in the dark on the roadway behind the palace. He talked about many things, but most about the experiences and fruits of the twenty-five years, and some about problems and apprehensions for the future. Of all the achievements of his reign he valued highest the maintenance of peace. Next came the development of Germany's industries and the provision of a market for their products; then came the fine arts, and particularly architecture, as shown in the great number of new and splendid structures which had arisen in recent years, not only public buildings, but private houses, mercantile buildings, and all connected with the creation of new and distinctively German styles. Then he mentioned Germany's leadership in world-wide scientific exploration, such as archæological excavations, etc., and her influence spread abroad throughout the world in such idealistic fields as music and education. Germany, he said, did not need colonies founded on the possession of sovereignty; it was too late for that. What Germany needed was assurance of permanency for her trade relations so that her manufactured wares might find markets. This was to be made secure by a navy. Force must be available for crimes, but the real empire which Germany was to assert in the world must inhere in the prestige, respect, and influence which were won for her in the eyes of the world by her achievements in art, education, music, medicine, and the like. Germany's well-being was peculiarly dependent on peace, because war would immediately close to her all her markets, widely distributed over the world. Under no conditions must she think of increasing her territory in Europe. She wanted no more "sore frontiers." She had three already. Nothing but trouble could come of such conditions. Germany must have loyal frontiers. It must be a homogeneous body standing firm in the middle of Europe persistent to keep the peace.

The war which all have dreaded for years has come. No man knows what will be the issue of it. At the best it is fraught with disaster and distress

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ATTACK BY SLANDER.

Editorial in The Chicago Tribune, August 12, 1914.

Misrepresentation of an enemy's character by false reports of outrages committed by his forces is an old habit of war. It inflames hatred and keeps it alive. It increases passion and makes the demand for revenge impulsive. If a nation has gone to war cold, it can be aroused to what is regarded as a fighting spirit by tales of cruelties inflicted upon its innocent countrymen having the misfortune to fall into the enemy's hands.

Furthermore, war not only loosens the thousand tongues of rumor, but it opens the thousand ears of prejudice. Little that fiction can invent is incredible.

The basest of men in the breaking down of everything except military control find opportunity for hideous acts. They may be in uniform or not. Life is apt to seem to have a normal value of zero.

When opportunity is opened for an irruption of ruffianism and when nations are ready to receive, exaggerate, and believe the worst that can be told of the enemy's action, it is not astonishing that stories of cruelty get general circulation.

With respect to so much of these narratives as may be true, it should be remembered with what difficulty in an otherwise peaceful American city an outbreak of savagery is prevented in a great strike.

With respect to the rest it may be regarded as a habit, if not the policy of war.

for Europe and for that matter all the world. Whoever is responsible for bringing it about or letting it come about bears before the high court of humanity a heavy indictment. History will unerringly assign its verdict. Some day all men will know who it was and what it was. But whoever it was and whatever it was, and however the blame may be apportioned among the various men and organizations of men, this much can now be asserted beyond the shadow of a doubt: the war came about against the interests, against the desires, and against the efforts of the German Kaiser.—The Fatherland.

GERMAN CHARACTER.

The Vital Issue.

German names in courts are low. The Germans are not of a quarrelsome disposition. They are honest, upright, and fair. Could the cousins of these German-Americans in Germany be so murderous and so barbarous as some of the newspapers have painted them? Of course not! They are just as peaceful there, as they are here.

Perhaps you despise German authority. On what then do you base your feeling? The German Government is fair, just, and orderly. It is a Constitutional, not a Despotic Government. It is not suppressive. Compare the German authority over the self-government of Bavaria, or of Baden, or of Alsace, or of any German state with the tyrannic and underhanded English methods in Ireland and with the famines in India. Compare German education and German free thought with the creeping and sneaking British influence in Egypt. After a thorough analysis, your dislike for the German government becomes entirely unwarranted. You were uninformed or misinformed.

You may have a peculiar notion of German aggression? Is there any basis for this belief? Of course, the Germans want to live, and I suppose you will grant them the right to live. Aggression? Show me German aggression, or unreasonable aggression! Progress they make, and that is God's command. If they become too aggressive, too mighty, it will be then time to check them. But to condemn them, because of an imaginary fear is certainly not fair, especially when this fear is systematically instigated by an enemy.

The history of the world has proved, and it is shown everywhere throughout nature, that individuals, businesses, trusts, and nations will rise to a certain height. Then they break down by their own weight.

Why not, on the other hand, investigate British and Russian policies and methods? Here you will find many reasons for fear and disdain.

Great Britain has grabbed all the available lands throughout the world for the last two hundred years. They have taken India from the Indians. They took North America from the Dutch and from the French. In a sneaking fashion they occupied Egypt. They snatched the Sudan from the French. They killed the Orange Free State because of gold. They annexed Transvaal and killed thousands of Boer women and children because of diamonds. Australia is controlled by them. Free Canadians are under British influence. The Irish have been suppressed. Free farmers are unknown in England. With whom would you rather deal: with a low type, arrogant English money-lord or Landlord, or with a frank and just German or the German Government, which insures every workman against death, accident, and sickness, with its system of schools, with its tolerance for all religions, with even justice for rich and poor?

I suppose you know that the British Government has for generations conducted a systematic campaign of slander and has systematically influenced the press of various countries. During the Boer War it had a special press bureau in America, and it is working now in London and all over America to poison the public opinion of America and Canada. The British Government has always worked in the dark. Do you think that you should lend a helping hand to such secret work? Should you forfeit yourself, your independence, and your newspaper to the British?

The British press has lied so much that untold volumes could be written on this subject. A striking example is distortion of the Belgian Neutrality question. There is no neutrality treaty at all. But the British press printed wrong information on this subject and unfortunately the American press reprinted it throughout the country. It inflamed public opinion against Germany without a real cause. With the help of a few corrupt members of the press, the work of the conspirators has succeeded. Have you been duped?

Perhaps the Germans have committed some acts which have not appealed to you, but clearly they are not as rapacious, as aggressive, or as greedy as the British. This is clearly proved by two strong facts.

First, because England attacked Germany only when she was fighting an enemy on the East and on the West. No fair sportsman, no man of courage, no man of character, would have attacked even his worst enemy, when he is battling with two assailants. The declaration of war by the British against Germany is not a praiseworthy or courageous act, no matter what the cause may be.

England gives "humanity and civilization" as a pretext for declaring war, but in reality nothing but vile greed is the cause. Or else how could "humane and civilized England" fight with the despotic and barbarous Russians.

But in the heat of argument we must not overlook the most important and the strongest points. The English Government invited and incited the Japanese to declare war against Germany and today the proud Englishman is fighting in China side by side with the yellow men to kill his German cousins. What a terrible mistake by a misguided British Government! It should also be remembered that the French have brought the black men and the Turcos from Africa to fight the Germans.

But not enough! Today there are passing through Canada shiploads and trainloads of peaceful Hindus. Every honorable Canadian is revolting against this British crime. Whilst they are powerless now, the Canadians will never forget this British infamy. It is offensive to the ideals of every American to know that thousands of Asiatics are shipped over this continent to fight and kill our brothers in Europe.

These poor men from a warm, tropical climate will die by the thousands, like flies do in the cold weather. Chills, cold and pneumonia will kill more of these innocent men than cannon balls. This is a crime of ages! Never before has a more infamous crime been committed than this shameful deed. Never in all history, as far as man's memory goes back, has a meaner crime been committed by any nation and these sorrowful facts far over-shadow in importance any of the smaller occurrences in this great upheaval. A crime has been committed against the whole White Race!

Are you, Mr. Editor, lending your active, passive, or moral support to such a band of criminals?

We hope not. It goes against your conscience.

FRANCIS J. L. DORL.

New York, Oct. 2.

This editorial in "The Vital Issue" was accompanied by the following note:

"Dear Reader: In order to bring this article to the notice of a large number of newspapers, especially those under British influence, we request you to forward this article at once to the editor of a paper in your section. If you do not wish to mutilate this copy, we will be glad to send you reprints of this article at the rate of three reprints for five cents."

We also copy from the editorial page of "The Vital Issue" for October 10, 1914, the following information:

"THE VITAL ISSUE can be obtained from any newsdealer in the U. S. or through the American News Co., New York City.

DESERVE HONORARY MENTION.

From "The Fatherland," New York, October 7, 1914.

The Milwaukee "Free Press," the Toledo "Blade," the Boston "Traveler" and "The Chicago Tribune" among others are pre-eminently fair in their presentation of war news and deserve honorary mention and support from all lovers of fair play. Among the weeklies, the "Literary Digest" has constantly given the German side a square deal. The "Saturday Evening Post" has also been fair. But "Collier's" is conspicuous for its prejudiced and tainted attitude. The unfairness of this publication should be remembered by every lover of the fatherland and of fair play.

The German crown prince has established headquarters near Verdun. This is the same crown prince who was killed last week by a British censor.—From "The Chicago Evening Post," September 12, 1914.

BRITISH BLUFF ON RECALL OF TRADE.

By Charles A. Collman.

We've all been entertained during the last few weeks by the announcements of our English "cousins" that the British Empire has placed a boycott on German goods. The fact is proclaimed with a stolid air of finality, as though it were a pronouncement of the death of German trade. The boycott is one of the few British inventions. It has always had an ugly sound to American ears. We have prohibited it by Federal law, and rightly, for it is a most foolish weapon that cuts both ways. The trade between the British and German empires approximates $1,000,000,000 a year. No modern State or aggregation of States could survive the loss of a business of such magnitued. Should England end her trade with Germany she would inevitably affix the seal to her own bankruptcy. Well may the hard headed British merchant cringe under the indiscretion of the British press bureau.

When English newspaper writers gloat over the statements that Great Britain and her colonies will no longer buy from Germans, they ignore the consequence, that, pari passu, the Germans will no longer buy from them. Germany, as official records show, imported from the British Empire during the year ended December 31, 1912, more than $527,000,000 worth of goods. She sold to that country and her colonies $385,000,000 worth of German goods. The balance in favor of the British was $142,000,000. The trade figures for the succeeding years are much larger. It is useless for the British to plead that Germany's purchases are mostly in the shape of agricultural or mining products. There will be no other customer in sight when her buying stops. This truth has been unpleasantly emphasized in our cotton trade. What purchasers are available for the millions of bales heretofore taken by England, Germany or France? The sole resource of our suffering cotton growers is to decrease their future acreage.

The outbursts of English correspondents may delude some of our countrymen, but the American business man had better see to it that he is not misled by the suggestions of his most hostile competitors—the English. Germany is our third best customer. Our trade with her is worth more than $520,000,000 a year. Should Germany be wiped out we would lose a customer that buys from us above $331,000,000 worth of goods and produce yearly, a catastrophe that our trades and industries could not well survive.

But trade is not a matter of picking and choosing customers, of prejudice against some, of friendship for others. Racial likings do not influence foreign trade. Trade follows the same biological laws that govern human development. Contiguity plays a predominating part in international commerce. The French have little love for the Germans, yet in 1912 they bought from them $173,000,000 worth of goods. Russia in the same year sold to the Germans $382,000,000 in produce. Who would buy it from her should the German buying cease? We Americans may well bestow some pitying smiles on the pretentions of the 45,000,000 inhabitants of the British Isles. They assert that the suyremacy of the seas is to them a holy duty. But to them the ambition of the 120,000,000 German speaking races in Central Europe to assert the hegemony of the continent, is an awful crime. Outnumbered in population three to one, the 45,000,000 English say to the 120,000,000 Germans: "We shall no longer buy from you."

It is laughable, for whatever befalls, the English, the Germans and the Austrians must remain in Europe to the end of human time. There is no escape for them. They must trade with one another or perish. If the English bankrupt the Germans and the Austrians, Great Britain, the creditor nation, goes thundering down into a bankruptcy from which she ma ynever rise again. Should the Allies conquer the Germans they ruin themselves, for Germany has no wealth in lands or colonies to reward them for their expenditures in blood or money. Her wealth lies solely in the productivity of her people.—Reprinted from the **"News of the War in Europe," which are published 2 or 3 times weekly by "The Fatherland," New York.**

ANDREW CARNEGIE PRAISES KAISER.

From "The Vital Issue," New York, October 10, 1914.

Andrew Carnegie arrived on the Cunarder Mauretania on September 25th, and gave an interview highly favorable to the German Emperor. He praised him as "Peace Lord."

Mr. Carnegie is reported to have said: "I have known the German Emperor personally for years. I have met him many times in Berlin and on his yacht. Because of my personal acquaintance, I think I know something about the man and his character."

"It is not the Kaiser who brought on this war, but probably the Military Clique who imagine that they are in office for life. England is not fighting German scientists, German artists, German philosophers, but militarism. During the Kaiser's absence the Military Council acted, and I believe that the Kaiser himself was the most sorrowful man in the world when he realized that the war could not be avoided."

Mr. Carnegie continued that "the present German Kaiser had done more for Germany than any other Emperor. When he succeeded his father he found Germany undeveloped (a New York paper reports that Mr. Carnegie said 'uncivilized,' but in all probability he said undeveloped) and it is he who built it up."

"He has advanced German culture, and under him Germany has had 27 years of peace. I am of the opinion that there would have been no war, if the Emperor had been in Berlin."

"I do not consider the German Emperor to be only a great man, but I know him to be a good man. I pity him with all my heart, because I know that he feels with intense sorrow that the war has broken out. There are many indications that the German Emperor is a peaceful man. For instance: Years ago there were over 120 duels a year amongst army officers. The Kaiser mentioned his dislike against duels, and advocated a law against it. Now there are only 10 duels a year. The Emperor is a much broader man and much more religious and much more tolerant than is commonly known. Numerous laws in the army for greater tolerance and freedom originated from him."

A FRENCH VIEW OF "KULTUR."

Reprinted by Courtesy of The New Republic, March 27, 1915.

I am not one of those who deny it [German culture—*Translator*] and refuse it a place in the evolution of European civilization, but I am one of those who have always refused to recognize its supremacy. To speak the truth, I must admit that I have never accorded to any people of Europe or America an absolute supremacy from the point of view of civilization. In that part of the world which was anciently known as Christendom there is only one civilization in which all men participate more or less. The Germans, however, give a special significance to their "kultur," which closely resembles what we should call "national education," and in this sense "kultur" is really the sum of the natural or acquired qualities proper to a German. The Manifesto of the German intellectuals showed to what an extent the German professors, savants, artists and writers were proud of their specialized culture, and to what an extent they boasted of remaining loyal to it even when it had led to acts condemned as much by other and even neutral nations, as the massacres of Dinant, the destruction of Louvain, and the general violation and ravaging of Belgium. The power of this "kultur" is as undeniable as its legitimacy is suspect. But it has no *rapport* with civilization, to which it is clearly opposed. While "culture," in the European sense, in the general acceptation of the word, is the effort of peoples and of individuals toward an objective sentiment of good and evil, "kultur" is a German effort towards a subjective sentiment of German good and German evil. At least that is what I have gathered from all the discussions on this question. But the Germans have not wholly succeeded in isolating themselves in their pride. They have a great deal of vanity, and they have never renounced their place —which they desired to be the first place—in general civilization. They have even imagined that they had conquered this first place, and we have seen their intellectuals proving on this point the naïveté of their infatuation. Let us consider this general civilization, and note what sort of figure is cut therein by the German genius. The German genius was a Romantic product, and Romanticism implied liberty

and fantasy. With the union of the empire liberty has disappeared, and with the disappearance of the consciousness of higher destinies we have seen the traditional German fantasy—the fantasy of a Goethe—vanish from every sort of activity. Little by little the genius of Germany has become disciplined, serious, unanimous, mechanical. But it has not always been so. This transformation is recent. Before they became the prey of the mad pride which has consumed their sensibility, the Germans lived and thought like men. They have notably participated in universal civilization. I will take Frederic Nietzsche as an example.

This was before their great victories of 1870-71. A few minds, formed, like that of Nietzsche, in an earlier time, developed after that period, and through them the old German influence is perpetuated through the world. Nietzsche is still a Romantic; one might say that he is the most Romantic of the Germans. His philosophic conceptions were not addressed to Germany, which, moreover, was unable to understand them. He wrote for all humanity. His influence in the world only began when his ideas, translated into French, became accessible to those who shared in French civilization. He fully realized this. German thought has no influence outside of Germany, has no interest except for German brains. As he desired to speak to other men he attempted more than once to get his works translated into French. That was the object of his negotiations with Taine. They were only successful after his intellectual death, and the name of Nietzsche only became universal at that moment, which, as it happened, was also the moment when the Germans began to believe that their recent wholly material victories had given them the right to the intellectual domination of the whole world. Nietzsche had no part in this great German madness nor had he in any way prepared it. His imagination soared above good and evil, and his imaginations were not the imaginations of a German but of a demigod. To measure the distance which separates his ideas from those of Herr Ostwald—who is a chemist and a philosopher as Nietzsche was a philologist and a philosopher—we must remember that Nietzsche, the theoretician of the Superman, desired the growth of the individual beyond the laws of Christianity, and that Herr Ostwald, the theoretician of Energy, desires the growth of the energy of the German masses with a view to *(en vue de)* German discipline, German power and German domination. Ostwald's ideas are as opposed to those of Nietzsche as a political thesis is opposed to a conception of the mind. Ostwald himself has commented on his theories in a recent publication which the University of Leipzig has hastened to disavow, on account of the misfortunes of the times. How the University would have approved it if force had conquered at the first blow!

Nietzsche should not be considered as part of modern Germany. By his education, by the turn of his mind—which was purely speculative—he belonged frankly to a period of Germany when the true modern German spirit—all arrogance and national egoism—had not yet blossomed forth. Nietzsche can be read without one noticing that he was a German, except by the obscure turn given to certain phrases. Nietzsche himself boasted that he was a European. One of his favorite phrases is, "We good Europeans." He was absolutely above the German national idea. He needed a larger and certainly a freer country. Zarathustra had to have a romantic country. He would have been stifled in the country which has been created by modern German ideas, the ideas which grew up after the victories of 1870-71, and which developed in the following years. But Nietzsche was already intellectually dead when these ideas suddenly and unexpectedly developed, and when the Germans, departing from European civilization, shut themselves up in their national culture. He could write no longer, and nothing that he had written was marked with the seal of German egoism. He is the last German who frankly belonged to European civilization.

It has been said, a little inconsiderately, I think that Nietzsche was one of the educators of William II. In any event the latter has profited very ill by his lessons, for Nietzsche preached to men not a domination over their fellows but a domination over themselves. We must remember the portrait he sketched of the true philosopher, of the philosopher of modern times; we must reflect on what strength of soul and even abnegation this must have cost him. He demands this also of those who wish to control their fellows, and never, even in his most brutal pages, does one find any eulogy of force pure and simple. Because he distinguishes between the morality of slaves and of masters we must not conclude that he recognized the right to dominate in those who possess nothing but brute strength. This admirer of the Renaissance knew that the breastplate of the *condottiere* was composed of many imponderable elements, and he knew that to dominate men requires more than a belief in the sword. But the directors of German thought have acquired the habit of taking to themselves all the writers of old and new Germany, and making them say whatever is needed in favor of their thesis. It is quite possible that William II has read Nietzsche upside down, and that the mystic counsel, "Be hard!" has been read by him in the letter as an incitement to cruelty. One might really advance the theory.

It still remains, however, that for me, at least, Nietzsche, far from incarnating certain tendencies of imperialism and of German culture, is strongly opposed to them. He represents a totally different kind of civilization—the civilization which started with the Greeks and which unites the French, or, to be less particularist, the Europeans of the twentieth century. Has he not laughed at this very "kultur" of which he is supposed to be one of the founders? The man who wept at the news of the bombardment of Paris cannot by any audacity be implicated in the approbation at the destruction of Louvain!

REMY DE GOURMONT.

—Translated by Richard Aldington.

German Militarism and the Evolution of the Empire

NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS.

Editorial, The Chicago Tribune.

Mr. H. G. Wells continues to be the most earnest and most rhapsodic of Englishmen with leave to print. He supplies half the opinion we get from Europe and his supplies are interesting. In this emergency he is an unashamed child of emotion, and as such is able to make the convenient jump over everything intervening and arrive at eventualities. The hurdle is a possible 200,000 corpses, but Mr. Wells, a seer immersed in ink, already is at the peace conference, seated and waiting for the other commissioners to come up.

As the inspired prophet of the one-way-looking English middle class, Mr. Wells has two ideas, one inconsiderate and the other noble. One is anti-Prussian; the one is pro-national.

If Mr. Wells would go out and kick an English brewer every time he wants to kick a Prussian lieutenant or drill sergeant, he might spread the manifestations of his wrath impartially.

What is Prussia? It is the state which gathered the German Empire into being and made it immune from wars except of its own choosing? One hundred years ago dismembered Germany was the convenient alley into which nations went when they had something to settle. It is all very well for peaceable Bavaria to sit over a stein of beer and consider philosophically the state of the universe, but the power which gave security to German meditation was the military power which had its yeast in Prussia.[1]

That this led to overdevelopment need not be questioned. The Prussian became obnoxious. The feeling has disappeared in the press of war, but the Prussian, until a month ago, was as little liked by his fellow Germans as a Russian. The lieutenant and the non-commissioned did become a menace to European stability, agents of a military oligarchy, crude, big chested enemies of civil life, but to let criticism of them and of their order go galloping without thinking is unintelligent.

[1]Emphasized in bold type by the publisher of "War Echoes."

Militant Prussia put the German Empire on the map, and that was a good thing. It brought hesitant states together. It made an empire. Mr. Wells' indignation against militancy considers only its extreme aspects and ignores its good products.

In the making of this and other empires nationalities were submerged, and that was a bad thing. Whatever there is in Schleswig-Holstein that is Danish, and restless to have Danish national consciousness restored, is maltreated by submersion in the German people. The Polish nation is one that ought to be alive. If Lorraine and Alsace in national consciousness are French, they ought to have the tricolor. The Slavs of Austria-Hungary ought to have racial and national expression. Thus through all Europe.

National consciousness, which in times of danger flares up and is called patriotism, is a part of the spiritual life of people. It is a part of the life separate from three meals and eight hours' sleep. It is a sacred thing if men are not to be hideously materialistic.

Germany is not the one nation in Europe to extinguish it or to try to extinguish it in subject peoples. **Does Mr. Wells propose that the Bengalis[2] of the Indian empire, a people hopelessly reaching after independence, be granted the national existence he asks for the Slavs in Austria?[1]**

Switzerland is happier than Poland. Europe would be better divided on nationalistic lines. Whether it would be more stable or not is another matter. Mr. Wells' convictions are profound, but may not be final.[3]

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[2]"The Chicago Tribune" "overlooked" to add: The Irish, the Boers, the Finns, the Persians, the Egyptians, etc.—The Publisher of "War Echoes."

[3]What the true Mr. Wells REALLY thought before his utterances were biased by the present war, our readers will find quoted on this page in the article, "Mr. Wells on Germany." And as it is impossible that the United States should ever permit any part of its states to be taken, thus it is impossible that Germany would ever permit any part of Prussia to be taken by Russia. Nothing would suit, of course, England any better than to have Germany divided again, so that either France or Russia could "stamp it into the mud." But "der deutsche Michel" is not the old fool any longer to permit his country to be used as the battleground of Europe as of old. The blood boils in us "barbarians" of German descent when we read what the enemies of Germany would like to accomplish. But as long as there will be a German left to defend the Fatherland, Mr. Wells' "New Map of Europe" is only possible in the imagination of that type of bigotted Englishmen who consider themselves the lords of creation.

"The German 'Michel' knows, and will forever remember, that allied with Russia on his eastern frontier, he has an enemy on his west, from whom he has suffered as no other civilized people have suffered at the hands of enemies. He knows the story of the wars of Napoleon, of the invasions of Louis XIV., who cut off with the sword German-speaking Alsace and Lorraine from the German body, of the Thirty Years' War, and all the rest of them; how his cities have been destroyed by the invader, mainly by the French and the Russian, or his hirelings and allies. He knows how they ravaged his country again and again, and actually, literally, cut the population of Germany in half, stamped it into the mud. Try to get the perspective. Picture a score of your finest American cities wiped out, not merely that the houses were destroyed, but that every man. woman and child within those places had perished, and this in not some distant past, but so near to you that your great-grandfather could have told you the story, having got it from the mouths of those who witnessed it.

"Of course, you cannot conceive, no man can conceive, what the destruction of ten million human beings means. Yet by that number of beings was the population of Germany decreased during these wars. A state as populous as England when Queen Victoria came to the throne was in one war reduced to the population of Holland. What has any civilized country to compare with this, to set beside it? When, indeed, has any civilized nation had to watch vast uncounted multitudes of its women and children driven forth homeless, their corpses massed in the country roads, with grass in their mouths, the only food the invader had left? And these same invaders, who have poured in devastating floods over our land today, boast that again they will invade us if and when they can. I say boast. Can you find me one French public man who will say that France should abandon the hope of attacking us? It is their declared, their overt policy."

It would seem, therefore, that Mr. Wells' convictions are not profound and CANNOT be accepted as final, even if accepted as such by "The Chicago Tribune."—The Publisher of "War Echoes."

SUTRO ASKS AMERICANS TO BE STRICTLY NEUTRAL.

By Theodore Sutro, Editor of the New York German Journal.

Among the leading nations of the world Germany is the only one that has had no war for the last forty-four years.

Russia and Japan were fighting only a few years ago. Previous to that Japan had her war with China, and Russia her war with Turkey.

France and Italy had their wars in Northern Africa. England had her struggle with the Boers.

The United States and Spain were at war in 1898. Portugal had a civil war. Chile and Peru had their war. There was a civil strife in Brazil.

Bulgaria, Servia and Greece have been at war more than once. So has little Montenegro. Austria-Hungary had the occupation of Bosnia. Mexico has been one large battlefield for over a year.

Germany, alone, among the big nations of the world, has kept peace for forty-four years. And for twenty-six out of these forty-four years a so-called war lord has been the emperor of Germany.

England, France and Russia charge Germany with having started a great European war. Germany denies having been the aggressor.

History will Decide.

History will decide this point, and in the meantime it behooves Americans to reserve their judgment.

GERMAN SOLDIERS RESPECT WOMEN.

High Tribute Paid Them by a French Writer Who Served in 1870-1871.

From "The Fatherland."

The complaint that the reports of German acts of violence in the enemy's country are intended to serve the purpose of prejudicing public opinion in neutral countries, is borne out by the frequent testimony of unbiased witnesses to the good behavior of German soldiers in Belgium, in France, particularly their respect for women and children. The Germans have not changed their character since 1870. Two years after the war, the French writer, G. Monnod, published a book under the title of "Germans ana French. Recollections of the War." The following extract from the work is characteristic:

"The most remarkable feature of the war is the respect in which women were held by the Germans; it is a national trait and one source of the strength of the German nation. Isolated cases of crime may have occurred, but during the seven months covering my experience in the field I witnessed not a single instance nor heard of one authentic case.

"On the contrary, I invariably saw them treat women with exceptional courtesy to an extent that excited the astonishment of the French soldiers. 'We would not have acted like that,' I frequently heard them say. From the very first day the children made friends with the Germans. When there was nothing to eat at home, and grief was expressed on account of the children, the whole family was sure of being provisioned by the Germans. The soldiers played with the children, walked with them, learned French from them, and more than once the presence of children in a house made friends of enemies. Beyond all others, the most polite were the Brandenburgers, Saxons, Hannovarians, Rhinelanders, and Schleswig-Holsteiners."

This is the testimony of a Frenchman in a work which at the time of its appearance was extremely popular. Is it likely that the German soldiers of 1914-15 are different from those of 1870-1871?

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GERMAN MILITARISM.

By George Stuart Fullerton, Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University.

We need to remind ourselves that militarism is not peculiarly German. The German army does not compare in size with that of Russia, and it must be confessed by all that it has been, for nearly half a century a very peaceful force. Since its struggle with France forty-four years ago, Germany has kept the peace with all nations, in spite of her militarism. During this period the Russian army has constantly been used as weapon of aggression, Russia's last great war—that with her present ally Japan—being brought about by the seizure of Chinese territory to which she had no other claim than the desire to possess it. Russia's invasion of the territories surrounding her can only be compared to the inundations caused by a rising tide. She is always aggressive, and it needs a strong bulwark to hold her back.

French Militarism.

Nor is France without an army. She has, in fact, an army approximately equal to that of Germany, and yet her population is less than two-thirds as great, and her geographical position is a more fortunate one, for she can be effectively attacked by land on only one side. Each Frenchman has to pay a higher price for the luxury of having an army and navy than does each German. He pays less than does the Englishman for the same luxury, but the burden is great, nevertheless. And if we use the term "militarism" to indicate, not the existence of a great army, but the presence of a warlike spirit, we must surely recognize that public opinion in France has been for decades vastly more militaristic than in Germany. The latter nation has had no desire to attack France, whereas the present-day Frenchman has been brought up to cherish the thought of a revenge to be attained with the cooperation of Russia.

Of Japanese militarism we need hardly speak. No nation has threatened the independence or any vital interest of Japan. Japan has started out upon a predatory expedition, and the alliance with England leaves her free to help herself, in the Pacific, to pretty much what she pleases. How far English-Japanese control of the Pacific can be made compatible with the interests of the United States remains to be discovered.

British Militarism.

Finally, what shall we say of British militarism? Here let us use a new word. A man may defend himself with a knife, with a revolver, or with some other weapon. And he may justly be regarded as aggressive if he attacks his neighbors, whether near or remote, with any weapon he regards as most convenient and most effective. The English are a practical people, and they have provided themselves most abundantly with the weapons which they find that they can use most effectively. In other words, England has cultivated "navalism" as no other nation has cultivated it, and that for generations past. We are all so accustomed to this phenomenon that it excites little comment even among those who declaim against militarism. That a little island off the coast of Europe should be able to hold in subjection vast populations in Asia, and, entering into an alliance with an Asiatic power which has also, in quite recent years, embarked upon a career of navalism, should dictate to other nations the terms upon which men may be allowed to live and to trade in the Pacific, appears to be taken rather as a matter of course. It is perhaps natural that there should not appear in the British journals, along with the many articles against militarism, fervent protests against navalism, a means of aggression even more dangerous to the world at large; but it is a little surprising that, since Japan has come upon the stage, more should not be heard upon the subject in America. No man in his senses would maintain that navalism differs from militarism in being only a weapon of defence. The British Empire was not built up by a fleet that confined itself to patrolling the coast of England, nor did the Japanese take Corea by staying at home and defending their own ports.

Militarism, or its equivalent, is not, then, the exclusive property of Germany. Other nations may be accused of being even greater sinners in this regard. Nevertheless, there is militarism in Germany, and it is of interest to us Americans to hear how the German defends its presence. Does he regard it as an evil, and, if not, why not? Suppose that we let him speak for himself, reserving our own judgment upon the subject.

Americans who have come much in contact with educated and intelligent Germans have heard the reason as follows: "Why in the world should we, above other peoples, be asked to deprive ourselves of a means of defence that seems to us essential to our welfare, and even to our national existence? We have shown abundantly that we wish to be allowed to carry on our industries in peace. But our great neighbor to the north is not so civilized that it regards a state of war with abhorrence. In fact it is always at war with someone, and it is a constant menace to us. Our neighbor to the west is civilized, but is embittered, and has for a generation made no secret of a hostile intent. The private person who lives between two hostile families may appeal to the police to keep them in order. But where is the police to whom Germany may appeal to compel Russia to be civilized and France to be peaceable? There exists as yet no such police.

"Moreover, we beg you to remember that the real reason of the outcry which has been raised over our militarism is not that we have maintained an army, but rather that we have built a fleet. A nation not menaced as we are, and which, hence, has only wanted enough of an army to hold in subjection nations which it has conquered in various parts of the earth, has filled the world with clamor because we have built a fleet about half as big as its own. It does not want other nations to sail to and fro upon the sea as it does, for it regards the sea as its own peculiar property. What we Germans cannot understand is by what reasoning it can be proved that English trade needs to be protected by an English fleet, but that German trade should not be protected by a German fleet at all.

"And, lastly, we beg you to bear in mind that it is not the man to whom a state of peace is peculiarly profitable that seeks pretexts for breaking the peace. During the past forty years Germany has been exceedingly prosperous. The Germans seem especially adapted for the attainment of success by dint of industry and intelligence and along the path of peaceful competition. Would it ever occur to us to undertake the thankless task of invading Russia? As to France, we want the French to be our allies against the uncivilized East. And why should Germany attack England? German trade has, under existing conditions, been overtaking that of England by leaps and bounds, and Germans would like nothing better than a continuance of such peaceful conditions. Peace has not seemed equally profitable to other nations, and that is the real cause of the present terrible war. War is a scourge to us as to other nations, but there is something that would be still worse. That something is the delivery of Germany into the hands of those who would be still worse. That something is the delivery of Germany into the hands of those who would crush her with a view to their own profit."

So much for the German view of German militarism. It is perhaps worth while to remind ourselves that German militarism is by no means all of Germany. Many thousands of us visit Germany every year, and we see a great many soldiers. But those that we see are not soldiers by profession. They are young men who are devoting one or two years to the task of learning how to defend their country in case of need. Soon they will go back to their homes and take up the peaceful occupations that are to fill their lives; Germany's real occupation is not war. Her attention is given to agriculture, manufactures, commerce, education, science, literature, music, painting, and to the working out of a social organization that guarantees to the masses of her population the enjoyment of those goods reserved, in some countries accounted civilized, rather for the few.

In this her real work Germany has been eminently successful. She has served herself, but she has also served the world, as every industrious and really civilized nation must. It does not follow, however, that every nation will thank her for these services. Private interests interfere with universal judgments. Germany's services to the world have not furthered Russia's desire to sweep down on Constantinople. They have not neutralized the Gallic sentiment of revenge. For some they count as "feathers" when weighed in the balance against British commercial interests. The sympathies of men are scarcely to be compelled by general considerations. Nevertheless, we Americans, who have no immediate personal interests at stake, can afford to view the situation with some degree of impartiality. It inspires us with a lively curiosity, and we may well be eager to hear what may be urged by every

party to the great dispute. Arguments that obviously draw their force purely from the self-interest of this or that party, and from no broader consideration, we are in a position to weigh more justly than the parties directly concerned. — The "Continental Times," Berlin.

[Note:—This last sentence seems puzzling; the writer very likely means to say that a disinterested expression is to be valued more highly than an expression coming from self-interest.—Editor.]

"WE SHALL WIN!" SAYS VON HINDENBURG.

From "The Fatherland."

The chief magistrate and aldermen of the city of Magdeburg have record of the following letter from the Headquarters of the army of the East:

"With an admirable generosity, a large number of German cities have placed at my disposal, through Lord Mayors Mr. Beutler, Dr. Wilms and Town-Councillor Dr. Luther, $500,000 as 'Hindenburg gift for the Eastern Army,' with the object of procuring furs for the troops under my command and protecting them against the severity of the winter.

"Magdeburg has taken a prominent share in bestowing that gift. Please accept my warmest thanks and those of my armies for that patriotic action. Fighting for hearth and home as we are, we feel proud, happy and grateful that those who are left behind should remember us so lovingly and endeavor to make the privations of the campaign less keenly felt.

"With God's help we shall win the war which has been criminally forced upon us."

This was signed "von Hindenburg, General Field Marshal and Commander-in-chief of all German forces in the East."

ENGLAND'S WARS SINCE 1870.

(From "The Chicago Tribune," September 18, 1914.)

Chicago, Sept. 16.—[Editor of The Tribune.]—Be kind enough to answer the following questions in the Voice of the People: During the twenty-five years that the dreaded Kaiser, the war lord, has been on the throne, how many wars has he precipitated, or been engaged in? Since the Franco-Prussian war of forty-three years ago, has Germany been at war with any country? During the same length of time, how many conflicts has England brought on? And has England, up to date, ever engaged in war with a country of her own size? M. R. E.

(Germany, in the forty-three years up to the present summer, had no war since that with France in 1870-71. Since that time England has fought the Ashanti tribes in 1873-4 and 1895-6; the Zulus in 1879 and 1906-7; Arabi Pasha in Egypt in 1882, and the Madhi in 1884 and 1896. In 1899-1901 occurred the Boer war.)

THE "MILITARISM" OF GERMANY.

The Fatherland, New York.
E. Dallmer.

One of the cheap phrases repeated with the intention to influence the opinion of those Americans that cannot do their own thinking, but have to rely for their opinions upon the "expert" editorials of the yellow press is that "German militarism must be crushed before peace can reign in Europe." As this phrase has been repeated again and again a great part of the American people, for principle's sake opposed to compulsory service, came to the conclusion that in reality nothing but "German militarism" has caused the war and that France, England, Russia, Japan and all the smaller allies ought to be applauded for the humanitarian service they render the world in general—and the poor, down-trodden German people especially—by delivering them from the heavy burden that the "mad War Lord" has put upon their shoulders.

Although the originators of this phrase know that these conclusions are untrue, being based upon false assumptions, nevertheless — understanding well "the psychology of the crowd"—they constantly repeat this and many other stories of the same character and reliability with the sinister purpose of exciting the American public to such a degree as to force an intervention of our Government in favor of the "unholy alliance." In the last few days not only the English prime minister and several of his colleagues, but the king himself, have joined the ranks of those craving our sympathies for England against German militarism.

Now, what is militarism? Our dictionaries define it as (1) the military spirit; (2) addiction to war or military practices; (3) the maintenance of national power by means of standing armies. The definition given last seems to be the one applying in our case. But if so, almost every country in the world, including our U. S., is suffering from militarism. Thus it cannot be militarism in itself—the mere keeping of a standing army—that is condemnable, but the exaggeration of militarism, the keeping of such an armed force as to become a burden to their own people as well as a menace to the neighbors.

Why is it that whenever the question of militarism is raised everybody refers to the armies and nobody seems to think of the navies which are just as important a part of the national defense as the land forces are? Why is it that nobody points to the English navy, vastly superior to any other in the world, in number of ships and enlisted men, and talk about militarism? Is England allowed to have as big a fleet as she wants? Are France and Russia allowed to increase the strength of their armies as often and as much as they want, without anybody clamoring "militarism"? Why is not the same spirit of tolerance shown towards Germany? Why is that country, the only one, denied the right to "maintain her national power by means of a standing army" of a size that will guarantee her this maintenance?

In the following table I give a comparison of eight principal countries, six of which are at present engaged in the war, one is on the verge of entering the conflict, and the last one, our own beloved country, needs all the prudence and statesmanship of her President and his political advisers to keep her out of the cataclysm into which the hirelings of England try to draw her:

Country.	Population.	Enlistment. (Peace strength.) Army.	Navy.
England	45,000,000	254,500	137,500
Russia	160,100,000	1,290,000	52,463
France	39,300,000	720,000	60,621
Germany	64,900,000	870,000	66,783
United States	94,800,000	89,604	64,780
Italy	33,900,000	250,000	33,095
Austria-Hungary	49,400,000	390,000	17,581
Japan	52,200,000	250,000	51,054

	Estimated Expenditures 1913-14. Army.	Navy.	Total.	Per Capita Cost.
England	$224,300,000	$224,140,000	$448,440,000	$9.97
Russia	317,800,000	122,500,000	440,300,000	2.75
France	191,431,580	119,571,400	311,002,980	7.91
Germany	183,090,000	111,300,000	294,390,000	4.54
U. S.	94,266,145	140,800,643	235,066,788	2.48
Italy	82,928,000	51,000,000	133,928,000	3.95
Austria-Hungary	82,300,000	42,000,000	124,300,000	2.52
Japan	49,000,000	46,500,000	95,500,000	1.85

From the above we see that Germany, occupying the third place in population, stands in the second place in regard to enlistment in her army and navy, behind Russia and England, respectively. Her expenditures for maintaining the armed force, however, are surpassed by those of England, Russia and France, and, in the case of the navy, by those of the United States, also. The per capita cost of her armaments is $4.54, much below that of France ($7.91) and less than half of what the Englishman has to pay ($9.97).

With no natural boundaries, e. g., high mountain ranges, to protect her provinces, Germany finds herself threatened in the east by 1,290,000 Russians, in the west by 720,000 Frenchmen, together over 2,000,000 soldiers, against whom she keeps an armed force of 870,000 men, i. e., not even half the number her opponents have under arms all the time. Yet London claims—and the American papers obediently repeat it—that the German army is threatening not only all of Europe, but the rest of the world besides.

I believe the above shows clearly that it is not Germany that has been strengthening her armaments and increasing her forces so as to endanger the peace of Europe; she has in reality done nothing but follow her course, as war seemed to be inevitable. All this talk about German militarism ruining the prosperity of the country and endangering the world is so foolish when one looks at the real facts, that it is hardly worth while to try to open the eyes of those that do not want to see. Contemptible, however, and in the highest degree dangerous is the effort of perfidious Albion and her American newspaper vassals to convince the United States that this so-called militarism is directed against our republic, and that if Germany

could not be subdued in such a way as to be crippled for all time she will war against America next. As Germany (or Prussia) always has shown herself to be the only true and reliable friend the Americans have—while England always was their greatest enemy—this conscienceless attempt of a part of the American press is so much more despicable and hardly short of criminal.

But who is going to judge where justified militarism ends and the exaggeration begins? In the first place, surely the people who through their representatives in parliament have to appropriate the necessary means for the maintenance of army and navy. What is the attitude of the German people in this respect? It is true, they have been growling all these years when they paid their taxes, but less because they did not think the armaments necessary than for the very human reason that nobody likes to pay any money without receiving immediate returns for it. The Social Democrats, of course—the strongest party in the Reichstag—have opposed many of the army and navy bills, but for principle's sake only (as their comrades have done all over the world). Their true standpoint was clearly shown in that memorable session of August 4th, when the Reichstag unanimously appropriated 1250 million dollars to defray the necessary expenses in the beginning of the war, and the attitude of the people in general is best judged by the fact that when the government, a short time ago, asked for the first rate of 250 million dollars, more than one billion dollars were subscribed within a few days, with the subscriptions of all the rich men fighting at present with the army still standing out.

Two years ago the government asked for a "Wehrsteuer," a special assessment on property and income to yield about 250 million dollars, for the purpose of increasing the peace strength, completing a number of regiments, providing for more machine gun companies, etc. The law was passed by a great majority, even the Social Democrats not opposing it very much, as the burden of this taxation rested on the well-to-do classes, while the poorer people were not affected by it. Their leaders knew very well that France was increasing the time of service from two to three years, thereby raising the peace strength of her army almost 50 per cent; that she made great exertions to bring army and navy to the highest standard of efficiency, and that she had arranged for a large loan to Russia to be used in building out the strategic railroads of that latter country; they knew that Russia had failed to let the men who had finished their active service pass to the reserve, but kept them at their colors, thereby raising the strength of the active army to over a million and a quarter men, besides mobilizing (even at that time) army corps in various parts of the country, especially at the Austrian border; they knew very well that something had to be done to sharpen the German sword and that a strong opposition to and a resulting defeat of this bill would have been destructive the Social Democratic party in Germany.

As said above, the only people who would have a reason and a right to protest against German militarism are the Germans themselves, who have to pay the bills. That they are not in opposition to the Emperor and the government in this respect could not possibly have been shown any clearer than in those great days after the war was declared. Up to that time they had paid their taxes, which for purposes of armament amounted in the last years to about 19 marks per head of the population, as an insurance against war, and many times it was only this preponderance of Germany that averted the catastrophe. And do not forget that all these hundreds of millions spent every year are left in the country. Millions of Germans, men of all trades, are employed by the government directly or indirectly to furnish all the necessaries for army and navy, and are paid with this money, Where, therefore, is the loss to the country that is so loudly proclaimed by "experts" when they speak of the "enormous German expenditures?"

Germany has not much to gain in regard to enlarging her territory through a victorious war, but all Germans, from every walk of life—merchants and manufacturers, professors and students, artists and professionals, farmers and laborers, and, last, but not least, the German princes, quite a number of whom having been wounded or killed during the past few weeks in defending their country (who has ever heard of English princes or Russian grand dukes exposing their valuable person?)—in fine, the whole people are united with the one purpose to sacrifice their lives and their possessions in order that this account may be settled once and for all times, so that the Fatherland may develop further, as it has done during the last decades; that German commerce may expand over the whole globe in peaceful competition with that of other nations, and that no enemy will ever again try to deny the Germans their justly earned place in the sun. This spirit of self-sacrifice, this subordinating of their own personality for the best of the State has been the secret of Germany's success in the past, and as long as this spirit is alive in all classes of the people—as shown by the spontaneous outburst during the first days of this August and ever since— there is every reason to believe that Germany will triumph over her enemies and will arise after the war like a phoenix from its ashes.

THE GERMAN SPIRIT.

Men do not fight as the Germans have, as they are now fighting; nations do not bear, suffer, endure, unless the very depths of their spirit responds to the call made upon them by their country's need. Not in any record of history that we have has any nation given more supreme evidence of devotion, of courage, than the Germans in the recent months.

FIELD MARSHAL VON HINDENBURG.

The Chicago Tribune recently published a series of articles by James O'Donnell Bennett which give an excellent pen picture of Field Marshal Hindenburg, Germany's most popular hero. In the first of these Mr. Bennett describes the personal appearance of the German commander as follows:

"His gray-white hair is cropped close at the back and sides of the head and in a wide, flat pompadour on the top, and that emphasizes the squareness of his head. His forehead is low, his nose smallish, his complexion pale, and the skin like fine parchment.

"The notable feature of his face is the eyes. It is they and the big mustache and the strong jaws that give the man his leonine aspect. There are deep, heavy, sad lines under the eyes and at each side of the mouth. Even the large black mustache does not conceal the latter.

"The eyes, too, are sad—small, sad, searching eyes—small, not wonderful when the general's attention is not aroused, but at once startling and commanding in their effect when he becomes alert. When he turns them on you, you know it—and the realization is accompanied almost by a gasp. One glance searches a man.

"There is power in the well poised head and in the erect shoulders, and that impression of power is increased because the man moves so little. For many minutes he seems to sit motionless, and when he does move it is with slow deliberation. His countenance is not stern, but melancholy and meditative: not gloomy, though, for there is a sweetness in it that none of the portraits can convey, for the painters are inclined to make him burly. It is the victor of the awful week at Tannenberg whom they paint and not the man of the long years of patient waiting."

MR. WELLS ON GERMANY.

From "The Chicago Tribune," September 14, 1914.

Chicago, Sept. 12.—(Editor of The Tribune.)—In Mr. Wells' "Social Forces in England and America" (Harper Bros.) you will find on page 41:

"It is usual to regard Germany as the common enemy. We in Great Britain are now intensely jealous of Germany. We are intensely jealous of Germany not only because the Germans outnumber us and have a much larger and more diversified country than ours, and lie in the very heart and body of Europe, but because in the last hundred years, while we have fed on platitudes and vanity, they have had the energy and humility to develop a splendid system of national education, to toil at science and art and literature, to develop social organization, to master and better our methods of business and industry, and to clamber above us in the scale of civilization."

MILITARISM.

Very seldom has the attractiveness of a catch-word been better exemplified than by the grim sounding phrase "militarism," and not often have the multitudes been so impudently befooled by a hollow word, the meaning of which was a mystery to everybody.

Of course, there has been here in America a sensible minority who from the beginning saw the absurdity of these two propositions:

(1) That Russia, France and England were *not* militaristic with armies and navies about three times as strong as Germany's, who was surrounded and incessantly threatened by them;

(2) That England should call Germany militaristic, when she had a fleet over twice as large as Germany, whose army was *not as large* as the armies of Russia and France, *not even half as large*, but only a little over a *third the size* of her enemies' armies.

"Militarism," the dictionary tells us, "is that system or policy which causes nations to keep up great armies (or navies), and to pay *excessive* attention to military affairs."

"*Excessive* attention," there lies the crux of the matter and that is the measure we may use to find out whether militarism is to be found in Germany or in any other country.

At the beginning of the war the peace strength of the different armies and navies was as follows:

	Army.	Battleships and Dreadnoughts.
Germany	800,419	35
Great Britain.	250,545	71
France	760,000	23
Russia	1,246,000	—

In other words Germany had an army of 800,000 men, against 2,006,000 men of France and Russia, by whom she was enclosed and openly threatened. Germany has thirty-five battleships and dreadnoughts against ninety-four of England and France, who no less openly had threatened her for years on the seas.

For centuries France has been the avowed enemy of Germany, for decades Russia, for years England. Ever since the time of Caesar has Germany been the battleground of Europe and in the year 1914 her bad neighbors intended once more to devastate her green fields, to destroy her treasure, her commerce and her industries, to burn her cities and villages. Was there anything to do for Germany but to arm, and to increase her armament with that of her neighbors? Time and again she has stretched out the hand of friendship towards her Gallic neighbor, but each time it was refused by France, latterly because England had begun to fan the smoldering embers of her hatred into flames again.

The question, then, is whether Germany with an army of 800,000 men paid *excessive* attention to military affairs, when she was to use this army only in defense, and against armies aggregating over two million men. Can any sensible man answer this question in the affirmative? Whoever does, says by it that two million is less than eight hundred thousand, that thirty-five is more than ninety-four. Russia had fifty per cent. more soldiers than Germany, France had forty thousand less, but as Germany had sixty-seven million, while France had only forty million inhabitants, the latter should have had only 477,000 soldiers instead of 760,000, in other words 283,000 soldiers less than she actually had, not to have more in proportion than Germany.

Can any but madmen assert that Germany with eight hundred thousand soldiers thought of aggression against countries with over two million soldiers? By such aggression Germany stood to gain nothing and to lose everything, and it is a fact, which everybody can verify, that in the beginning of the war nobody thought that Germany (even with Austria-Hungary helping) had any chance of victory even before England joined her allies.

And now let us consider a while the militarism of England, not as exhibited by her mercenaries (before the war), but as represented by her navy *on a peace footing*. This instrument of her might consisted in 1913 of 625 vessels with 2,878 heavy guns and 1,146 torpedo tubes, among them 71 dreadnoughts and battleships, while Germany had only 35 of the latter. England's fleet *in time of peace* was twice as large as Germany's, and why Germany with an army 50 per cent. smaller than Russia's should be called the home of "militarism" while England with a fleet twice the size of Germany's never was, is one of those mysteries, which, like the man in the iron mask, will never be solved. And it should be remembered in this connection that the militarism of England, represented by her fleet, has been an objectionable fact these two or three centuries, while Germany has *existed* only since 1871.

And another point in this connection!

With wars going on all around her, and giving her wonderful opportunities of acting as contemptibly as England did in August, 1914 (we mention only the Boer war and the Russo-Japanese war), Germany stuck to her policy of honor and peace, and not once gave any sign that she would use her army for purposes of aggression. England, on the other hand, has, through the centuries, used her fleet only once or twice for home defense, but mostly for aggression, and has in all of her wars discarded the rules of fairness and international law. Similar to France, who under Louis XIV stole Alsace and Lorraine from Germany when she was busy fighting the Turks, perfidious Albion has always used the misfortune or weakness of other countries to enrich herself *by conquest*, until now she is the tyrant of possessions (so-called colonies) all over the world, which she holds by right of might, rules by the whip of the slave-driver, and blesses with rum, opium and a lying press.

And now, as to militarism. *What is the answer?*—From "The Crucible."

Germany is the only combatant that is publishing a list of her dead and wounded. England, France and Russia have stopped counting.—From "The Fatherland," New York, October 28, 1914.

A WARNING.

Editorial from the "Milwaukee Free Press," September 16, 1914.

Isn't there danger that some of us —especially certain newspapers—are adopting a "holier than thou" attitude with respect to the nations involved in the terrible European war?

The pacific temper of the American people is not to be underestimated. We want peace with all the world, and we are prepared to go to the farthest lengths in maintaining friendly relations with our fellow peoples. America leads the world in the promotion of those means that make for the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

At the same time, there are certain facts in our government and our history which we must bear well in mind before we attempt hostile criticism on the ground of militaristic and warlike tendency; we must do this, or run the danger of being accused of Pharisaism.

For instance, take the current denunciation of militarism in Europe.

Do the good people who give utterance to this know that of every dollar annually appropriated by the United States government nearly 63 cents goes for war? That this appropriation is almost thirteen times as great as the next largest appropriation —which is for rivers and harbors?

Do they know that the congress set aside $241,302,564.91 for armament and other military purposes in 1914 and that the pensions obligated by past wars amounted to $180,300,000 for the same period?

Do these critics of Europe realize that the United States today has the second largest navy of the world, a navy that costs us over $140,000,000 every year?

Do they realize that, on top of all this federal expenditure, the militia of the states, compelled by national law, costs in the neighborhood of $5,000,000 annually?

When we consider that the United States has no dangerous foes on her borders and no entangling alliances, that she is splendidly isolated and unequalled in her latent powers of resources, can we justly, in the face of our tremendous military expenditure, denounce, let us say, the militarism of Germany, a country surrounded by a world of jealous, militant enemies?

There is the other criticism that there is no justification of the European war; the implication being that we, under the circumstances, could not have been drawn into such a conflict.

The European war had its immediate incentive in the Austro-Servian clash. Then let us hark back to our recent war with Spain, and see if the conditions are not somewhat analogous.

The United States objected to the intolerable conditions in Cuba, which were increasingly affecting our government and our citizens. Austria was similarly concerned with making an end of the evil and bloody machinations in Servia that threatened her peace.

In our case it took the explosion of the Maine, in Austria's case the

assassination of the crown prince, to bring public opinion to the striking pitch and cause the submission of an ultimatum by the government that could mean but one thing—war.

We were no more content to submit the Maine disaster to a Spanish commission than the Austrians were to submit the assassination to Servian investigators. We had our own investigation just as the Austrians had theirs, and though our official findings, unlike those of Austria, refused to fix responsibility for the disaster, public opinion proceeded on the justified assumption of Spanish guilt and twenty days after the report of our commission, congress sent our drastic, war-compelling demand to Spain.

It is interesting to note in this connection that just as the United States disavowed any intent of territorial acquisition in Cuba, so did Austria in the case of Servia. In each case the government made clear that it was actuated by the sole purpose of putting an end to an intolerable condition and of punishing those responsible for it.

We point out these facts because we think it of the utmost importance that in our efforts and our prayers for peace, we proceed in charity and consideration for our battling kin across the sea, and with the fullest recognition of our own record with respect to war and the preparations for war.

The "holier than thou" attitude will not get us anywhere.

SUBMARINE IN THE SEA AND ZEPPELIN IN THE AIR.

Editorial from the "Chicago Evening Post," September 24, 1914.

England in somber dignity, without explanation or reproach, announces the destruction of three of her great cruisers by German submarines. Berlin says that but one submarine, U-9, did it.

The news has sent thru Britain a thrill more deep than would have come from the rout of General French's whole "expeditionary force."

There is a reason for this profound feeling.

Before the war Sir Percy Scott, one of the naval authorities of England, told the Times that the submarine would render all navies, even that of the mistress of the seas, out of date and ineffective.

England's supreme reliance in war—her navy—faces a terror as unknown as that from the first ironclad when it sailed among the Union ships in the Chesapeake Bay.

Worse than that, another specter rises. If it is the logical development of the submarine to render ineffective the great sea forces of war, may it not be the logical development of the airship to render ineffective the great land forces of war? May not the Zeppelin be to an army what a submarine can be to a navy?

Is Germany holding in reserve these two untested engines of war to drive home her final thunderbolts? Is this the basis for her wonderful confidence? Is this her real hope?

AN AWAKENED CONGRESS.

Editorial from the "Army and Navy Journal," New York, September 5, 1914.

The first step toward the enactment of necessary military legislation next session will be the creation of a joint committee or commission to look into the needs of the Army and Navy. The dreams of universal peace which have lulled the slumbers of members of Congress have been dispelled by the European war. Those who have been giving serious thought to national affairs are now fully awake to the necessities of preparing the country for war.

Whatever may be the result of the great struggle in Europe it is now realized in Congress that this nation will be confronted with new dangers. The success of the Allies will increase the power of Japan in the Pacific Ocean. Furthermore, a great many leaders of both houses are deeply concerned with the alliance between England and Japan. It is insisted by England that this is a defensive alliance, but the word defensive in international affairs is very flexible. Japan might really force this country to make war while constructively it would be on the defensive. In that event England would be forced to join with Japan in a war with this country or violate her treaty with Japan. Of course, there is a great deal of prattling just at present about England being our mother country, but two of our wars have been with England and in the Civil War, England supported the South, not so much because she loved the Confederacy as for the evident purpose of splitting the nation in twain. At least this country cannot safely depend upon England to support it either in peace or war against her ally in the Orient.

With the success of Germany some of the members of Congress believe that this nation would be called upon to defend the Monroe Doctrine. There is an impression that Germany is not friendly to this doctrine, especially as it does not preclude England from holding Canada and her other possessions. Germany insists that there is no foundation for this fear and that she is a better friend to the United States than any other European nation. At present all of the belligerents are professing friendship and appealing to the United States for moral support. There is an impression that the United States will be a sort of an umpire in the treaty that will come at the close of the war. But as peacemaker the United States may incur the enmity of some one or more of the great Powers. Neither Russia nor Japan ever appreciated what this country did in the negotiations at the close of the Russo-Japanese war, and there are others besides the parties to the controversy who regard our interference as an impertinent piece of intermeddling. The war party in Japan was under the conviction that the United States robbed Japan of much of its fruits of victory in proposing peace at the time it did. This, it is claimed, has created unfriendly feeling in Japan which will some time cause trouble between the two countries.

Up to this time only a few members of Congress have given serious consideration to the question of national defense. In a begrudging and half-hearted manner they have voted for the naval program and have begrudged every cent that was expended on the Army. They have refused absolutely to believe that there ever will be any serious danger of a conflict with a first class Power. Your average Congressman believes that the armament of all of the great European nations is a useless expenditure and that if we should happen to be drawn into a war we would depend upon the patriotic spirit of the people of the country to defend the nation. But every engagement in the European war tends to dispel this illusion. It does not require a military expert to see that it is trained soldiers that are winning the battles in Europe. The success of the German arm is now admitted to be due to the wise military policy of that country.

Quite naturally, members of Congress realize that it is now their duty to take up and solve the question of national defense for the United States. They have paid very little attention to the recommendations submitted by the War Department from time to time and earnestly desire the advice of the joint commission or committee. This commission will probably take up the entire question, and the future military policy of Congress will depend largely upon its report.

THE AIR STRENGTH OF THE WARRING NATIONS.

From the "Questions and Answers" Column in the "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung."

N. C. D. What is the air strength of Germany and Austria and of the Allies? Is the dirigible a more serviceable war instrument than the aeroplane?

At the beginning of the war the "air strength" of the principal participants was given as follows:

	Dirig's	Aerop's
Germany	22	320
Austria-Hungary	7	100
Totals	29	420
France	16	834
Russia	10	164
England	6	250
Belgium	2	40
Servia	..	10
Montenegro	..	1
Totals	34	1,299

It should be remembered, however, that these figures, though perhaps the best available to the public at the time, are only approximate. The true strength of the various nations in aëroplanes and dirigibles is known only to their respective governments. It is well known, for example, that Germany is much better equipped with Zeppelin dirigibles than this statement infers.

The question of the comparative value of the dirigible balloon and the aëroplane as an instrument of war is still to be answered. As far as we are able to see now, as a result of their respective performances in the present war, the aëroplane is better adapted to scouting operations.

A SWEDISH POET ABOUT THE GERMAN ARMY.

The Crucible.

The Swedish poet, Bengt Berg, who is one of the best known writers of the present generation, is staying in Berlin at present. Like his famous countryman, Sven Hedin, he too felt the longing to follow the war near the front but while Sven Hedin selected the western theater of war, Berg chose the East. Here he has watched the operations in Poland for three weeks, and has lately returned to his home. In an interview he spoke as follows:

"Of the things which surprise me most, one observation astonished me especially, and that was that I did not notice anything of the much maligned militarism. If anywhere and at any time this militarism certainly should have shown during the war and in time of battle, but I could not see anything of it. The explanation of this seems to me to be the smooth working of everything that is necessary. Officers and privates all seem to feel themselves as working towards one great end: The victory which must be won. Everything is deed and activity, nothing is word or gesture. During the battles near Bolimow I was standing among a group of high officers who were directing the battle, and had a good opportuity to make observations. They were all men of serious and even severe countenance, but I said to myself: 'not one of all these men seem to worry about the judgment which his superiors later on may pronounce about his orders, they all seem to act without fear and doubt and still, fully conscious of their responsibility.'

"And there was another thing that struck me; that these men did not seem to feel any hatred against their enemies. It is true when I stood at the batteries, that I saw the artillerymen load their guns as it were with a prayer to carry death and destruction into the ranks of their enemies. It is also true that the German soldiers become drunk with the battlerage in a bayonet charge. But as soon as the charge is over the rage is gone and they know in the enemy only the man who suffers from the horrors of war exactly as they do themselves. And how could these men keep up their anger against these enemies when they are helpless in their hands? I shall not speak here of the Cossacks, but I have seen the Russian soldiers as prisoners. One can hardly imagine anything more good-natured and gentler than the Russian soldier, so that I had only this one thought: how can these big children be forced to march against the Germans of whom each one knows what he wants and what he must do? The Germans are men, mentally as well as physically, and as a Scandinavian, I was surprised to meet with so many blond-haired and blue-eyed men. I have lived long on the Rhine and in Berlin, and so I had no idea that there was still so much undiluted Germanic blood in the veins of the German people. These soldiers are well-nourished and even out in the field they are wanting for nothing. On the occasion of the Emperor's birthday I spent the evening in one of the foremost trenches where they had fixed themselves up quite comfortably although the Russians did not give us any peace. We had quite a little feast, and there was plenty of everything. What I saw on the table in that trench might have awakened the envy of many a well-situated family. Don't misunderstand me, though! There were no luxuries, only plain things, but in splendid quality and in abundance. I wish their enemies could see how well the German soldiers are cared for, and that they could throw a glance into the stores in Tilsit where eatables are sold. Since I have seen all this I can understand how vain an endeavor it must remain to starve Germany. And as to conquering her—the very idea is absurd."

THE COST OF ARMAMENT.

Editorial from the "Milwaukee Free Press," September 17, 1914.

A reader, referring to our editorial of yesterday, "A Warning," asks for figures on the cost of maintaining the armies, navies and other military defenses of the European powers as compared with those of the United States.

The estimated cost of the British military and naval establishment, not including fortifications, for the fiscal year 1913-14 amounts to $448,440,000.

The military and naval budget of Russia, for the same period, complete, calls for $440,300,000.

The estimated military expenditure of France for 1913 is $191,431,580, while her navy for 1914 is placed at $119,571,400. A fair total estimate for the fiscal year is, therefore, $312,000,000.

The cost of the German army in 1912-13 amounted to $183,090,000, while the German naval estimate for 1913-14 is $111,300,000. A total of $295,000,000 is therefore fair.

The appropriations of the United States for army, navy and other military purposes for the fiscal year 1913-14 exceeds $241,300,000, which does not include some $5,000,000 spent on state militia and the cost of military training at state universities and private military schools.

Italy expected to spend $133,928,000 on army and navy during the year; Austro-Hungary $124,300,000, and Japan about $95,500,000.

It will be noted that the United States ranks almost as the equal of Germany as a military nation; judged from the standpoint of expenditure; they occupying respectively fourth and fifth place in the list.

We leave it to our readers: Which of these nations has the most and which has the least warranty for these astounding expenditures in preparation for war?

France has long specialized in submarines. What is it going to do with them? — From "The Daily News," Chicago, September 28, 1914.

NAVALISM VS. MILITARISM.

(From "The Chicago Tribune," September 18, 1914.)

Chicago, Sept. 11.—[Editor of The Tribune.]—Sir Edward Grey contends that Britain is at war for the purpose of destroying German militarism. What does he mean by this? Is militarism analogous with conscription? All continental powers have conscription, Russia, France, Italy, etc., as well as Germany.

Does militarism mean an abnormally large standing army? The standing army of Germany is about 800,000 strong, that of France 780,000, that of Russia, 1,500,000. Of those liable to military service, 87 per cent had to undergo military training in France; in Germany only 58 per cent.

Great Britain has always claimed that she needed a navy double the size of any other nation. Is this not navalism? British claimed that she needed this navy for home defense. But in every war of her history she has used this navy for aggression, and the destruction of German trade proves today the same old story.

Is British navalism better than German militarism? Is Russian or French militarism better than German? Dr. C. Dencker.

OUR OWN BATTLE.

By Harlowe Randall Hoyt, in the "Milwaukee Free Press," September 15, 1914.

It was a summer's evening,
Old Caspar's work was done,
And he within a beer saloon
Called for another one.
A newsboy passing by just then
Cried out an "Extra!" loud;
And Caspar bought one for a cent,
And read it to the crowd.

"They say the Germans have been licked,
And all were put to rout;
France claims another victory
With many a cheer and shout;
Yes, Germany is licked, but still
Goes on toward Paris with a will."

"They say the English cleaned them up,
And forced them back again;
That Russia shattered up their line,
And caused the kaiser pain;
That Germany is licked, but still
Goes on toward Paris with a will."

"They say it was an awful fight
That put the foe to rout;
(I'd give a dollar if I knew
What this is all about.)
The kaiser's troops are licked, but still
Go on to Paris with a will."

"I wish you would explain it, please,
To those assembled here."
Spoke up a man, and ordered up
Another round of beer.
"Explain it?" Caspar cried, "Search me!
But 'twas a famous victory."

The German Menace as Seen Through British Eyes

Note on the European War.

The Open Court.

By Philip E. B. Jourdain.

This note is not meant to blame those responsible for the war, nor even—usually a stage reached long after this process, to find out who were responsible or to investigate the causes of the war. It is enough to say that all the people of Great Britain are thoroughly convinced that they have come into this war for two reasons and two only. The first is an obligation of honor: an obligation to protect the neutrality of Belgium. They believe firmly, and on good authority, that the German statements that France intended to violate this neutrality, and that Great Britain would have meekly allowed her to do so, are false. The second is a love of liberty, and consequent hatred of militarism. To the outside world, Britain may possibly appear to be a country largely governed by a king or queen and an aristocracy of birth. This is not true. When a king of England thought he was appointed by God and consequently oppressed his people, the people bore it much longer than reasonable people ought, but at last they cut off his head. Long ago, when peers were respected far more than they are now, a Lord Ferrers, in a high-handed way, murdered a servant of his. He was tried and condemned to death. To show proper respect to the aristocracy, he was allowed to drive to the gallows in his coach and four. . . . *but he was hanged.* Britain is a pleasant place: there is a court and gay ceremonies which cost a lot of money and an aristocracy which is toadied, and yet nearly all Britons are republicans; the rest are social democrats.

Then think how the British nowadays show that they know the value that others put on liberty. Look how properly South Africa and Australia have been treated lately. I think that all thoughtful British people would agree that *all* the British possessions will be made self-governing when they have shown themselves to be fit for it, even though it should cost the mother country some sacrifices. If Britons and their nominal ruler had all been as sensible in the reign of George III, Britain would never have lost the United States. Britons do not believe that Germany has the ability, experience or broad-mindedness necessary for dealing with colonies. German ideals would, they think, be forced on German possessions as German military ideals are forced on the German people. And this brings me to the chief point of this note.

Let us consider one aspect of the war: the aspect of the possible spread of German civilization where Russian, French, Belgian or British civilization now is. Whether or no the necessity for this propaganda is, as General Bernhardi seems to think, a cause of the war, I am not concerned to inquire. If the Germans are ultimately victorious, the spread in question will certainly be an effect, and may possibly be an effect which is a fulfillment of an ideal that made the war seem a righteous one to the Germans. If so, the ideal is not worthy of the sacrifice of even a small part of a nation's honor or life or even prosperity. We can neither shut our eyes to the disgraceful brutalities that war must necessarily involve, nor to the fact that such brutalities are exaggerated by enemies and hidden or excused by friends. It is the custom of people to speak as if they were far more bloodthirsty than they really are. The British are usually supposed to be very reserved, and yet I have heard a wish expressed by a kindly old woman in an omnibus that a certain foreigner who attempted to shoot a policeman in London should be boiled in oil. Another story illustrates the essential calmness and good humor of the British disposition, in spite of alarming words. An American visitor was listening to a very high-sounding oration in Trafalgar Square. The speaker was referring to some one now dead and who was a prominent member of the English royal family. "'E ought to be shot, the swine!" said the orator. The American visitor said in an awe-struck voice to a policeman who was standing by: "There, do you hear that? What are you going to do about it?" The policeman just smiled: "Lor' bless you, sir," he said, "'e don't mean no 'arm." The policeman's view was quite correct.

It is nearly always misleading to draw distinctions between national characteristics; at the bottom all nations are very much alike. The ability of doing noble things in an emergency is common to all; the willingness to make a great sacrifice and to bear it through tedious years without making a noise about it, is not confined to any particular nation or group of nations. All nations are riddled through and through with vanity and snobbery. Indeed, broadly speaking, snobbishness seems to be the main thing that differentiates civilized peoples from uncivilized ones. We all have a love of home and comfort. In the upper classes and among men and women of genius, a straining after ideals is often a more powerful desire than the wish for comfort; but martyrs, musicians, poets and scientific men are not the monopoly of Teutonic or Slav or Anglo-Saxon nations. I do not suppose that good humor is a peculiarity of one's own nation. The only things that seem to be possibly a national peculiarity are jokes; but even here liability to laugh at the jokes of other nations does not necessarily mean that the jokers of one's own nation are the only amusing jokers there are. Probably Americans and Britains have more or less the same sense of humor, and this may be due to their common origin. The two sayings about the war which appeal universally to Englishmen's sense of humor were both, if I am not mistaken, first said by Americans. One is: "Nobody seems to be on the side of the German's except God, and we have only the Kaiser's word for that." The other is: "There is only one thing that the Germans could do which would be worse than the destruction of Rheims Cathedral, and that is its restoration." As further evidence that the American and English senses of humor are fundamentally alike, these two facts should be remembered: first, Mark Twain is appreciated in England; secondly, no American laughs at "Punch," . . . and no Englishman does either.

Since all nations have a good deal of common ground on which to build up a friendship, it is necessary that each nation should use that understanding which discovers the lovability of the people one knows to make the thought of each nation well understood by all other nations. It is a great mistake to imagine that any of us can do merely with that part of the civilization of a particular people which finds expression in print, music or pictures; and this truth, which, as it happens, Americans have grasped more firmly and put into practice more fully than any other nation, I shall try to illustrate by considering shortly those contributions of Germany to civilization, with which I am acquainted. I think that, if one wishes to say anything of the least value, it is to be recommended that one should not stray out of the narrow domain of what one knows.

I shall then leave out of serious consideration the realms of art and most of the realms of science. Most of us know, with some reason for knowing, that almost the whole of the art of music is due to Germany, and that hardly anything in the arts of sculpture and painting is due to Germany. In literature, it is a platitude that Germany stands far below almost every other civilized European nation. In philosophy, it is a debatable point whether the Germans can be put above the British: they can undoubtedly be put above all other nations. We come to the sciences.

In the first place, every one must admit that the bulk of the tremendously valuable work of the organization of research and reports of researches during the last fifty years has been done by Germany. In mathematics, physics, chemistry and other natural sciences, it is to German industry, German talent and German organization that we are indebted for abridged and permanent records of nearly everything that has happened in science over the whole world, and which otherwise would probably have been quite lost. Also—and what is far more important—there have been many eminent Germans who have supplied the ideas that other men write about. In mathematics during the nineteenth century, the work of German mathematicians like Gauss, Grassmann, Dirichlet, Riemann, Weierstrass,

Steiner and Georg Cantor is certainly more important than the work done by the mathematicians of any other nation. In physics, any candid inquirer must admit that the most important work has been done by the physicists of Great Britain. If any of the physical works of that original and open-minded man Ernst Mach be examined, we shall find almost on every page warm and unstinting praise given to men like Maxwell, Kelvin and Joule. And Mach's praise is worth having. As a critic, he is just and penetrating, as witness his estimate of Dalton's achievements in his "Principles of the Theory of Heat" or of Newton's achievements in his "Mechanics."

In a branch of science which is now very closely allied to mathematics—I mean modern logic—the part played by Germany is extraordinarily unimportant. It is true that one of the greatest of Germans, Leibniz, may be said to have originated modern logic, but the majority of his writings on it remained unpublished for more than two hundred years. The beginnings of it were rediscovered about the middle of the nineteenth century by two Englishmen, George Boole and Augustus De Morgan; developed importantly by an American, Charles Peirce; and developed less importantly and systematized in a work of incredible prolixity by a German, Ernst Schröder. I omit all lesser names. Then came the truly great work of a German, Gottlob Frege, which only began to be appreciated about ten years ago, and is not yet properly appreciated by any German logician or mathematician. Schröder, indeed, quite misunderstood the purpose of Frege's work. Later on came the work of the Italians, Giuseppe Peano and his school. Schröder misunderstood them and showed a miraculous obtuseness in asserting over and over again that he could not accept a distinction of ideas pointed out by Peano. Peano's distinction is quite easy to see when it is pointed out. At present the chief cultivators of modern logic are English, but important parts have been taken by Americans, Italians and Frenchmen. Germany has hitherto taken no part in one of the most important philosophical movements there can be, giving as it does, definite information about the foundations of the exact sciences.

These lines have served to show, by a very important example, that if we confine ourselves to German science we miss a very important part of what has been done. There is not even an intelligent account of the principles of the exact sciences published in the whole of Germany. In this respect the Germans have shown unexampled obtuseness. This is not national prejudice, nor is it my intention to depreciate the noble work the Germans have done in many other branches of science. But I merely wish to express strongly my feeling that discovery of the truth is only to be reached by promoting the mutual understanding of nations. One of the features of the science of the last ten years has been the growth of international journals devoted to the discussion of scientific subjects. To this end both "The Open Court" and "The Monist" constantly contribute; and only by the help of a growth of understanding between nations and the perception that we are all really very much alike and all seek very much the same ends can a lasting peace be secured.

MR. JOURDAIN'S NOTE ON THE WAR.

By the Editor.

The Open Court.

When the editor of "The Open Court" came to the conclusion that the present crisis in international politics should be discussed, he thought at once of having an article published which would represent the position opposite to his own. He himself, who has always been a strong and outspoken friend of the English, has taken the German position and has done so for reasons set forth in the October issue of "The Open Court." There is scarcely anything gained by attempting to defend either Russia or France, for their motives in entering into the war are plain. We are interested to learn the reasons which have moved England to join Russia and France in this tremendous struggle.

For a number of years the Open Court Publishing Company has been in correspondence with Mr. Philip E. B. Jourdain, a scholar of English training in close touch with the University of Cambridge, and we take pleasure in presenting on another page his "Note on the European War," but must confess that the amiable character of Mr. Jourdain has prevented him from speaking out his mind with special vigor, though he feels very strongly the justice of England's cause. We quote from a private letter the following passage: "For myself, the whole of the proceedings which led to the war seems to me to bear so strongly against Germany that I cannot believe that England can be considered as an instigator of the war or to have entered the fight through any but honorable motives."

In another letter Mr. Jourdain regards as the main reason of the war the difference between the English and the German people, saying that the English are superior to Germany in the development of individualism and have an innate dislike for German militarism. Mr. Jourdain has strong English sympathies, and I assume as a matter of course that the large majority in England feel as strongly as he, if not more so, that English politics are just. The editor of "The Open Court" himself feels just as vigorously that Great Britain has done wrong, and if the people of England do not know why Germany feels so bitter against Great Britain, it is simply because they are not sufficiently informed about the secret treaties and the motives which have led the British cabinet to declare war.

Mr. Jourdain expresses the conviction of the English people as to the causes of the war as follows: "The first is an obligation of honor, an obligation to protect the neutrality of Belgium." Certainly it is an obligation of honor to Belgium to declare war, in view of prior promises and the inducements offered her to join the Triple Entente against Germany. If the documents found at Brussels and Antwerp which prove a secret understanding between England and Belgium are not falsified by the German authorities who claim to have them in their possession, the English were indeed in honor bound to come to the rescue of Belgium. But was it right to enter into this secret understanding? The English government did it, not the English people. The English people knew nothing of it and cannot be accused of having made these promises with France and Russia and afterwards with Belgium. I feel strongly convinced that the people would have objected to all of these entangling alliances.

In England the spread of democracy is apparent, not real. The English government has taken care to make the people believe in the prevalence of democracy among them, but democracy does not exist in fact. In Germany the people take a much greater part in politics and are a factor which the government must reckon with, while in England the people can easily be ignored; in fact it *is* ignored and the masses of the people are absolutely indifferent to the foreign policy of the empire. Liberty in England is a fiction and only concerns the personal freedom of a man in his house—what he shall eat and drink and how he shall amuse himself, the laws which touch the price of bread, and labor questions. In imperial matters the people's interest scarcely goes beyond the question of home rule in Ireland.

I do not doubt the love of liberty in England. Nor do I doubt that every man there is free to pursue his business, and every farmer is master of his own fields and determines what he shall sow and what he shall do with his earnings; but he has no right, not even the slightest chance, to influence the politics of the country. He is kept in ignorance and is satisfied to be told that Great Britain is the freest country in the world.

The English hate militarism because they dislike the idea of service in the army. In my opinion it would be as good for the English as for any other people in the world to serve in the army and be educated in strict obedience to duty whatever that duty may be, to learn something of manhood and be ready to come to the defense of their country. No doubt the English aspire to be gentlemen, and I must confess that great numbers of them become gentlemen, which makes it so pleasant to deal with them; but it would be to their own interest if they would attain to the higher ideal of becoming "men," and military service is a very practical method of imparting manhood to both the over-refined dude of the city and the awkward son of the farmer.

German militarism has been misrepresented in English periodicals all over the world. Above all, it is

not known that German militarism makes the German people peaceful. It is one of the falsest statements to picture the Germans as aggressive and war-like. There is no German father or mother in the empire, nor any person of responsibility, who would not prefer to keep peace even at a sacrifice, for they know that their own sons, their own brothers, their own sons-in-law, have to go to war to defend the country. It is a gross misstatement of the truth to represent Germany as going to war simply for the sake of waging war, either for glory, or in sheer aggressiveness, or for conquest. The present enthusiasm for the German cause is to be lauded the higher since there is no one in Germany who does not have to make sacrifices of the gravest kind. How many families have lost their only sons! and Germans of high culture, as young professors at the universities, are compelled to face the guns and sabres of the negro Turkos in the west or of the savage Cossacks in the east.

The Germans are fully convinced that it is England's policy that has encouraged both France and Russia to start the war, and only those who do not know the significance of the military institutions in Germany can expect that militarism should be abolished. If England possessed the same institutions of militarism as exist in Germany, the British Government would never have dared to start the war, for the people would have censured it severely.

As to Mr. Jourdain's statement that the king of England is merely "nominal," I will say that the German emperor and king of Prussia has no more rights than the king of England, and infringes as little upon the liberty of the people. On the contrary, in case of war he cannot begin a war without the consent of all the people, including his political opponents, the social democrats who form about one-third of the *Reichstag;* and the idea that he is a tyrant who forces his people is utterly unfounded, for the social democrats would not fight unless they felt the necessity of going to war. The Kaiser is not purely nominal; he has serious duties to perform. We may grant that he still regards himself as wearing the crown by God's grace, but whatever errors he may still entertain as to his divine rights, we must recognize that he is deeply impressed with his responsibility, and he interprets his office, thus held by the grace of God, as an obligation, a sacred trust, a religious duty, a right in which he is accountable to his conscience before God. Not even his enemies doubt that the Emperor is sincere, and that, however mistaken he may be in his views, he is honest and attends fearlessly to duty.

It is easy enough to ridicule the Kaiser for his frequent use of the word "God," and I would not deny that he lays himself open to criticism, but the impartial observer who has followed his life cannot but interpret this habit as the expression of a deep-seated conviction. The word "God" is no hypocrisy on the lips of the Emperor. It is a truthful expression of his attitude of heart.

Militarism has not been forced on the German people by the Kaiser, but historic conditions, mainly by the danger which has threatened Germany from France, just as the origin of the German navy was due to the conviction that one of these days Great Britain would fall upon Germany, exactly as she has now done.

The German authorities saw the growth of the German mercantile fleet and encouraged it; knowing how Great Britain had dealt with Holland in former times, they felt that a navy was needed for the defense of their colonies. If they were wrong, was it not wrong for the British to reserve for themselves the right to have a navy? Never and nowhere has Germany shown any intention of falling upon English colonies as England fell upon New Amsterdam in North America and Cape Town in South Africa.

Liberty of speech as it exists in England, so humorously characterized by Mr. Jourdain in the permission given a violent orator to have his say in Trafalgar Square, is being tried in all Germanic countries, but there is a most serious other side, and England has naturally been forced now and then to restrict free speech, while Germany has learned to allow it. Yet have not the violent speeches of reckless orators caused much harm in the world? I will only remind our readers of the assassination of President McKinley, who was shot by a Slav that had been incited by violent anarchistic speeches to commit the deed. Who is the real criminal, the inflammatory orator who put the idea into the degenerate brain of Czolgosz, or the assassin himself?

Considering such incidents I do not blame a government for restricting free speech under certain conditions, and I remember that this was done in England at the time of the Boer war. At that time I was passing through London and attended a meeting of protest held in club rooms of a liberal society, where the British government was denounced in the most violent terms. I tried to speak up for England and England's glory in preserving the ideal of liberty of speech, when I was hooted at and could not finish. The audience shouted, "There is no freedom in England!" and informed me that mass meetings had been broken up by the police; members of the club declared they had been ejected from meeting halls and bodily injured.

I have always spoken up for England. I like English people and enjoy their company. It is but natural that I have always justified their position when possible or at least made excuses for them against accusations that had some basis in fact. I have preached friendship for England in Germany and the United States and have encouraged the establishment of a Triple Alliance between the three countries in the interest of universal peace on earth.[1]

I recognize the superiority of England in many points, especially in her successful methods of building up colonies which the Germans have yet to learn; I admire the executive ability of the English, and their far-reaching but often questionable diplomacy, in which the Germans are solely lacking; and I have also unstinted praise for the English language, originally a Saxon (that is to say a Low German) dialect which is unsurpassed in its simplicity of construction. But with all my admiration for the British I cannot help thinking that, like most of England's prior wars, the present war is not only a great wrong but a great blunder, for it will prove a dire calamity to Great Britain. How foolish it was for Edward VII to originate the anti-German movement at the time of the formation of the Triple Entente, was brought home to me when I saw in an American Sunday issue an article on the German family that has ruled England ever since the Hanoverian kings were called to ascend the throne. There in a cartoon stood Tommy Atkins, full page size, gaudy in his red uniform, holding on his hand a little figure of Lilliputian size representing German royalty on the English throne. Admiral Battenberg had to quit the service because he is of German descent. Why, the article said, should not George V follow him, on the ground that his grandfather was of German birth and his grandmother's family was imported from Hanover?

I will not enter into the details of Mr. Jourdain's exposition, although I differ from some of them, for instance his statement as to art, music and science. I believe that Germany ranks high in music, but the latest development in Russia ought not to be overlooked nor the prior merits of Italy. Germany is not the only country where music has been developed. On the other hand I do not believe that "hardly anything in the arts of sculpture and painting is due to Germany." I believe that Germany still ranks higher than France; and the sculpture in public places in England can scarcely be classed as art.

Germany has always been highly appreciative of the accomplishments of other nations, and I believe there is no country in the world where the latest books of merit of all countries are so frequently translated and so widely read as in Germany. Next to Germany ranks England, and I will further add that all the other Germanic nations rank very high and surpass the Romance nations considerably in many respects.

Certainly no one can regret the war more than myself, but I will add that according to a practical consideration of all the facts and, as far as that be possible, from an impartial standpoint, I blame England first of all for the outbreak. It is plain to me that England has created among English speaking people, the United States not excepted, an anti-German movement. England has founded the

[1] See for instance my address before the first congress of the *Verein alter deutschen Studenten*, published in the Proceedings of the society.

A SQUADRON OF THE GERMAN STAFF UNDER COVER NEAR GRUDUSK, RUSSIAN POLAND

(Photograph by the International News Service)

Triple Entente, which, although it is not in the interest of England, allies England with two nations naturally antagonistic to her. Russia did not even discontinue her intrigues against Great Britain after the establishment of the Triple Entente, in Tibet as well as in Persia, Afghanistan and even India, but the men who hated Germany have set aside every other consideration for the sake of crushing Germany first. I believe that the ill-will created by the war among the different European nationalities is a great misfortune and will not so easily be set aside even after the conclusion of peace; and England will reap a very sorry harvest. That the French do not love the English became apparent in the treatment Sir Edward Grey's brother received from his fellow prisoners. The famous German chant of hatred proves that whereas the German fight against France and Russia is a sportsmanlike affair—a shot for a shot and a blow for a blow—England is blamed as giving a shot in the back. England has become the hated foe, and I fear it will be a long time before this sentiment can be outgrown.

I deem it highly necessary for the development of mankind that we have several great nationalities, and that in addition we have a number of smaller states which are independent and follow their own free government. The different nationalities complement each other, and the smaller states have frequently contributed very important ideas or interpretations of life to the development of humanity; and I will say that the German empire has practically solved the problem of having a strong union combined with individual development of the different small German states. The unity of the German empire has beyond any question been established through the political needs of self-defense, but the Bavarian considers himself very different from the Prussian, the Swabian again is different from his neighbor, the inhabitant of Baden, and likewise even the different provinces of Prussia cling each to its own peculiar individuality. In the same way this individualistic development in Germany is carried into the family life, and I have nowhere in the world found such a variety of character and of conviction as in the German fatherland.

I must insist, therefore, that the present characterization of German conditions in English, and often also in American papers, is very unfair, and as it seems to me, due to an intentional misrepresentation in order to create a prejudice against Germany.

Mr. Jourdain concludes his article with an appreciation of "The Open Court" and "The Monist," and I have not ventured to remove it in order to let his article be as independent as I intended that it should be. If I had known that he would praise my work, I would have asked him to omit it, but as he has done so, I wish my readers would regard it as but a manifestation of our author's amiability.

In conclusion I will repeat that I am not anti-British. On the contrary, I am in a sense pro-British. But while I am a friend of the English, while I fully appreciate their good qualities, I have a decided and well-founded conviction that the British government is guilty of this war, that this war will not bring any blessings to Great Britain, in short, that it is against all the interests of the British Empire, of Great Britain and of the English people. It will prevent the progress of civilization and the peaceful co-operation of the three most powerful countries of the world, Germany, Great Britain and the United States, and is greatly to be deplored. It is not Germany that is guilty of the war, but the men who brought about the Triple Entente, an understanding which made it inevitable that England should feel in honor bound to inflict injury upon Germany—an injury which will recoil upon her own head.

THE TRUCE OF THE BEAR.

Rudyard Kipling.

(Alfred Noyes, William Watson and Robert Bridges have defended England in driveling verse. England's one great poet, Kipling, has not been heard from. Perhaps the following poem which first appeared in 1898 explains Mr. Kipling's silence. Evidently Mr. Kipling cannot approve of an alliance with Russia, for Adam-zad means Russia and Matun, the old blind beggar, is England.)

(Reprinted from "The Fatherland," New York, August 31, 1914.)

Yearly, with tent and rifle, our careless white men go
By the pass called Muttianee, to shoot in the vale below.
Yearly by Muttianee he follows our white men in—
Matun, the old blind beggar, bandaged from brow to chin.
Eyeless, noseless and lipless—toothless, broken of speech,
Seeking a dole at the doorway he mumbles his tale to each;
Over and over the story, ending as he began:
"Make ye no truce with Adam-zad—the Bear that walks like a man!"
There was a flint in my musket—pricked and primed was the pan,
When I went hunting Adam-zad—the Bear that stands like a man.
I looked my last on the timber, I looked my last on the snow,
When I went hunting Adam-zad fifty Summers ago!

I knew his times and his season, as he knew mine, that fed
By night in the ripened maizefield and robbed my house of bread;
I knew his strength and cunning, as he knew mine, that crept
At dawn to the crowded goat-pens and plundered while I slept.

Up from his stony playground—down from his well-digged lair—
Out of the naked ridges ran Adam-zad the Bear;
Groaning, grunting and roaring, heavy with stolen meals,
Two long marches to northward, and I was at his heels!

Two full marches to the northward, at the fall of the second night,
I came on mine enemy Adam-zad all panting from his flight.
There was charge in the musket—pricked and primed was the pan—
My finger crooked on the trigger—when he reared up like a man.

Horrible, hairy, human, with paws like hands in prayer,
Making his supplication, rose Adam-zad the Bear!
I looked at the swaying shoulders, at the paunch's swag and swing,
And my heart was touched with pity for the monstrous, pleading thing.
Touched with pity and wonder, I did not fire then . . .
I have looked no more on women—I have walked no more with men.
Nearer he tottered and nearer, with paws like hands that pray—
From brow to jaw that steel-shod paw, it ripped my face away!

Sudden, silent, and savage, searing as flame the blow—
Faceless I fell before his feet, fifty Summers ago.
I heard him grunt and chuckle—I heard him pass to his den,
He left me blind to the darkened years and the little mercy of men.

Now ye go down in the morning with guns of the newer style,
That load (I have felt) in the middle and range (I have heard) a mile?
Luck to the white man's rifle, that shoots so fast and true,
But—pay, and I lift my bandage and show what the Bear can do!

(Flesh like slag in the furnace, knobbed and withered and gray—
Matun, the old blind beggar, he gives good worth for his pay.)
Rouse him at noon in the bushes, follow and press him hard—
Not for his ragings and roarings flinch ye from Adam-zad.
But (pay, and I put back the bandage) this is the time to fear,
When he stands up like a tired man, tottering near and near;
When he stands us as pleading, in wavering, man-brute guise,
When he veils the hate and cunning of the little swinish eyes;

When he shows as seeking quarter, with paws like hands in prayer,
That is the time of peril—the time of the Truce of the Bear.

Eyeless, noseless and lipless, asking a dole at the door,
Matun, the old blind beggar, he tells it o'er and o'er.
Fumbling and feeling the rifles, warming his hands at the flame,
Hearing our careless white men talk of the morrow's game;
Over and over the story, ending as he began;
"There is no truce with Adam-zad, the Bear that looks like a man!"

And after this the blind beggar made a truce with the Bear in Persia, and what the Bear did there, he will try to do again in Turkey—if Germany does not stop him—**but she will.**—"The Fatherland."

"After the (Russian) mobilization became known in Berlin, the Imperial Ambassador at St. Petersburg was ordered on the afternoon of July 31 to advise the Russian Government that Germany had declared a state of war as a counter move to the mobilization of the Russian Army and Navy, which would have to be followed by mobilization unless Russia ceased her military preparations against Germany and Austria-Hungary within twelve hours and so advise Germany.

KIPLING BRANDS GERMANY MENACE*

Virginia Editor Writes It Would Threaten U. S. if Victorious Over Allies.

(From "The Chicago Tribune," September 26, 1914.)

Staunton, Va., Sept. 25 (Special).—On Sept. 5 the Staunton News printed some verses by Dr. Charles Minor Blackford, an associate editor, addressed to Rudyard Kipling, calling attention to the apparent inconsistency of his attitude of distrust of Russia as shown in his poem, "The Truce of the Bear," and his present advocacy of the alliance between Russia and Great Britain.

Reply from Kipling.

A copy of the verses was sent to Mr. Kipling and the following reply has been received from him:

"Bateman's Burwash, Sussex—I am much obliged for your verses of Sept. 5, 'The Truce of the Bear,' to which they refer was written sixteen years ago. It dealt with a situation and a menace which has long since passed away and with issues that are now quite dead.

"The present situation, as far as England is concerned, is Germany's deliberate disregard of the neutrality of Belgium, whose integrity Germany as well as England guaranteed. Germany has filled Belgium with every sort of horror and atrocity, not in the heat of passion, but as a part of the settled policy of terrorism. Its avowed object is the conquest of Europe on these lines, as you may prove for yourself if you will consult its literature of the last generation.

Calls Germany Menace.

"Germany is the present menace not to Europe alone but to the whole civilized world. If Germany by any means is victorious, you may rest assured that it will be only a short time before it turns its attention to the United States.

"If you could meet the refugees from Belgium flocking into England and have the opportunity of checking their statements of unimaginable atrocities and barbarities, studiously committed, you would, I am sure, think as seriously on these matters as we do, and in your unpreparedness for modern war you would do well to think very seriously, indeed."

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*To show our readers what Mr. Kipling REALLY thought before his utterances were biased by the present war, we reprint on this page "The Truce of the Bear." Every unbiased reader will know what value to attach to Mr. Kipling's present utterances, i. e., that "The Truce of the Bear," written sixteen years ago, dealt with a situation and a menace which has long since passed away and with issues that are now quite dead. Haw! Haw! It's comical how men, even of the type of Mr. Kipling, repudiate their former writings when it comes to whitewashing England's new bedfellow—Russia.—Editor.

GERMANY'S FOES AND THE WAR.

This is the fifth article of a series on THE EUROPEAN WAR, which appeared in the October Number of THE OPEN COURT, under the title "Germany's Foes," written by the Editor, Dr. Paul Carus.

Consult the INDEX for the complete series, and, in order to see where, in the various Chapters of the book, the different articles of this treatise may be found, look for EUROPEAN WAR (THE). In this way the reader may read the entire series of articles in their original order, if he chooses to do so, while the present arrangement still gives him the advantage of bringing the various articles under their proper, respective Chapter-headings of the book.

This is a series of exceptionally fine articles on the subject in question, and they bear a unique and important relation to each other. Be sure to read them also in their original order.—Editor, "War Echoes."

The plan of the English government has for a long time been to make other nations carry on wars intended to benefit Great Britain. A short time ago this method caused them to use Japan for the purpose of humiliating Russia, and, soon after the Russo-Japanese war, the same principle led to the formation of the Triple Entente between England, Russia and France.

In her anxiety for revenge France has looked for an ally ever since 1871, and has courted Russia, although the French know very well that Russia is in every respect antagonistic to French ideals of republicanism, liberty and progress. Yet it was a foregone determination that should Russia ever attack Germany, France would fall upon her enemy from behind.

Russia is an inveterate enemy of England, for Russia endangers the spread of English influence by subtle intrigue so characteristic of Russian policy, which has shown itself in Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet and China, and even in India. It was considered very clever of Edward VII to make Russia join England, and, in company with France, to establish the Triple Entente. The English people should have known that Russia would never abandon her intrigues against England, and it is excluded that she would help to establish England's supremacy on the sea; as a matter of fact, the Russians have never ceased to continue their anti-British policy. Russia meant to use the English for her own advantage, just as Edward VII hoped to make Russia subservient to England. The English have not yet learned that smart tricks are boomerangs.

France was easily induced to join Great Britain and Russia, for France is a monomaniac nation dominated by the hope for revenge.

The French are like big children. They are amiable and really lovable. They are enthusiastic and, like their Gallic ancestors, excitable in character. Caesar found it easy to subdue them because, like children, they were unsteady, and lacked the serious insistency of their Teutonic neighbors.

The Romans used the same methods in Germany that Caesar employed in Gaul, and were to a certain extent quite successful, but when the Germans discovered that a Romanization of Germany meant an end of German institutions, of German language, and of a development of the characteristic traits of German nationality, they became roused to the danger and beat the Romans in the battle fought in the Teutoburg Forest, a battle which saved not only Germany, with its germs of a national civilization, but also England. It will be well for the English to remember that England's fate, too, depended on the victory of Arminius, for at that time the Saxons were still living in Northern Germany, and if the Germans had been Romanized, England would never have risen, and the very roots from which English speech developed would have been destroyed 458 years before they were transplanted to British soil.

France is no longer purely Celtic in blood, but the conquerors of the country, first the Romans, then the Franks and other Teutonic invaders, have changed into Gauls, and even today the people who settle in France, mostly Germans, acquire the Celtic characteristics. France has become Teutonic in all the most important spots, but the childlike nature of their inhabitants remains the same. Charlemagne was a Frank, his children and children's children behave like Celts. The Visigoths settled in the southwest, the Burgundians in the southeast, other German tribes in Lorraine, the Norsemen in the north, but all of them acquired the childlike gayety of the Celts; and the same can be observed today. There is a continuous stream of German immigration going on still, but the children of the German immigrants are indistinguishable from their French fellow citizens, while the French Huguenots have become Germans in Germany.

The French, like big children, are vain. Flatter them and you can dupe them easily. They are also theatrical. Note for instance how theatrical was the deportment of the great Gallic chief, Vercingetorix, when he surrendered to Caesar, and also how Thiers behaved when he signed the peace treaty in 1871. All proclamations made by the French government to the French people, of any event, even of the enemy's progress, are appeals to their vanity. They are assurances of French greatness, even when retreats or defeats are announced. They praise French gallantry, French triumphs, French deeds of valor and prophesy ultimate victory. Read for instance the transfer of the capital from Paris to Bordeaux. There we gain the impression that the Germans are beaten and that the French army is intact, but the government prefers a change of air for the good of the country and so it moves to Bordeaux.

The great Corsican, Napoleon the First, brought up in France, was a typical Frenchman, at least in vanity, and it was his vanity which proved ruinous to him when dealing with the Czar. When these two most powerful monarchs of the age met at Erfurt in 1812 Czar Alexander was bent on outwitting the great emperor, and he succeeded by flattering his enemy. When the two met, Alexander turned round to his aide-de-camp and whispered, careful at the same time to be overheard by Napoleon, "How beautiful he is. If I were a woman I would fall in love with him." In further conversation, Alexander pretended to be overwhelmed by admiration for Napoleon's genius and, sitting at his feet, he pretended to be his faithful disciple. It was this attitude of Alexander which influenced Napoleon's plan of the Russian campaign. Napoleon thought that a victorious battle or a bold rush into the interior of Russia or some display of his dashing genius would most easily convert Alexander to make peace. So he ventured to capture Moscow and—lost the war.

The French clamor so much for revenge that the world has become accustomed to it, and whomsoever it suits, he encourages his clamor. But let us see first what right the French have to demand revenge.

First, as to the war of 1870-71: Was it not a war undertaken by Napoleon III with the loudly expressed acclamation of the people who paraded through the streets of Paris shouting *"à Berlin"?* And the cause of the war was the unjustifiable demand that the King of Prussia should humiliate himself before the French Emperor. He should beg pardon for a Hohenzollern prince of an entirely different line because the Spaniards had offered to the latter the crown of Spain. As Napoleon was beaten he received the fate he had deserved, and the French, having approved the war, have lost their right to complain about their defeat.

Secondly, as to the conditions of peace: The surrender of Alsace and a small piece of Lorraine was demanded by the victors for the sake of rounding off the lines of Germany's defense, and incidentally it was remembered that the people of Alsace were Germans, that Alsace had belonged to the German empire and its people even in the year 1871 were still speaking German. The French had appropriated Strasburg and other cities some time previously, without even taking the trouble to apologize for their robbery. But having taken Alsace-Lorraine, and having held it in their possession for almost two and one-half centuries, the French claim to be justified in their sentiment of revenge.

If that revenge were proper, why should not England constantly clamor for revenge because the United States were once English colonies? Why should not the Spanish clamor for revenge to regain Gibraltar? Why should not Sweden

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The English claim that the T'ai Ping possessed a spurious Christianity, for the T'ai Ping believed only in the sermon on the mount; according to Chinese notions they called Christ the Elder Brother, i. e., the authoritative son who represents God the Father. They worked out a Chinese conception of Christianity and did not belong to the Anglican church. That was enough to condemn their Christianity as spurious.

IN THE PRISONERS' CAMP AT OHRDRUF
Note the relative Intelligence of the Different Types
(By Courtesy of the "Chicago Abendpost")

use every opportunity to drive the Russians out of Finland? There is no need of swelling the number of instances from the books of history, ancient and modern, but the French policy of revenge and the clamors of the French people for the re-occupation of Alsace-Lorraine have surely the very slightest foundation.

The real interest of France would naturally lie in an alliance with Germany. France and Germany have common interests in the establishment of mutual business relations and a mutual protection of their colonies against England. This has often been recognized by the Germans, but the French are blinded by their vanity, their vainglorious-ness and their narrow-minded hope for revenge. Like big children, they became an easy prey to the British King who ensnared them to fight the battles of Albion, and to suffer more than the English themselves, for whose benefit they are willing to sacrifice themselves only in the expectation that England and Russia will support their lust for revenge.

Even to-day the French are theatrical and vain. Every defeat is represented as a glorious retreat, and every German victory is a disgrace to the enemy. In their rhetorical style the surrender of a fortress always appears as a deed of valor, a patriotic act for the glory of France, and is sure to lead to ultimate victory. Every position abandoned is an advantage gained, and the forts either taken by the enemy or evacuated are of no strategic importance. When it can no longer be denied that the enemy marches into the interior of the country, we are informed that his advance will lead him into a trap, where he is sure to be annihilated. The Germans seem to lack intelligence, for they walk into the French traps; but instead of being caught, they somehow smash the trap to pieces. Even their victories are symptoms of the barbarism of these hordes.

The French well know why they have their war news ornamented with a most exaggerated optimism, for they know that under the gloom of truthful reports, their troops are not likely to display overmuch courage, and a little lie is condoned if it buoys up the soldiers in battle. For assuring the publication of the desired variety of reports the office of a strict censorship has been instituted.

It is strange that the English have learned from their allies this principle in spreading war news. Though the English people are gradually beginning to resent this kind of censorship, it is still most faithfully adhered to, and the war news coming from Paris, London and Petrograd has proved so unreliable that in certain circles in the United States it is now accepted as a joke.

It is interesting to note the contradictory character of the war news. So for instance the Prussian guards have three times been absolutely annihilated, but they are fighting still; and "The Scoop," the organ of the Chicago Press Club, publishes a humorous poem by J. F. Luebben of Buffalo, N. Y., on the treatment of the German army in newspaper reports. We read in "The Scoop" for Saturday, Sept. 26, p. 1068:

"The German soldiers, strenuous men,
In peace and war and thunders,
Have not been killed by French or Russ,
But by newspaper blunders.
Ten thousand they must die a day
(They cut such funny capers);
They do not die from cannon balls,
But from big wads of papers.
Ten thousand dying day and night,
According to the guesses—
They dip them all in printer's ink,
And squeeze them in the presses.
Five million Germans in the war,
With officers and chattels,
What will the press soon do for men
To fight the German battles?
The German, every inch a man,
Is doing some good walking,
He's fighting now to beat the band,
And lets us do the talking.
Now news comes flying through the air,—
Although they've cut the cables,
The Germans found the wireless,
And *that* may turn the tables."

The Franco-British reports praise the English and the French troops. They speak of the superiority of the French artillery and the excellence of French gunners; yet by sheer luck the Germans hit. The Germans are inferior in every respect, they are repulsed, they have heavy losses; they are losing battle after battle. And yet they advance. It is almost a miracle, and we newspaper readers in the far west wonder how a defeated army can take one position after another and enter into the territory of the victors!

Germany is at such a tremendous disadvantage; why must lies also be employed to run down that poor nation? And, as if it were not enough to be faced by the three greatest powers of the world, England, France and Russia, not to mention Belgium, which has been in the fight from the start, there is still in the distant Orient the little nation of the farthest East, Nippon, who plays the pickpocket on Germany, and steals the Kaiser's possessions while his hands are full and he cannot whip the little urchin for his impudence. Japan's behavior is cowardly, but, encouraged by England, the bold Asiatic feels that he can act with impunity. Such are thy allies, proud Albion!

It is strange that the English boast of their own free institutions and characterize the Germans as abject slaves, but any one who knows England will understand that the poor of England have scarcely any influence on the British government. Not so the Germans! The Reichstag is elected by universal suffrage. The Germans know what they are fighting for, and they are willing to fight. Young men in Germany who had formerly been rejected from military service have offered themselves at the recruiting stations to the number of one million three hundred thousand, while in England about one hundred thousand joined the colors when volunteers were urgently requested.

The emperor has been characterized as an autocrat, a czar, a tyrant, but one thing is certain: among all the monarchs of the world the Kaiser is most closely in touch with his people, much more closely than King George is with the English people; and the reason is this, that no one doubts that the emperor's soul is filled with the idea of duty; even where he errs he acts with the intention of doing the work that God requires him to do, and he feels the responsibility of his high position.

The Foes of Germany.

This is the reply to Dr. Carus by Mr. Jourdain on the subject of *Germany's Foes*.—The Editor of *War Echoes*.

An accusation is made against England of stirring others to war and keeping out of it herself,[2] "making other nations carry on wars intended for her benefit."[3] As an illustration of the first policy the attitude of England during the Schleswig-Holstein complication is quoted as follows:

"In 1864 England encouraged Denmark to resist Prussia and Austria on account of Schleswig-Holstein, and the Danes relying on English assurances, refused any compromise, the result being that they lost their duchies. A Danish friend of mine expressed himself very vigorously in condemning British statecraft, saying that the warfare of Prussia was square and honest, but the attitude of England was unpardonable."

Though some of England's diplomacy in the past has been both weak and blundering, her action in this affair compares favorably with Germany's. The succession to the duchies received international sanction by the protocol of London (May 8, 1852), signed by the five great powers and Norway and Sweden. In 1863, Frederick, Duke of Augustenburg, son of the prince who in 1852 had renounced the succession to the duchies, next claimed his right on the ground under the style of Duke Frederick VIII. With "this folly," as Bismarck termed it, Austria and Prussia would have nothing to do. It was clear that they, as signatories to the 1852 protocol must uphold the succession as fixed by it, and that any action they might take in consequence of the violation of that compact by Denmark must be so "correct" as to deprive Europe of all excuse for interference. "From the beginning," Bismarck admitted later, "I kept annexation steadily before my eyes."[4] On December 28, a motion was introduced in the Diet by Austria and Prussia calling on the confederation to occupy Schleswig as a pledge for the observance by Denmark of the compacts of 1852. This was rejected by the Diet, and Austria and Prussia thereon decided to act in the matter as independent European powers (January, 1864). "Had[5] the Danes yielded to the necessities of the situation, and withdrawn from Schleswig under protest, the European powers would probably have restored Schleswig to the Danish crown, and Austria and Prussia as European powers would have no choice but to prevent any attempt upon it by the Duke of Holstein. To prevent this possibility, Bismarck made the Copenhagen government believe that Great Britain had threatened Prussia with intervention should hostilities be opened, though (he admitted) as a matter of fact England did nothing of the kind. The cynical strategem succeeded; Denmark remained defiant, and the Prussian and Austrian forces crossed the Eider." This explains the fact that Denmark is in favor of England today, and anti-German in its sympathies.

There is no evidence that England used Japan for the purpose of humiliating Russia.[6] The talk of inveterate enmity between England and Russia is by no means justified. The *entente* with Russia is an indication that English and Russian policies were not irreconcilable. As to national sympathies, England is quick to appreciate the qualities of that "profound and humane people."

The Editor describes the French as theatrical and vain, unsteady and lacking "the serious insistency of their Teutonic neighbors,"[7] and dominated by the idea of "revenge." "The French are blinded by their vanity, their vainglorious ness, their narrow-minded hope for revenge. Like big children they became an easy prey to the British king who ensnared them to fight the battles of Albion." The Editor's French type reminds one of the comic Frenchman of fiction. But how are we to explain the fact that the German army has moved backward from the Marne, and has vainly attempted to break through the lines of their vain, decadent and vainglorious enemy? The French idea of revenge is circulated by Germany, but little has been heard of it in France in recent years. There is evidence that French statesmen looked on war with Germany as one of the greatest evils that could befall a nation, and the events of 1905 and 1911 are a proof that she was prepared to pay a price to avert the ill-will of Germany. As French statesmen speak of the launching of five threats of war against them by Germany since 1870—the first in 1875 when Moltke wished to bleed France white, the fifth in 1911—it is hardly to be expected that the French should have adopted the point of view that "the real interest of France would naturally lie in an alliance with Germany . . . this has often been recognized by Germans, but the French are blinded by vanity and their narrow-minded hope for revenge."[8]

The war has come; the French who know their history no doubt remember the war of 1870-71. Of this war in which Napoleon III was a mere puppet in Bismarck's hands, the Editor writes, "Was not the cause of the war the unjustifiable demand that the king of Prussia should humiliate himself before the French emperor? He should beg pardon for a Hohenzollern prince of an entirely different line because the Spaniards had offered to the latter the crown of Spain."[9] Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen was advised by Bismarck to "abandon all scruples and accept the candidature in the interests of Germany," and as "a red rag to the Gallic bull." Prince Bismarck worked the German press to inflame opinions against France. On the evening of July 8, the French ambassador Benedetti reached Ems under instructions to ask King Wilhelm to secure the withdrawal of Prince Leopold. The King wrote privately to Sigmaringen; on the 10th, Prince Karl Anton, father of Prince Leopold, said it was too late to draw back, but on the 12th, Prince Leopold actually withdrew, and the news was published in the "Kölnische Zeitung." Benedetti received orders to demand an undertaking from King Wilhelm that the candidature would never be renewed. The old king refused but added that he had no hidden designs, and had reason to hope the question was closed. The German ambassador in Paris sent to Ems for approval a draft note stating that the king of Prussia had meant no offense to France. Though irritated, the king sent an aide-de-camp to Benedetti to report that he had received the official withdrawal from Sigmaringen and approved of it. The aide-de-camp added that Benedetti might come to the

[2] "O. C.," p. 604.*
[3] "Ibid.," p. 613.
*See *Index* for complete article, giving full reference to notes.—Editor.

[4] "Reflections," Vol. II., p. 10.
[5] I quote here the resumé of the question in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," "Schleswig-Holstein Question," 11th edition, Vol. XXIV, p. 329.
[6] "O. C.," p. 613.

[7] "Ibid.," pp. 613-615.
[8] "Ibid.," p. 616.
[9] "Ibid.," p. 615.

station at Ems to salute His Majesty on his departure for Coblentz. As Benedetti bore witness at Ems "there was neither insulter nor insulted." Bismarck, as is well known, falsified the telegram summarizing the conversation with Benedetti; and this "news" made public rendered the continuance of peace impossible. This was not an affair in which French diplomacy shone, but what of the Prussian?

With regard to the conditions of peace after the French defeat, the Editor writes that the surrender of Alsace and a small piece of Lorraine was demanded for rounding off the lines of Germany's defense, and "incidentally it was remembered that the people of Alsace were Germans, that Alsace had belonged to the German empire, and its people even in the year 1871 were still speaking German,"[10] therefore the French should not resent this settlement.

This account avoids the cruelty of the annexation of these provinces by Germany. Though largely German in speech and race their inhabitants were for the most part passionately attached to France. In accordance with the Treaty of Frankfort the inhabitants were allowed to choose between French and German nationality, but all who chose the former had to leave their country. Some 50,000 did so before October, 1872, and settled in France. Even after this exodus, when in 1874 the provinces were enabled to elect members for the Reichstag, they sent fifteen deputies who delivered a formal protest against the annexation and retired from the House, they formed no party and took little part in the proceedings except on important occasions to vote against the government. Gortchakoff gave warning that the annexation would leave a wound that would long be a menace to Europe, while Bismarck is reported to have said "one does not mutilate with impunity. To take Metz and a part of Lorraine was the worst of political blunders." It will be seen from this account of the feelings of the two provinces, that the cases imagined by the Editor, of England clamoring for revenge because the United States were once English colonies, and Spain clamoring to regain Gibraltar, are not parallel.

It is difficult to see why the English alliance with Japan (which has for some time been recognized by the powers as a civilized power), is condemned[1] by the Editor, while Germany's alliance with the oriental and unspeakable Turk is welcomed with enthusiasm at Berlin. To the German mind Japanese intervention is cowardly, the Turkish glorious.

[10] "Ibid.," p. 616.*
[1] "Ibid.," p. 618.
*See *Index* for full reference to notes.—Editor.

Japan's Broken Pledges.

Japan violates the neutrality of China. Not a voice is raised in protest. Japan violates her word of honor to restrict her action to Kiauchau. She seizes the Jauluit Island, dangerously near to the Pacific possessions of the United States. Uncle Sam says nothing. He even smiles. **But he is doing some deep thinking.** —From "The Fatherland," New York, October 21, 1914.

PRUSSIA'S BLIGHTING INFLUENCE.

How This Same Prussia Has Cultivated the Democracy of the Three Republics in the German Empire.

The Fatherland, New York.

Frederick F. Schrader.

Of the many insidious attempts of the English press to poison public sentiment against Germany no topic is more often harped upon just at this time than that the German system of government spells the suppression of liberty and individual freedom for all upon whom its blighting influence may fall. "The victory of Germany in this war means the retardment of democracy," is the cry raised in a number of Anglophile American newspapers. One London Journal exploits this delicious fiction under the eloquent heading, "The Barbarians," in which Germany is put down in the lower list of uncivilized nations.

This unique way of poisoning public sentiment in this country stands self-refuted; but coming from a country which has but recently divided Persia with Russia, destroyed two flourishing republics, for centuries oppressed and persecuted Ireland, stolen Egypt, seized Cyprus, invaded Tibet and is now holding India in a state of abject subjection, its appeal to the ignorance of the masses is only added proof of its hopeless hypocrisy. It cannot possibly affect the thinking class of American citizens.

Let us take a few concrete examples of proof, positive, which brand this presumption as utterly false.

How many are aware that three of the States in the German Empire are republics and have a complete form of republican government?

And how have these borne their political relations to Germany, the Kaiser, and in particular, to Prussia? We refer, of course, to the free states of Hamburg, Bremen and Luebeck.

Let us take Hamburg for example: "a state and city of the German Empire" (Universal Encyclopedia); comprising the city of Hamburg, the neighboring territory of Bergedorf and some smaller districts, and Ritzebuettel, including Cuxhaven, at the mouth of the Elbe.

In 1215 it was made a free city by the Emperor Otto IV. It practically remained a free city until 1810, when Napoleon destroyed its liberties and incorporated it with France. With the downfall of the Corsican tyrant it resumed its republican form of government, and has remained a free city ever since.

Remarkable to relate, Hamburg is entirely surrounded by Prussia. Has Prussia, has the German Empire, or the Kaiser, at any time curtailed the liberty of Hamburg, or of Bremen, or of Luebeck, in the slightest political sense? Let us see.

Today, as always, Hamburg is governed as a republic by a Senate and House of Burgesses, and a first and second burgomaster chosen annually by secret ballot.

Now what has been the blighting influence of the Prussian political system on its destiny?

In 1870 Hamburg had a population of 250,000. That was at the beginning of the Franco-Prussian war. In 1914 Hamburg has a population of one million, and only last year it wrested the supremacy from London and Liverpool and became the largest harbor in the world.

Much of this wonderful change in the history of the German republic may have been due to the far-seeing policies and enterprise of its government; a vast deal is due to the benevolent care exercised in behalf of its development and growth by Prussia, Germany, and the Kaiser in particular. None of the states in the German Empire are more loyal than those of Hamburg, Bremen and Luebeck. Much of the fighting at Liege was done by the troops of the republics.

No state in Germany has benefited more directly by the friendship and personal intercession of the Kaiser than has Hamburg. With its constitution unimpaired, it has grown under the fostering care of the Prussian government and the German Empire as no other city in Europe. Nowhere, as he repeatedly has publicly expressed it, has Emperor William felt so much at home as in "my beloved Hamburg." His receptions in Hamburg have literally been ovations.

Why? Because the good burghers of Hamburg but too well realized not only that their treasured republican institutions were in no danger from "the blighting influence of Prussian diplomacy," but that its enormous expansion, its wealth, its staggering tonnage and shipping were the result of the influence directly exercised by Prussia and the Kaiser.

It laid the foundation of its supremacy in the European continent when in 1888 it joined the Zoll-Verein and expended $30,000,000 on the enlargement of its harbor. Of this amount the German Empire contributed $10,000,000, largely through the good offices of Emperor William.

And what is true of Hamburg is relatively true of the two other republics nestling directly under "the blighting shadow of Prussia's political system." Wherever the German eagle has spread its wings prosperity has grown up, poverty has been reduced to the minimum, beggary has been abolished, industry has flourished and invention fostered. It was said by an English writer in 1891 that "Germany has done more for Alsace-Lorraine in twenty years than France did in two hundred."

It has been said that one of the severest shocks encountered by the French was the disappointment in finding so little response to the bombastic appeal to the people of Alsace-Lorraine which General Joffre addressed to them when he invaded their territory at the beginning of the war. Such theatrically worked-up affairs as that of Zabern by an active gang of French irreconcilables was taken as a sign of general disloyalty to Germany.

Wounded French officers related in Paris that while they were received with signs of hearty welcome, secretly the population of Alsace-Lorraine was betraying the quarters of French troops to the Germans and signalling where German artillery could be most effectively employed to destroy French invaders.

The rank and file of the people were German; in their hearts they realized that France and Russia had provoked the war; and it is entirely safe to say that they will be more loyal to Germany hereafter than ever.

So much for this blighting influence in that section.

Even in Denmark, which next to France imagined itself more aggrieved by Prussia than any other country in Europe because of the loss of Schleswig-Holstein, there is a growing sentiment for Germany, and quite recently the Danish Colony in Berlin published the following address to their countrymen:

"We who have lived here for many years appeal to our countrymen to stand by our German friends in this hour of trial with heart and soul in order that we may substantially prove our own friendship and sympathy."

Which of the oppressed and threatened nations are praying for the success of the Allies?

Is Finland? Is Poland? Is Sweden? Is Holland? Is Egypt? Is Persia? Is India? Are the Boers praying for the defeat of Germany? Hardly. Not for England, which is employing the Oriental in his campaigns. Not for France, which has sent the uniformed negro savages of Africa against the white race. Not for Russia, which has set a new mark in barbarity in its invasion of Prussia by cutting off women's breasts and impaling the five children of one woman upon fence pickets. (Dispatch September 2.)

"The blighting influence of Germany" means civilization, culture, prosperity and progress!

The Kaiser—What Great Men Know of His Character, Motives and Ability

EMPEROR WILLIAM, THE MAN.

Everybody's Magazine.

Professor Hugo Muensterberg.

I remember distinctly one evening when the emperor stood by the open fireplace, telling me laughingly what "the boy," that is the crown prince, had just written from his hunting-trip through India. I felt suddenly, like a thrill through my mind, the wish that instead of me the whole American nation could see this wonderful man in the buoyancy of his fatherly joy, in the sprightliness of his humor, in the incomparable charm of his mood as host.

I felt it because I know how most Americans fancy the man as stiff and forbidding and awe-inspiring, as the war lord with the helmet, as the severe dictator whose command moves millions of soldiers. This harsh, unsympathetic picture of William II, with the formidable mustache of the cartoonist, has wrought havoc with our American public opinion in these excited weeks of the European war.

If anything could bring the man still nearer to us than does his sense of humor, it is the beauty of his family life. His six splendid sons and his favorite child, the daughter, are always in his mind; and the chivalrous way in which he makes his wife the leading personage present is really fascinating. In the family circle, when she talks, his eye rests on her with that perfect delight which means a true home happiness.

It is indeed the simplest household life, in spite of all the brilliant splendor of the surroundings. I saw the empress in a magnificent evening gown, wearing her long chains of superb pearls, sit down at the emperor's side after dinner and do crochet work for a Christmas bazaar, while the talk between the two and their two guests flitted hither and thither.

In such a small circle you also see best that the emperor's efforts for temperance are not only words addressed to others, but maxims severely applied to himself. He hardly sips at a glass of wine, and even the

William II—Emperor of Germany

festival banquets which in the rich Berlin private houses fill many hours of over-luxurious feasting, are served in the palace with lightning rapidity. In the same way his ideas about sport and physical exercise, with which he has rejuvenated the German people, are carried out in his own simple and active life. He takes his daily long walks, rides horseback, or goes hunting. Whenever statecraft allows it, he takes an outing.

Yet his chief interest lies in culture. It is simply marvelous what a multitude of topics are familiar to him. Every science and art, every branch of technique and of practical life, every movement in social reform or religion holds his attention, makes him think, and stirs his desire to know more about it.

In America I have seen only one person succeed in an effort to meet every one in his own field, and that was Theodore Roosevelt. After the congress of arts and sciences during the St. Louis world's fair, which was attended by more leading European scholars of all scientific denominations, the international party went to Washington, and I had the honor to introduce each individual to the President, who received them in the East room. He really talked with philologists about philology, with naturalists about natural science, with historians about history, with geographers about geography and with lawyers about law. Yet six years later I had the feeling that the Kaiser outdid him.

It was at the hundredth anniversary of Berlin university. The scholarly master-spirits of the world had come as delegates. After a great banquet in the gala halls of the Berlin castle, the emperor received the foreign scholars personally, and I happened to stand quite close behind him. It was an intellectual delight to watch the versatility with which he met every man with interest in his particular subject. But the feat became the more fascinating as he addressed every one in his own language, speaking especially French and English with exactly the same ease as German.

And yet this is the man about whom so many Americans fancy that he has no other thought and no other idea than the army and militarism.

He has his own opinions and sticks to them firmly. This naturally means that there are many from whom he stubbornly differs, and who therefore may have the impression that he is one-sided, and in some fields more prejudiced than they like. That has been noticed most often in matters of literature and art and music. He has decidedly a personal aversion for radicalism in the field of beauty. Anything eccentric, decadent, intentionally harsh and repellent in the content, or bizarre and unnatural in the form, appears to him foreign to the mission of art. He wants art and literature really to strengthen man's joy in life and to bring happiness to every one. He wants inspiration from a drama, and not muck-raking; he wants to see God's glory in a landscape, and not freakish esthetic experiments.

Yet when a really great individual talent, who has something entirely new to tell the world, produces decisive works, the emperor is the first to suppress his personal reluctance and to honor the genius. Richard Strauss, whose music must be contrary to the emperor's instincts, is director at the kaiser's court opera.

There can be no doubt that the kaiser has a distinct feeling for mellowed beauty, and the nation has often profited from his natural tact in matters of art. I may point to a case which concerns America. When Germany was to exhibit at the St. Louis World's fair, the architects had drawn the sketches for a great German house in the spirit of the newest German progressive art. The kaiser disliked having Germany represented in a foreign land by a building which emphasized the radical innovations of newest architecture. As witnesses told me, in a few minutes he had replaced it by a new plan. He drew in a few lines a sketch of the well-known old castle in Charlottenburg and indicated how, omitting the wings, the central part could be slightly modified and used as a model which would stand for the noblest traditions of German architecture. And so it did.

This conservative attitude surely characterizes also his own ideas about his position in the state, and his task for his country. This is so easily misunderstood. The caricatures make him appear a pompous man, who talks in a medieval and mystical way about his divine rights which lift him above mankind. In reality, there is not the least hautiness in the kaiser. He is genial and cordial and thoroughly human.

But how does he feel, then, about his royal rôle? He certainly does not take himself as a human being above others. He is far too sincere, too deeply religious to exalt himself as a person. But it is different with the office which has come to him by inheritance.

This is most fittingly expressed if in religious language the royal office is treated as if it were God-given. The crown is of divine grace, just as the wedding-ring is of divine grace. Of course, if you are radical, the wedding-tie does not mean any more to you than a contract, binding until you decide to have a divorce. If your mind tends more toward a conservative view, the wedding-tie is something sacred. The emperor would certainly take this latter view of marriage, and so he takes the conservative view of the office of king.

But do not forget: Of the office, not of the man! The king is more than the citizen only as the bearer of the office; but if this is understood, then it expresses the view which not only the emperor has of himself, but which practically every German has of the meaning of royalty. As soon as the monarch is functioning in his inherited rôle, the German wants to see in him the bearer of a sacred symbol from which springs a higher power than could come from any elective office, which necessarily remains dependent upon the will of the majority. * *

THE KAISER VINDICATED.

New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, New York.

Herman Ridder.

The present war has been made the occasion for renewed outbreaks on the part of the press throughout the world against the Kaiser. Ever since the day, twenty-six years ago, when Wilhelm II. ascended the throne of his fathers, he has been the subject of constant editorial attack. The mass of calumnies, of distorted motives and of petty vituperation that has been leveled at him has been in direct proportion to the measure of the success which has attended his efforts for the peaceful promotion of the legitimate interests of his people.

I have followed the career of the emperor from the day of his accession, through the long years when Germany struggled for a greater national existence, down to the present day of storm and stress. I have felt honored by his acquaintance and by his friendship. I am a sincere admirer of his extraordinary ability and resourcefulness. I can understand the devotion of his German people and their complete unity of purpose under his leadership. Whether the standard be German or American, the answer is inevitable, the Emperor is a man with all that such a term implies. He is a great man, a just man and a well-beloved man.

The Emperor has almost a religious conviction in regard to his duty towards his country. No personal motives play any part in his scheme of life. He is as much devoted to his particular calling of governing and brings the same point of view towards his profession as the young man towards the vocation of priesthood. The Emperor believes that he has been called to perform a great work and he brings a noble sense of duty towards its fulfillment.

Less than any man whom I have studied does he yield to the prejudice of any particular group that happens temporarily to surround him. He favors the army, "his beloved army," because the army is the staff upon which Germany leans in times of peril. Imagine where Germany would be today without an army to defend her borders from the enemies that are being hurried from all parts of the world against her.

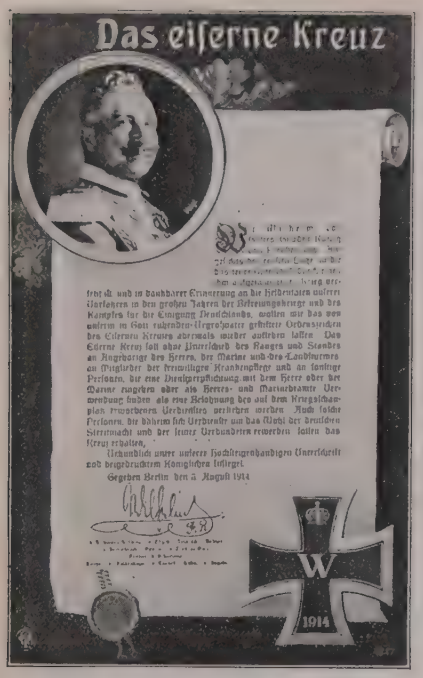
The confidence of the Emperor in the German army has not been misplaced. It is a great machine and has proven itself capable of great deeds. When the history of the campaign of France is written it will show that von Moltke was not "an accident," as so many American papers delight in saying. The first rush for Paris did not succeed, but the next advance will have en entirely different character. There have been no German routs, no great reverses. Fortunately the reports from London and Paris do not alter the facts of the case. Regardless of the coloring given at the time, sooner or later the facts appear. As the London Times naïvely remarks, "The truth must out."

The advice of Dr. Dernburg, given in a speech at a benefit performance for the German Red Cross, is well worthy of the attention of German-Americans:

"How can you help the Fatherland in this most difficult situation? Above all by a quiet demeanor and dignified attitude. It accomplishes no useful purpose to quarrel because the American people have no sympathy for that sort of thing. In the days of our victories we will rejoice, but we will not whine when we suffer the reverses which the fortunes of war may bring. We will emphasize the justness of our cause in those circles where it is worth while. We have too much respect for ourselves to answer the attacks of our opponents, lie for lie or exaggeration for exaggeration. We refute with contempt, but nevertheless with moderation of expression, the charges of German cruelties which we know to be foreign to our civilization and our temperament. Your own character and your own experience in this country furnish the best evidence of that fact.

"What we should, however, bring home to the American people are the facts of our mutual ideals, our mutual commercial interests and a century of friendship between the United States and Germany. If they hold the term "militarism" before you, ask them which other nation in the world always had more than one enemy to protect itself against, and if they assert that the German people through this "militarism" were led into a war, then you can point to the fact of the unity of the German people and in what a firm and noble manner it is fighting its battle.

"I consider the 4th of August of this year as one of the most inspiring days that it has been my fortune to live. At the opening of the German Reichstag in the Palace of Berlin, I stood in the first row and saw, calm and determined, the elected representatives of the German people, assured and stern the generals, and simple and alone, without decoration or attendance, the Emperor in his field uniform. With hope and confidence in his voice, the Kaiser read his speech. As this man in this hour held the responsibility for the history of Germany in his hands, as this man stepped from the platform, he said those few words which will always have an immense importance in German political history: 'What I told my beloved people of Berlin from the balcony of the palace, I repeat to you: From today I know no distinction in rank, no diversity of parties, no difference of religions. I am a German with my German people and I call on the leaders of all parties to swear the same oath with me and to confirm it by laying their hand in mine.' As these men stepped forward to shake the hand of the Emperor, the spirit of a great hour fell over the assembled thousands and as we sang the National Anthem, I can assure you it sounded different from a school festival or a veterans' anniversary."



THE IRON CROSS

The Order of the Iron Cross for Military Merit was founded by the Kaiser's great-grandfather during the wars of German Liberation

THE KAISER'S NEW YEAR GREETINGS.

To the German Army and the German Navy:—

After five months of long, difficult and violent fighting, we enter into the New Year.

Brilliant victories have been won, great successes attained. The German army stands in the enemy's territory almost on every side. Repeated attempts of the enemy to flood the German soil with their multitudinous armies have met with failure. My ships have covered themselves with fame on all seas. Their crews have proven that they can not only fight their way to victory, but that they are able, when overwhelmed by superior numbers, to meet death heroically.

Behind the army and the fleet stands the German people in unexampled unity, ready to offer their dearest possessions for the sacred domestic hearth, which we are defending against wanton attacks.

Much has happened in the old year. But the enemy has not yet been vanquished. Fresh armies are constantly being hurled against our faithful troops and those of our ally. But their numbers do not frighten us.

Although the present time is an earnest one, the task which lies before us most difficult, we may look into the future with firm confidence.

After God's all-wise leadership, I place my trust in the incomparable bravery of the army and navy and I know that I am one with the entire German people.

Let us therefore go forward undauntedly to meet the New Year—to fresh deeds—to new victories for the beloved Fatherland.

(Signed) WILHELM, I. R.
Chief Headquarters, Dec. 31, 1914.

IS THE KAISER GLORY-MAD?

Editorial, Army and Navy Journal, New York.

It is well to call attention to a few facts which lie close to the surface in this titanic European upheavel and which should be especially instructive to all military men. First, one hears on all sides in the United States that the German Kaiser is glory-hungry and that, in a mad desire to achieve a name like Frederick the Great or Napoleon, he has flung his great army in the face of Europe. When the Boulanger excitement was at its height in France, one of Boulanger's partisans arose in the House of Deputies and shouted to the opposition: "How do you know that General Boulanger will not punish you all with a coup d'état?" "Because," hissed back an opponent, "he is too old." Boulanger was then fifty-one. So it may be said of the German Kaiser. Born in 1859, he is now fifty-five years of age. A gray-haired grandfather does not seek military glory at an age three years greater than that at which Napoleon died and when twenty-two years older than was Frederick the Great, when by the treaty of Dresden, in 1745, he obtained possession of Silesia for the second time and by his military genius had "raised himself to a great position in Europe."

The Kaiser has so well kept the peace of Europe during the twenty-six years of his reign that Mr. Carnegie only a few months ago presented to him a tribute as an expression of the admiration of peace lovers the world over for the magnificent work he had done to prevent war in Europe during his years of power. Now to say that he has plunged nations into war for a mere freak is to misjudge entirely those racial currents which for centuries, like some deeply hidden stream that undermines mountains and brings the loftiest peak level with the plain, have torn through all conventions and diplomatic agreements and made their way in blood to the attainment of their ultimate object. There has been more than one occasion when the German Emperor, if he had been glory-mad, could have thrown his sword into the balance with far more chance of achieving success than at the present time. When the Russian Empire was in that fierce grapple with Japan, Wilhelm was ten years younger than he is today, and should have been more eager to achieve military fame than when only fifteen years away from the three-score years and ten which are supposed to round out the life of the average mortal. When he took the throne in 1888, France was only seventeen years removed from the disastrous débacle of the Napoleonic régime. Then the Kaiser was a young man and glory should certainly have seemed more alluring than now, when grandchildren are prattling on his imperial knees. He had scarcely been on the throne a decade when the Dreyfus agitation broke out in France and the name of the Kaiser was brought into the controversy that rent France asunder with discord. Then, if he had sought only his own glory, he could have manufactured a casus belli out of the allegations so frequently heard that Germany had played a base part in the "affaire." Again at the time of the Agadir incident in Africa a splendid opportunity presented itself for creating a reason for going to war, but the Kaiser sat firm and the war clouds blew over. Why, then, should the conclusion be jumped at that the German Emperor has no other ambition now than to achieve glory? Emperors at his age, in history of the world generally, have already established their reputations and have been content to pass the remaining years of their reign in peace. The case of Napoleon III, who was fifty-two when he entered upon the war with Prussia in 1870, is not an instance in point, for he was an adventurer who held his emperorship by virtue of a coup d'état and with whom the country was becoming dissatisfied, a situation that made war an apparently easy way to distract popular attention from troubles at home. The German Kaiser, on the contrary, is the regular successor of a beloved Emperor and his country is at the height of its prosperity, with no home troubles clouding his administration of his imperial heritage.

We also hear it said that the great army of the Kaiser has led him on to challenge the military strength of the Triple Entente and that his alleged eagerness to go to war is another reason for general disarmament, since without his large army he would not have been tempted to go to war. Here the assertion is that the possession of a huge fighting machine made him imperious and unreasonable and that it lulled him into a false sense of security. But the facts do not bear out this assertion. In another column we print a summary of a book by Lieut. Col. W. von Bremen, a German officer, which was recently published, and which aimed to show the Germans their weakness from the viewpoint of military preparedness. In it will be found little to give confidence to the Kaiser, as it shows Germany and Austria would be outnumbered by nearly 2,000,000 men without counting Great Britain, while Italy could not be relied upon to stand by the Triple Alliance. Emperors, unless they are military geniuses like Napoleon, are not eager to rush into war when outnumbered by more than a million men on land and completely overshadowed on the sea.

Americans, not having been placed in an environment where they could feel the pressure of rival races, naturally form the opinion that the great military establishment of the German Emperor is responsible for this war, and they cannot understand how a thing that appears so small to them as the Austro-Servian imbroglio should result in this pan-European conflagration. This attitude on their part is due to their ignorance of conditions that have obtained in their own country. Only a few months ago the United States invaded territory of Mexico and seized her greatest port because a certain salute was not given to the American flag. Doubtless the American people would have been much aggrieved if Europe had mocked them for entering upon hostilities for such a trivial cause. Americans are inclined to condemn the strenuous methods adopted by Austria to punish Servia for the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne, yet our own government refused to recognize the authority of Huerta on the ground that he was implicated in the

alleged assassination of Madero, a Mexican—a refusal that resulted eventually in the invasion of Mexican territory.

If one of the European nations having island possessions near the Caribbean terminal of the Panama Canal should dispose, by a perfectly legal sale, of her islands or island to another nation, the United States under the Monroe Doctrine would enter a protest and, we doubt not, would be ready to go to war. Twenty years ago this country was on the verge of war with England over Venezuela and the Monroe Doctrine. Could not Europe very justly ridicule our clinging to the intangible thing called the Monroe Doctrine, which has no place in international law? To the European the Doctrine may seem very insignificant indeed, but to Americans it appears to be vital to the future welfare of the Republic and something for which the nation is justified in going to war. We who watch over the Doctrine with nervous care are scarcely in a position to shout "militarism" at the Germans or Austrians when they risk the arbitrament of war for a principle of racial homogeneity that may have just as solid a basis in the needs of the people as has the Monroe Doctrine. One very important thing the American people should learn is that each continent, each people, has issues peculiar to itself, and that it is not proper for a country thousands of miles away to evoke from the depths of its isolation a sneer or a criticism for people who may be just as faithfully living up to the necessities of their national existence as did the American people in 1861 when they preferred to precipitate the greatest civil war in history rather than see part of their federation withdraw to form a separate nation.

10,000 GERMANS CABLE KAISER LOVE.

Stirring Meeting Also Urges Americans to Delay Verdict on War.

The Chicago Tribune.

Ten thousand of Chicago's German-Americans gathered in and about the Auditorium theater last night in a war demonstration.

From this meeting and its several overflow meetings messages of assurance and sympathy were sent to Kaiser Wilhelm and Emperor Franz Joseph.

Resolutions were adopted calling on the public and the press of the United States to consider the situation conservatively, thoughtfully, cautiously.

5,000 Parade Streets.

At the close of the meeting, members of the audience and the large gatherings in Grant Park, Congress street and Michigan boulevard paraded the streets more than 5,000 strong behind the German colors and the American flag chanting "Die Wacht am Rhein." At the North Side Turner Hall the paraders held a second meeting, where a collection for the German cause was taken.

Austria-Hungary was strongly represented in the meeting.

Cable to Rulers.

The cables dispatched from the meeting were voted by acclamation from the cheering audience. The first read:

"To His Imperial Majesty Kaiser Franz Joseph of Austria-Hungary:

"In the largest German mass meeting ever held in Chicago the Germans and Austrians of this world city assure your imperial majesty, whose venerable brow ever inspires all men to love and veneration, of undying love and affection."

This message was approved and greeted with "bravos" as the chairman rose to read the following message:

"To His Majesty Wilhelm II., German Kaiser, Berlin:

"The German-American citizens of Chicago, assembled in as great a mass meeting as this world city has ever seen, assure your majesty in the name of the 2,000,000 Germans in Illinois of our unchangeable love for home and fatherland."

The meeting was held under the auspices of the German-American alliance, with Ferdinand Walther, president, presiding.

Patriotic Music Stirs Crowd.

The fervor of the audience gathered fire from the music of Ballman's orchestra, playing marches sacred to the memory of many a field of German victory.

The Rev. Alfred Meyer spoke for more than an hour, discussing the significance of the controversy and the treatment of the news in the American newspapers.

"We have war because of English jealousy," he said, as nearly as his rapid fire German may be translated into English text. "The trade of Germany has increased two and a half times in five years. England has seen that only war might disturb the balance of trade."

Kaiser's Peaceful Instincts.

The minister spoke of the peaceful instincts of Kaiser Wilhelm and pointed to the forty years of German peace. He charged England had added fire to the ancient hatred of the French and laid at the foot of the English throne the blame for the world war.

The Rev. Mr. Meyer's utterances drew wild applause from the audience. Women enthused with the love of fatherland stood up in their seats to wave kerchiefs and gloves.

The orchestra struck up "Radetzki," the march made memorable by the conflict of Dueppel in Denmark in 1864. The auditorium roared with cheers.

Former Judge Michael F. Girten presented an analysis of the war situation in German phrase, which most accurately might be translated as an issue of "meat and murderers." He attacked the right of Servia to assume affront at the demands of Austro-Hungary on account of the anti-Austrian plots and of the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne.

"Austria has sent inspectors to look into the food imports, to search for diseased cattle and unwholesome meats," he said, "and Servian honor was not affronted. Should any nation be criticised for wanting an inspection of diseased men, reputed murderers?

"Assassinations are contagious. They must be kept down by all civilized peoples of the world."

Cites Belgian Incident.

Judge Girten recounted the incident of the Belgian plot of Du Chose against the life of Bismarck and cited the promptness with which Belgium suppressed the society and the periodicals held responsible.

The judge praised the Kaiser as a man of peace, declaring in German idiom that he had "backed down" frequently in the last quarter of a century to avoid war. He charged England and France could have avoided war by refusing to let Russia go on with an extension of "that protection of a certain brand that has been extended to the Finns and Poles."

Rothmann Defends Germany.

William Rothmann, only speaker of the night to deliver an address in English spoke in behalf of the German club. His address was a defense of the position of Germany in world politics. H. O. Lange also spoke.

Carl Zwanzig of Ottawa, Ill., president Des Deutsch-Amerikanischen Press-Vereins von Illinois, spoke in behalf of the German press of the State.

The overflow meetings in the streets about and the lobby of the theater were addressed by E. G. F. Brill, former Judge Girten, August Lueders and others.

More than 6,000 persons were turned away by the police and firemen assigned to the protection of the theater. Charles Christian led a crowd to Grant Park, where the enthusiasts formed in tiers north of Congress street.

A similar meeting as this was held by German-Americans of Boston in Faneuil Hall on August 30th. For details see reprinted report on another page under the head of "Faneuil Hall Rocks As Germans Ask Fair Play From the Press." "The Boston Evening Transcript" says this was "as lacking in legitimate excuse, as it was harmful in example," and that "the German-Americans there assembled emphasized by their speeches and resolutions how hyphenated is their citizenship."

"It is against them and their brand of patriotism," "The Transcript" continues, "that President Wilson has protested more than once and his admirable counsel regarding our neutrality as a nation in this war was, we believe, intended particularly for those who, in their sympathy for the sorrows of the land they left, forget not only their reasons for leaving, but their solemn obligations to the land of their adoption."

Germany's Moral and Sacred Trust to Posterity—Patriotism and Duty

Die Wacht am Rhein.

Max Schneckenburger. (1840.)

Carl Wilhelm. (1854)

Allegro maestoso.

1. Es braust ein Ruf wie Don-ner-hall, wie Schwertge-klirr und Wo-genprall: zum
2. Durch Hun-dert-tau-send zuckt es schnell, und al-ler Au-gen blit-zen hell: der
3. Er blickt hin-auf in Him-mels-aun, da Hel-den-vä-ter nie-derschaun und
4. So lang' ein Trop-fen Blut noch glüht, noch ei-ne Faust den De-gen zieht, und
5. Der Schwur erschallt, die Wo-ge rinnt, die Fah-nen flat-tern hoch im Wind: am

1. Rhein, zum Rhein, zum deut-schen Rhein! wer will des-Stro-mes Hü-ter sein!
2. Deut-sche, bie-der, fromm und-stark, be-schützt die heil-ge Landes-Mark.
3. schwört mit stol-zer Kamp-fes-lust: „Du, Rhein, bleibst deutsch wie mei-ne Brust!" } Lieb
4. noch ein Arm die Büch-se spannt, be-tritt kein Feind hier dei-nen Strand!
5. Rhein, am Rhein, am deut-schen Rhein, wir al-le wol-len Hü-ter sein!

1-5. Va-ter-land, magst ru-hig sein, lieb Va-ter-land, magst ru-hig sein: fest steht und

1-5. treu die Wacht, die Wacht am Rhein! fest steht und treu die Wacht, die Wacht am Rhein!

THE WATCH O'ER THE RHINE.

(Translation of the German National Anthem, which is printed above.)

1

With thunder shout the air is rent,
Like roar of waves and sword-clash blent;
"Now of the German Rhine so free,
Who will the river's guardian be?"

(Chorus:)

Dear Fatherland, mayst tranquil be,
Thy faithful sons will watch o'er thee;
Steadfast and true each son, each son of thine,
Stands sentry o'er our Rhine, our noble Rhine.

2

The people hear that mighty cry,
Like lightning flashes ev'ry eye,
That landmark ev'ry heart will keep,
And watch unsleeping o'er the deep.

(Chorus.)

3

The waves re-echo back the cry,
The standard in the breeze doth fly,
The Rhine, the German Rhine so free,
Yes! we will all thy guardians be.

(Chorus.)

GERMAN PATRIOTISM.

Maximilian Harden, one of the foremost German journalists, writes in "Die Zukunft" as follows:

"Our foes in East and West are drunk with joy—'In Germany the foodstuffs have been placed under Government control, that is the beginning of the end.' We reply, 'It is the end of a beginning of which we at home disapproved mightily. It means divesting ourselves of all shams, whose reign could not continue without woeful harm.'

"Do our enemies rejoice that we have taken this step? They may rest assured we have desired it for a long, long time. Government supervision of supplies is a necessity. It cannot be sufficiently severe where the merest possibility of eventual dearth exists. We do not complain because every man, woman and child is meted out an iron portion of provisions, of meat, eggs, butter, bread. No one knows how long the war may continue. And the fear of starvation *must not be allowed to curtail the war by the fraction of a day.* That is the business of those that rule. It is their duty to see that the national larder remains replete."

If Englishmen were as willing to make sacrifices, Germany might view the future with concern, but drink-sodden England is not capable of such patriotism.

There is a handwriting on the walls of England and the voice of the prophet is sounding in her streets.—From "The Crucible."

ON DRESS PARADE

Imperial Guard passing in review before their Emperor, who has just declared war. The same dignified and uniform appearance of German Soldiers is seen everywhere; they may be mistaken, but they certainly "mean it"!

THE DUTY OF PREPAREDNESS FOR WAR.

By Charles Richmond Henderson.

Head of the department of ecclesiastical sociology, University of Chicago, editor of the American Journal of Theology, editor of the American Journal of Sociology.

From the Editorial Page of "The Chicago Tribune," November 8, 1914.

[An extract from the "Russell Lecture" for 1914 Tufts college, Boston, delivered by Dr. Henderson.]

We have no reason to abandon in this terrible hour our confidence in the ultimate triumph of reason and justice; nor to surrender to the detestable doctrines of Machiavelli and his contemporary disciples; nor to look for our deities in Valhalla, in a world "beyond good and evil." Our first and supreme duty as a people is to deserve peace; to avoid every just occasion for attack; to be fair to our own workingmen, to Japan, and to China. No pacifist has ever stated that obligation too strongly.

But the American people have recently been startled into consideration of a reality which they have not faced before since the awful years of the war for the union and for liberation of our slaves. We have been taught to trust in the ocean; the Emden, the Karlsruhe, and other swift men of war, shelling Madras, Calcutta, and threatening other ports, have destroyed that delusion.

We have trusted to treaties of civilized nations, and now we are told by the highest authorities that good faith and honor are the reliance of weaklings and fools, when "interest" calls for treachery and destruction. We have been taught by certain brilliant economists that the bankers of the great financial centers would stop war by refusing credits; and the money princes of conquered cities are hostages for the payment of enormous ransoms, while the bankers of Paris, Berlin, and London obey the commanders of armies without protest or power to lift a little finger.

We have been taught by the present horrors that we can rely on no power but our own. We love Tolstoi and the Friends for their amiable dispositions and their ideals for the future, but at the same time we set steel bars before our windows and arm the police to protect us from burglars and assassins. Each man must adjust his theology to the facts as well as he can, and the mystery is confusedly baffling; but facts must be counted if we are to have a philosophy which will actually prevent unscrupulous ruffians from ruling the world.

We have, as educated people, learned to trust experts, as physicians, engineers, legal advisers, investors; but we have not only distrusted our military specialists, we have permitted them to be defamed and covered with opprobrium. The only men who really knew how strong a navy and army were needed have begged for a hearing in vain. The danger now is that we shall rush to another extreme and accept a policy of imperial conquest. Hope lies in heeding moderate, sane, counsels. One thing is sure as daylight: We must be a nation in arms; our youth must be taught the necessity of sacrifice; we must surrender part of our wealth, comfort, leisure, luxury, and sport to the demands of patriotism; we must put a powerful citizen soldiery under discipline of trained soldiers.

Then, and then only, will the territory, the institutions, and the civilization which we inherited from soldier ancestors be secure. Then only will peace be guaranteed.

We have no revenge to wreak on any people; we are not land hungry for a "place in the sun"; we respect the rights of weaker peoples. But it would be better to sell the Panama zone, the Philippine islands, and Hawaii for a song to any nation which can defend them than to hold them without power to protect them, so inviting invasion, humiliation, and ruin. With San Francisco, Seattle, Boston, Charleston, New York, and New Orleans at the mercy of a first class power, we are recreant to our trust, and mistake cowardice for moral ideals, if we fail to heed the call of our army and navy, on which at present we are imposing a duty which they cannot fulfill. There is yet time to awake from our dream of smug comfort and insure our peaceful and unquestioned possession of the lands our ancestors paid for with courage, toil and the full measure of devotion. If our government, after a scientific investigation, asks every tenth young man, selected by lot, to prepare for their national defense, and distributes equitably the economical burden, we can count on a response worthy of our history. But so long as great teachers continue to lull us all into a false confidence, the forces of danger are arming against us, and our youth are drugged into the same unnatural slumber. Without questioning the noble motives of such teachers, their influence is that of the disloyal, of public enemies, and must be sharply challenged by those who would give justice a sword, as well as an olive leaf, for national protection.

GERMAN RACE WARS FOR LIFE.

With Great Britain it is Simply a Business Proposition—Cold-Blooded Baron Mumm, Bitter at Britain, Cites Slav Menace in Interview Authorized by Berlin.

The Chicago Tribune.

Joseph Medill Patterson.

Berlin, Aug. 26.—The following remarkable authorized interview was granted today by the German foreign office—comparable to the state department in Washington—to your correspondent.

The interview was held directly with Baron Mumm, adviser to the German foreign office in American, Chinese and Japanese affairs.

Baron Mumm, who speaks English fluently, was secretary of the legation in Washington, 1888-1892, and minister pro tem to the United States, 1899. He was minister to China, 1900-1906, in the six difficult and critical years succeeding the boxer rebellion, and ambassador to Japan in 1906-1911.

When the interview was completed it was typewritten and submitted to the German foreign office for approval. This approval was very hard to get. In fact, the German foreign office at first entirely disapproved of the article, rather on account of its manner than because of its substance, which it was acknowledged had been faithfully interpreted.

But the way in which the interview was written, in American newspaper style, caused some of the older secretaries of state, accustomed to the formal phraseology of less hurried and more dignified days, to gasp. However, Baron Mumm, with his deeper knowledge of how things are done, written and said in the United States, persuaded his confreres that the informality of the conversation as reported would, if anything, cause it to be more widely read in America.

On that plea the foreign office finally and in considerable perplexity assented to the interview, stamped it with the official stamp, and it appears herewith.

How Germany is Cut Off.

I first explained to Baron Mumm that the American public had so far heard little but the Anglo-French side of the catastrophe now taking place in Europe, owing to the control by those governments of the Atlantic cables to the United States, the control of the Russian and Japanese governments of the Pacific cables to the United States, and the practical stopping of mail from Germany.

The answer was that the German government understood the situation perfectly and regretted it greatly, because it was its wish to have the entire facts in the matter laid freely before the American public.

Baron Mumm continued that the German government realized that the impression had been spread in America that Germany and the German emperor had wished for this world-wide war, provoked it, and precipitated it, whereas Germany had made every possible effort, first, to keep Russia from fighting Austria; second, to keep France neutral in the event of a Russo-German war; third, to keep England neutral in the event Germany found itself forced to fight at two frontiers, and fourth—obviously—it hoped that the Japanese would be able to restrain themselves from the raid on Kiau-Chau in China.

"Germany Not Insane."

"Germany is not insane," declared Baron Mumm vigorously, "and unless you think us insane, how can you believe that we wished to fight the world just for the fun of it? No, the emperor's quarter century of peace gives the lie to that impossible conception. Russia fought us because we are the outpost of the west and she is the outpost of the east of Europe—just as you are the outpost of the west on the Pacific and Japan of the east.

"Russia supported her Slav brothers in Servia and we were forced to support our German brothers in Austria. Race against race, people against people, occident against orient, civilization against semi-barbarism—such things have always been in history, perhaps always will be. But when the west, when England and France attacked us in the rear—O, the day may soon come when they regret that!"

"Then this is not a dynastic war, a quarrel of kings," I asked, "when kings play the sport of kings to see who plays the best?"

"I could properly be offended at such a question," was the grave answer, "but I will endeavor not to be, because I see it is impossible you could believe even momentarily such a monstrous thing.

Germany a Fighting Pit.

"To go back to the beginning, we stood in the center of Europe, with a hostile nation on each side of us. For centuries we were the maneuvering ground for foreign armies. Spaniards, Dutch, English, Russians, Poles, Bohemians, but especially the French, have drenched our soil with each others', with their own, and with our blood for centuries. That was when the sport of kings was played, if you like, and we were the playground.

"Finally we Germans became self-conscious. We realized after a long, long time that we must fight beside each other, not against each other for one party of invaders or another. Prussia was the nucleus whence this spirit spread over what is now the empire. Napoleon's iron heel trod its iron into our souls, and with tears and mistakes and blood we slowly made progress. In 1870-71, under the first Emperor Wilhelm—the Great, we call him—and Bismarck, the German Empire was born. In commerce, arts and science, the works of peace, it has grown, perhaps as fast as your own country, certainly faster than any other."

"Certainly faster than ours in the arts," I suggested, "if not also in commerce and science."

Sees English Jealousy.

"That is the explanation, the downright fundamental explanation, of England's entrance into this war," he explained. "We are forging ahead of England in all the arts and sciences of peace, so in our difficulty she determined to"—he hesitated, then chose his words carefully—"she determined to try to destroy our sea borne commerce with her navy. She couldn't beat our merchants with her own, therefore she hopes to beat our merchants with her dreadnoughts. Ah, well," he said, "it was her only chance. English business men work six hours a day five or even four days a week—three day week-ends have become quite the custom over there now—and German business men work nine hours a day six days a week. Is it any wonder she finds she needs to subsidize her commerce with 13.5 inch shells? Read your Mahan," he said.

"Read Mahan?"

"Yes—his history of the influence of sea power upon history. He shows how ever since the Spanish armada England has considered all the oceans belonging to her. She has resented to the point of war the commercial success on the ocean of any other nation. She has always either outbuilt her rivals, or when opportunity offered, instead of outbuilding her rival's navy, she has attacked it before it could become too large. She considers the five oceans belong to her.

Saw Germany a Competitor.

"We dared to share them with her and so she has attacked us in our difficulty—just as she took advantage of your Civil War to fit out Confederate privateers and sweep your ocean commerce from the seas.

"Do you realize," he asked, "that it was precisely during the four years of your Civil War that you lost your ocean commerce and England picked it up? In the same way England destroyed the navies, first of Spain and took her commerce, then when the navy and commerce of Holland grew large, England destroyed her navy and took her commerce; then when the French attempted colonial expansion and trade under Louis XIV and XV, England destroyed the French navies and took French commerce. This happened several times. Whenever French commerce showed signs of reviving England promptly cut to the ground again. Then, in the Napoleonic wars, England destroyed all other navies, including yours, and took their trade. It's a fine game they play in Westminster—that the five oceans belong to them—but some day the rest of Europe and you in America may grow as weary of it as we have already."

"Then you don't believe it was to protect the neutrality of a weaker coun-

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W. R. P. Is it not anomalous that England should so strongly oppose her "democracy" against the "autocracy" of Germany, when Lord Morley, John Burns, Keir Hardie, Ramsay McDonald and the rest of true democrats, abandoned her on account of the war?

It is anomalous. But on the part of England the war itself is an anomally. It is in no sense of the word a "people's war," but the play of the oligarchical party—perhaps its last.—From the "Questions and Answers" column in the "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung," November 7, 1914.

try, Belgium, to defend her against a powerful aggressor, as the English papers assert?"

"Oh, that—that," he said, "is in your expression, simply monumental. Since when have the English themselves respected the neutrality of smaller nations? Since their South African adventure? All other nations in the world put together have not violated the neutrality of weaker countries one-half as much as England has. Her existing empire of 11,000,000 square miles is evidence enough of that. She went into the Transvaal and Orange Free State because her financiers wanted the diamond mines there. We went into Belgium as a matter of military necessity in a fight for our lives."

"May I interject," I asked, "that the German invasion of Belgium was not particularly popular in the United States?"

"I know it," he answered, "and I am sorry. It was not particularly popular here, either. But self-preservation is the first law. You know, for instance, that mobilization means war —and why——"

"Why?" I asked.

Had to Strike First.

"Because it's like winding up a great spring that must unwind. The reserves leave their work and put on uniforms and shoulder guns and take the trains to the frontier one behind the other. Then the first ones at the frontier cross it to make room for the ones behind, to carry the war in the enemy's country to hit him first. Germany can mobilize in a week, France in a fortnight, Russia in four or six weeks. If, after mobilizing, we had waited while the diplomats talked and the other countries were using that time to mobilize against us, we would have lost our advantage, and we can afford to lose no advantage in a war at two frontiers, with England on the sea; yet we waited five days after we knew Russia had begun its mobilization before we began ours; five days we were risking our safety in the hope of peace. Then when we saw war with Russia must come, we demanded categorically from France an answer as to whether she would observe neutrality and received their answer from our ambassador August 1 at 1:05 p. m. I quote the official document: 'Upon my repeated definite inquiry whether France would remain neutral in the event of a Russo-German war, the prime minister declared France would do that which her interests dictated.'

France's Meaning Clear.

"In the language of diplomacy, and considering France's alliance with Russia, that could have but one meaning, and so we knew we must strike as hard and as quickly as possible at France. The way in which we could strike France hardest and quickest was through Belgium, and hence we took that way. If Belgium had permitted us free passage we would have paid cash for every mouthful and left its territory intact. But Belgium chose to appeal to the god of battles and must abide by the result. With Russia on one side and France on the other and England on the oceans, what else could we do but strike as hard and as quickly as we could? Let history decide which was the most necessitous, and hence excusable—our invasion of Belgium or England's of the Transvaal."

"But"—I reverted to the horror of it all—"all this for the murder of a royal couple in Austria? Why must millions die for them now? They are already dead and cannot return to life."

Cites Allegory in U. S.

"Suppose," said he, "that the Mexicans had been conducting an anti-American campaign along your southern boundary for thirty years with the object of detaching Arizona and New Mexico from the United States and returning them to Mexico; suppose this propaganda was connected with the open connivance of the Mexican government and press and with the active assistance of Mexican army officers. Suppose then that the next highest official in your country, a man who corresponded to a combination of vice-president, secretary of state, and general in the army, were sent to the troubled region on a political mission to report on what steps should be taken to quell this propaganda, and suppose further that he was there assassinated with his wife by a Mexican with bombs manufactured in a Mexican government arsenal and furnished him by Mexican officials and army officers, and suppose, as I have said, this was not an outrage, but the culmination of thirty years of anti-American attack, then would the American people consider a punitive expedition against Mexico unreasonable?

"I rather think not. They would insist on it. The arrest of six American marines resulted in your capture of Vera Cruz, did it not? The blowing up of the Maine, by causes yet unknown, in the taking of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines? Yet Austria did not wish to take any of Servia. It officially agreed not to do so. It wanted only a cessation of this pan-Servian propaganda of the bomb. If it did not insist on that it must abdicate its very sovereignty in its own territory."

"Then why not let them fight it out?"

Russia Forced Action.

"Heaven knows that we wanted to let them fight it out—and the fight would, as I said, have simmered down to a punitive expedition. But Russia refused. Against our prayers Russia insisted on taking the side of the Serbs, the Slavs against our allies. So we had no alternative."

"Why? Why couldn't you let Austria and Russia fight without entering the strife?"

"For one reason, we have a treaty. But the treaty is not a rather mystic piece of parchment between kings as perhaps you think," he smiled. "It is not a dynastic affair at all. Our emperor is related more closely by blood to the czar of Russia and the king of England than to the emperor of Austria-Hungary. The treaty means this: That the Germans in the German empire and the Germans in Austria-Hungary must stand together, especially against the Slavs, who are always pressing west and south—and also against their other enemies.

"We Germans have certainly learned this lesson well—and never again will forget it—that, situated as we are in the middle of Europe, we must stand firmly together. If we let Austria-Hungary be crushed or weakened, by so much is our own strength enfeebled. Our support of Austria-Hungary is but enlightened self-interest, necessary to Germanic civilization."

"What is the difference between Slav and Teuton? How would the world suffer if the Slav did press westward?"

Germany Had to Object.

"I suppose," he smiled again, "it is natural for us Germans to consider first how we ourselves would suffer if the Slavs pressed westward into Germany. How the world would suffer by our extinction? That is the question rather for the philosopher than the politician. Politicians and people generally object to their own extinction, and if they don't object strenuously enough they are not fit to live and do not live as a sovereign people. But to answer your question. The Slav civilization is lower, more brutal, more primitive, and less complex than ours in Germany or yours in America. The individual Slav is less an individual than the individual Teuton. He is more of an undifferentiated specimen of the great agglomerate mass. He is one of a herd, a single insect in a swarm. Of course, this is true of all of us, in a measure, but it is truer of orientals than of westerners and never forget the Slav is always a semi-oriental. Perhaps the Japanese have really a finer civilization than you. Personally I do not think so, but perhaps time will say they have. However, be that as it may, you in America would resist fiercely a Japanese attempt to supplant your civilization with theirs. So have we and do we and will we resent the attempt to supplant in any territory now held by Germans our civilization by that of the Slavs."

"Was Japan's entrance into the war against you a surprise?"

"Japan's raid was, of course, not an entire surprise. It may be a bitter thing for England in the end, however. For on the heart of the Japanese is written 'Asia for Asiatics.'"

"You think we are next on the list?" I asked—"the Philippines?"

Sees Japan Our Rival.

"How long do you think Japan would hold her hand from you," he answered my question with another, "if you found yourself in a war against three great and two little powers? Yes, England sowed dragons' teeth," he said, "dragons' teeth for the white skins—'Asia for the Asiatics' is written on the hearts of all the Japanese."

"In your opinion, can that affect England herself? She has taken more land and more people under her flag in Asia than all the white people together. Will there be stirrings in India from this?"

"Japan is supposed to guarantee India to England," he answered.

"And you doubt her good faith?"

"I am firmly convinced that Japan will maintain her faith with England as long as England doesn't need her help. But should England find a

Macedonian opportunity in India or the Malay Peninsula—ah! that we cannot tell till that event."

"What chance is there of the Mohammedan caliph declaring a holy war in the Soudan, Egypt, India, and Malaysia and other points north, south, east and west against the Christians?"

"Who can tell?" said he. "What chance did there seem of this European devastation two short months ago? The more troops England sends against us the fewer she will have in her colonies in case of such a 'holy war,' as you call it. That is a plain sum in arithmetic. Perhaps, after all, your taking of the Philippines marked the high water mark of the white race and recession has begun. Port Arthur was No. 1 for the Japanese, Kiau-Chau No. 2. What will be No. 3?"

Calls British Subtle.

Reverting to the English, he exclaimed: "You in America are accustomed to think of the English as a bluff, hearty, downright, unsubtle race, fond of sport and the open air. Well, all I can say to that is that they are certainly fond of sport and the open air. There has never been a race of diplomats their equals in shrewdness, subtlety and a sleepless eye on the main chance since time began."

"Please illustrate."

"Well, then, there is no disguising the fact that for a time at least, prior to the growth of the Japanese question in your country, you considered us—shall we say?—your chief political rivals. Now you have shifted that feeling to the Japanese, and all this time you have considered England your first friend."

I said: "She made herself so."

"Precisely my point. She made herself so; she began to talk of your cousinship with a degree of warmth in direct ratio to your degree of strength. Because she has the only thing in the world you really need to round out your boundaries."

"You mean Canada?"

"I mean Canada? Of course, I realize it is inconceivable you will ever, or at least soon, attempt to take it. But why? Because Great Britain has realized so cleverly that the only possible way in which she can defend it is by making you her friend and putting you on honor.

"You are the only people who can get at England while she commands the sea, and she has disarmed you by this comparatively recent friendship. When Canada is filled up with 50,000,000 or 60,000,000 people and you have a 3,000 mile border, most of it without natural defense, and you begin—as you will unless human nature changes vastly—to tax yourselves on both sides of that imaginary line for soldiers and forts and more soldiers and more forts, until at last a spark sets off the conflagration—in that day you or your sons will agree with my feelings now, that when it comes to diplomatic affairs, England is quite alone in a class all by herself. She combined Europe against Louis XIV, against Louis XV, against Napoleon, against Russia in the Crimea, and now against us.

Combines Against Rivals.

"Whoever her first rival has been she has combined Europe against him. She fought you when you were weak; she lent her aid to the effort to split your republic in the Civil War, and now that you are strong and her dominions are yours for the taking she is your best friend. She sets Japan on us and uses Japan to guard India.

"The English take credit to themselves for many excellent qualities, but of that quality in which they are supremely pre-eminent, diplomacy, they make little mention. They believe the seas belong to them by divine right and most of the yellow, black and brown races for exploitation. Yet when we strive for our fair place in the sun they go to war with us the first time our hands are full and blame us for the war; and your people, reading their cable dispatches, applaud them. However, we shall conquer this unholy alliance against us," he concluded, "for Germany is one in its determination to live."

THE KAISER WILHELM CANAL

The Possession of which gives the German Fleet unrestricted Access to both the Baltic and the North Sea

(By Courtesy of the "World's Work")

"If you are shut from the seas," I asked, "how long can you subsist on yourselves?"

Foor Until Next Harvest.

"Until the next harvest is in," he answered. "That has all been gone into carefully. Our enemies who have deluded themselves into the hope we shall starve will be disappointed in that as in other things. We shall lack somewhat in tea, coffee, cocoa and other tropical products, but of bread, meat, potatoes and sugar we have ample on hand till the next harvest. We would like some of your cotton, though, and copper. But we have plenty of hides and leather, coal, iron, petroleum, lumber, and chemicals."

"How will you finance the war?"

"Within ourselves, by war taxes and internal laws. For instance, we have never had an inheritance tax. Now we shall. Likewise heavier excise duties on beer and tobacco."

"You will make no external loans, borrow no money from abroad?"

"No, none."

"As to a war indemnity from France, if you occupy Paris?"

"France chose to appeal to the god of battles," he answered. "We asked her to stay out; she chose war, and now she shall have it with all its consequences."

AN AMERICAN SYMPATHIZER WITH GERMANY.[1]

The Open Court.

My Dear M.:

I have your letter expressing your astonishment and dismay at learning that my sympathy is with the Germans in this conflict, and giving what you allege to be "incontrovertible facts" that challenge the soundness of my position.

You charge:

1. "That the Germans represent a military system which has long threatened the peace of Europe, and which will dominate the world if they win."

2. "That to give support to them is to 'glorify the hideous doctrine that might makes right.'"

3. "That any impartial consideration of the official documents submitted by the various contending parties must convince any one that Germany could have prevented this war had she sincerely wished to avoid hostilities at this time."

4. "That the cause of free institutions and of civilization makes it imperative that England and France should win."

You point to the fact that no newspaper of any character or influence in the East pretends to conceal its sympathy for the allies, and that, of all your acquaintances, save those connected with Germany by ties of blood or marriage, you know of no other person who takes the side of Germany, except J. S., whom you "have regarded for several years as being unbalanced."

Accept my assurances that I am prompted to write you now, at some length, not because of any anxiety at being seriously classed by you among the mentally deficient, but solely because I believe that the intimacy which has characterized our friendship for so many years entitles you to know why I sympathize with the Germans, whilst the vast majority of our friends and acquaintances can only see the other side.

To begin with, I feel confident that the difference in our viewpoints may be largely explained by a failure to agree on the facts, or inferences to be deducted from the facts.

I.

Take your first allegation, namely: "That the Germans represent a military system which has long threatened the peace of Europe, and which will dominate the world if they win."

This statement I believe to be in the main correct, but I fail to see why the Germans should be condemned for this situation. The reason the German military system has threatened the peace of Europe is because the Germans have made it so efficient that, together with their navy, they have upset the balance of power in Europe, which the other European governments, and more especially that of England, have sought to maintain with so much concern ever since the battle of Waterloo. The German military system has threatened the peace of Europe not because of its existence as a military system, but because the other powers of Europe have come to see that it is the most efficient probably in the world today. France, Russia, England, each has a military system, but none of these nations has been willing to make the sacrifice in time and money necessary to bring their respective military establishments to the point of excellence that has been reached by the Germans.

In addition, each of these nations has, of course, a naval establishment. The policy sedulously followed by England with respect to her naval establishment for years has been that it must be equal in power and efficiency to that of the combined fleets of any other two powers in Europe. This policy England has followed simply because no other state in Europe was strong enough to challenge her right. When, however, the strength of Germany on land and sea is descried looming higher and higher on the horizon by the other military powers,—they see protection by alliances, offensive and defensive, that would have been wholly unnecessary had they each set for themselves the same standard of efficiency that the Germans have striven for so successfully in the last forty years.

Now, I submit that it is not only the inherent right but the paramount duty of every sovereign state to maintain such military and naval establishments as its people may deem necessary for the proper protection of their interests on land and sea. This right has been accorded to France, Russia and England without question. If the German military establishment had been characterized by the morale which characterized the Russian army prior to its conflict with Japan, had its naval establishment been characterized by the morale which is generally held to characterize that of Russia and France at the present time, nothing would have been heard in regard to the danger to the peace of Europe, so far as Germany is concerned.

Is it right then that Germany should be penalized for having applied successfully the doctrine of efficiency to her military and naval establishments, when the other powers have been unwilling to make the sacrifices to the same end; and if the balance of power in Europe has been upset as a result, should she be destroyed?

Whilst I agree with you that her military system has threatened the peace of Europe, I cannot admit that that threat has been accompanied by any act of aggression on her part up to the time of the outbreak of present hostilities.

The development of her military and naval establishments has gone hand in hand with a commercial development and expansion that has been unequaled in modern times. The German people have excelled in peaceful pursuits under conditions that find no parallel, not even in this country, and whether they succeed or not, I confidently believe that the efficiency which they have striven for will be the goal set by the other progressive nations of the world.

By this I do not wish to be understood to mean their military system in detail. What I do mean is that other nations will be taught that if they are to give a good account of themselves when their rights are challenged, they must see to it that their military and naval establishments are efficient.

In this sense, and in this sense only, I agree that the German military system will dominate the world until such time shall arrive when some method can be substituted for deciding international disputes, other than that which has hitherto been employed, namely, the arbitrament of arms.

I cannot, therefore, see any menace in the persistence of the German military system for the future, unless you ask me to subscribe to the doctrine of those well-intentioned but misguided persons who demand that armies and navies shall from now on be abolished. On the contrary, I hold that by enforcing a system making for efficiency Germany will, in the end, win the lasting gratitude of those nations that at the present time spend enormous sums of money on their military and naval establishments without getting results in any way commensurate with the same.

Did you see the editorial in the New York "Evening Sun" of November 5th, on the defense of Kiao Chau? For fear you did not, let me quote the following:

"British statesmen and journals have delighted to tell the world that Great Britain is making war to save the German people from militarism, to bring independence to the oppressed Teutons. Was there ever a more complete, a more crushing an-

[1] The writer of this article prefers not to have his name mentioned, for reasons which need not be set forth in detail; but for the benefit of our readers we state the following facts concerning his identity:

He is of pure Anglo-American extraction and has neither direct nor indirect relation to Germany, either in his own ancestry or that of his wife's family. At the same time he is of high social and professional standing in his native state, his father having served in the Court of Appeals and in other public services of the state for over thirty years. He himself holds high rank in the legal profession, so that by heredity and training he is well equipped to be impartial.

His reasons for writing his views are explained in a personal letter to the editor as follows: "I and my wife and daughters are among the few persons of English descent in ——— whose sympathies have been with the Germans in this conflict. My wife and my daughters found themselves beset on every side by their friends and acquaintances whose sympathies were not with the Germans. The arguments that they most frequently were called upon to meet were those set out on the first page of the manuscript, and the article was prepared with a view to fortifying them in their position, and enabling them to advance arguments to meet the contentions of their acquaintances. The article has been thrown into the form of a letter to make it more colloquial, and in the hope that thereby it would be more readily grasped and understood by the average person."

Friends of the author of this letter who were impressed with the clearness of his judgment urged him to make public his statement of the case, and it was in this way that his manuscript reached "The Open Court."

We do not doubt that there are many of our readers who will be glad to receive from a purely American source a fair and unbiased statement of the case for Germany written by a man whose scholarship and training fit him for judging the merits of both sides of the case.—Ed.

swer to such cant than that supplied by Kiao Chau, by the response of the Germans of the East to a call not to battle but to disaster, to a summons not to possible victory, but to inevitable defeat and destruction."

So much for German militarism.

II.

Now, as to your second charge:

By this, I presume, you refer to the violation of Belgian neutrality. I do not permit my sympathies for the misfortunes of the Belgians to obscure the view of the general question relating to the violation of their neutrality.

Conceding that Germany was a party to the treaty of 1839, through the signatory participation of Prussia, and conceding the adherence of Germany to the Hague declarations as to the inviolability of neutral territory, I am not prepared to grant that she was bound to respect the neutrality of Belgium in the face of military necessity affecting her national safety. National safety is the supreme law of the world. No nation can bargain away irrevocably its sovereignty in the form of a treaty or by any other instrument that has ever been devised. Such a treaty is binding only so long as the sovereign powers signatory to it are willing to be so bound. Its force and effect is, as the lawyers say, simply and solely *in terrorem*. At least two sound reasons can be advanced to support this contention. One is that to which I have adverted, viz., No nation has the power or right to bargain away its sovereignty, so as to bind posterity for all time.

It seems curious that there should be so much public misapprehension on this subject, and it all comes about because people have confused a treaty between sovereign nations with a contract between individuals. A treaty between nations is essentially different from an ordinary contract between individuals, and yet there are certain things that even an individual cannot make the subject of a binding contract.

The principle that a state cannot bargain away its supreme rights is the same in its fundamental concept as the principle recognized and enforced in private municipal law—that an individual cannot bargain away his supreme rights.

You could not, my dear M., bargain away your right to live, or to engage in a lawful, gainful pursuit to enable you to live, by the most solemn instrument ever devised by a Philadelphia lawyer. It would be at best a mere "scrap of paper." So with this treaty respecting Belgium's neutrality. This treaty could not bind the Germans under circumstances which affected their national safety.

Now, I do not mean to beg the question; I hear your protest before you even voice it—the question is, did the military necessity exist? Frankly, I cannot say. How can any one, until all the facts are disclosed?

I am willing to suspend judgment until all the facts are in our possession, which an interrupted communication with Europe and especially with Germany, apart from other reasons, make it impossible now to secure.

The second reason for supporting the contention that nations are not bound irrevocably by treaties to which they are parties, is this:

Nations frequently enter into treaties under the compulsion imposed by the military supremacy of the other powers to the treaty. A nation can hardly be irrevocably bound by a treaty which it is forced to sign. This principle also finds its analogy in private municipal law. As you well know, no one is bound by the terms of any agreement which is signed under the compulsion of superior physical force.

This last reason, I must admit, cannot be availed of by any signatory power to the articles of the Hague Convention. It can hardly be claimed that they were entered into under the compulsion of a superior physical force. I do hold, nevertheless, that no state has the power to make a binding agreement, even through the instrumentalities of a Hague Convention, that will result in imperiling its national safety.

If the doctrine that the safety of the state is the supreme law of the land is to give way, and admit of denial, as is now contended for in some quarters, I can only say that it has never been questioned before, and Germany can hardly be held censurable for regarding it in full force and effect when the demand was made for peaceful passage over Belgian territory.

I accordingly submit that entrance into France through Belgium cannot be regarded *ipso facto* as unwarranted by the Germans, nor as an assertion of the doctrine that "might makes right."

If the military necessity affecting her national safety existed, I contend that not only was it the right, but the supreme duty of Germany to violate Belgian neutrality, despite any treaties that may have been previously entered into by her or on her own behalf, and despite any views to the contrary which may now be entertained as the result of a newly awakened attitude toward international obligations.

III.

I now come to the third contention. This has to deal with the so-called "White Papers."

The only value of these official documents, to my mind, is in disclosing the occasion and the immediate events leading up to the outbreak of hostilities. If one is to fix the responsibility for this war, one must be familiar not only with the occasion but also with the causes which brought it about. There exists much confusion in the public mind between the occasion and the causes of the war. It is not sufficient to fix the blame for the occasion of a conflict of this kind. It seems to me that every fair-minded person in dealing with the question of responsibility must have respect rather to the causes than to the occasion. Now, if the causes of the war be analyzed, it will be found that a train of events had been set in motion many years ago which had gathered such momentum that they could be no longer controlled.

It is well-nigh impossible with this titanic conflict at its height to project oneself sufficiently into the future to view the situation as it will appear to the historian of tomorrow, and yet, unless one is willing to set aside one's predilections in favor of one side or the other, and to strive to assume an attitude of strict impartiality, no sound judgment can be reached.

Much hostile criticism was directed at the Kaiser, at the outbreak of hostilities. Many persons blamed him for the war. It was claimed that the German people were the victims of an oppressive military system fastened upon them by selfish class legislation; that they did not want war and were reluctant to fight. The argument was that, as the Kaiser declared a state of war in Germany, it was equally within his power to have refrained from so doing.

In the publication of the White Papers of England and Germany persons have found what they consider satisfactory proof of the charge that the Kaiser must bear the blame for the outbreak of hostilities. I am convinced that the historian of the future will not fix the blame for this war on the Kaiser, nor find in him either its cause or occasion. When the secrets of the several chancelleries shall have been disclosed the cause of the war will be found in a sequence of events beginning, perhaps, with the victory of Germany over France in 1870 and culminating in the ambitious projects for Servian hegemony in the Balkans, and the murder of the successor of Francis Joseph in June last.

United Germany has been employed during these forty-four years in developing its resources and expanding a marvelously active and successful overseas commerce, only to find herself completely isolated by an alliance offensive or defensive between the three most powerful nations of Europe, who have viewed with suspicion and apprehension for many years her development into a great power on land as well as on sea. Rightly or wrongly it had become an obsession with the German peoples that these powers were prepared at the first favorable opportunity to attempt to accomplish by force that which they had long wished for and frequently attempted by moral suasion, viz., the curtailment of her power to fight on land and sea. The Germans had come to believe that, if their national destiny, whatever it might be, was to be achieved, it must be by the arbitrament of arms taken up in defense of their national integrity. These, briefly, are the main causes leading up to the war.

Now, for the occasion:

I hold that the conviction existed in Germany that in furthering the aims of the Serbs in the Balkans, Russia had formulated plans which must inevitably bring disaster to the dual monarchy on the death of the aged Francis Joseph. Through Russian machinations the break-up of

Austria-Hungary had been tremendously promoted by the removal of the Crown Prince. The immediate question for Germany to decide was whether she should espouse the cause of Austria-Hungary, which demanded that for the preservation of the integrity of the dual monarchy a mortal blow be struck at Servia's pretensions; or wait until these pretensions should assume a yet more definite form of hegemony in the Balkans and thus risk being deprived of the assistance which her ally was in a position to give at this time.

Austria was in duty bound to seek reparation for the blow aimed at her by a counter blow calculated to smash the plans that had been conceived against her sovereign and territorial integrity. Should she hesitate to do this, she must face with certainty the progressive and successful development of the plans secretly formulated against her by Servia, and fomented and promoted by Russian diplomacy. Strike she must, or be stricken in turn.

Under these circumstances, I submit that it was not only incumbent upon Germany to support her ally's position, but equally necessary to her own safety.

If you entertain the idea at this stage of the conflict that this is not the war of the German people, but is the war of the Kaiser, let me call your attention once more to the editorial in the "Evening Sun" (New York) from which I have already quoted:

"It is no longer possible for any but the wilfully blind to mistake the fact that it is not the machine that is making German armies potent in an attack still continuing. The songs of the boy conscripts of 1914 are but the echo of the songs of those other boys of 1813 and 1814 who freed Europe from Napoleon and saved Germany from complete subjugation. It is inconceivable that there should remain a single person who could honestly believe that the German phenomenon which fills Europe today is less than the complete, solidified, fused resolution of a whole nation."

People have commented, with a sneer, on the fact that the life of a Crown Prince should be of sufficient importance to bring on a world-war. It can hardly be necessary to point out to you that under any existing form of government, whether republican, monarchical, imperial, absolute, or otherwise, the person who, for the time being, is the head of the government is an integral part of its sovereignty, together with all other persons designated by law in immediate succession. No self-respecting power, hoping to retain its voice in the council of nations, can permit its ruling head or his immediate successor to be assassinated by a citizen of another power without taking such steps as it may decide are necessary to vindicate the principle of sovereign integrity.

No, my dear M., this is not the Kaiser's war, nor is the Kaiser either the cause or the occasion of it. The causes I have briefly referred to above. The occasion will be found in the brutal murder of the successor to the aged Francis Joseph, and Russo-Servian designs upon the integrity of Austria-Hungary.

IV.

Finally, you claim that the cause of free institutions and civilization makes it imperative that England and France should win.

I yield to no one in paying ungrudging tribute to the debt which we all owe to England and to France as well, for what they have done to advance the sum of human happiness in the largest sense in which that word can be used. The science of government, the security of life and property, the advancement of learning, the development of art, scientific research—all the countless things that go to make life worth living, in this year of grace 1914;—the leaders in thought which they each have produced, the deeds of valor in which the history of these peoples is replete, none of these things I forget or overlook.

But if you ask me what nation in Europe today stands in the forefront of progress, and whose welfare means more to the immediate civilization of the world, and the free institutions, which are the most precious possession of that civilization, I would say unhesitatingly, Germany.

I contend that the great questions of the future, not immediately connected with national defense, with which we will be most concerned, are those relating to the distribution of wealth, and the socialization of industries. These are the problems with which we are struggling in this country, which have caused England so much disquietude, and which will surely sooner or later vex France.

Let us not forget that the best social legislation of the age is that which has been devised and first put in practice in Germany. Germany is but another word for *efficiency*.

In letters and science, in the arts, in governmental activities, and especially in legislation designed to promote so-called social justice, she is the leader in the world today. Her destruction would be an incalculable loss to the world.

If we are to have progress we must have creative work.

I presume you will admit that those individuals make most for the progress of any community who are engaged in creative work. It is equally true that those nations are doing most for civilization whose activities at the moment can be characterized as creative.

England and France have not been for the past two decades leaders in creative work. Their places have been taken by the United States, by Germany and by Japan. In this sense England and France have exhibited unmistakable signs of decay, England perhaps more than France. Ever since the battle of Waterloo she has lauded it over Europe and the world; sated with power and the riches that come with power, she sees her place, hers the foremost in the seats of the mighty, challenged by a young and lusty power. That the coming of age of this young state spells disaster for her she senses with unfailing accuracy, resulting from years of experience in world affairs. Confident in the supremacy of her naval arm, but unwilling or unable to strengthen her military arm, she accommodates her quarrels with her age-old enemies and strengthens it with the support of the Latin and Slav. Thus she girds herself to readjust, if necessary through armed conflict, the balance of power, which has kept her supreme in the affairs of Europe for a hundred years, and to dictate peace in terms which will secure to her a quietude that for her advanced age, her reduced vitality and her yearning to enjoy the fruits of an active and phenomenally successful youth and middle age, seem so greatly to be desired.

England faces the setting sun, Germany faces the rising sun. These, dear M., are some of the reasons that persuade me that the cause of free institutions and of civilization are safer in the keeping of Germany today than they are in that of England and France.

I have not mentioned Russia. I know your views too well to find it necessary to answer any claim advanced in behalf of this young and powerful barbarian to be the champion of free institutions and of civilization. As to the little yellow fellow, whose ambition is to be the Britisher of the Orient,—well, we shall see what we shall see!

As ever sincerely,

E. P.

A PIECE OF EVIDENCE.

Editorial, Hartford Daily Courant.

Count von Bernstorff, the German ambassador to this country, in the course of a conversation with Edward Marshall last week which was printed in yesterday's "New York Times," said among other things this:—

"It would have been a sign of madness in the entire German people if they had done as they have done without good reason. But they merely rose to save their own, as all men who are worthy will arise. They had been attacked by Russia. They were determined to withstand attack.

"It has been said here (in the United States) that the sentiment in Germany is much divided and that there is large opposition to the war. This is not the case. Indeed, it is an absolute misstatement.

"There are many Socialists in the German Reichstag. Socialism decries militarism and declares its abhorrence of war. But the war credits passed the Reichstag without one dissenting vote.

"Does that seem to you to indicate that the people of the German nation have been forced into a war which they have no wish to fight? No individual, high or low, connected with the German government made this war, or, even after Russia had made it, entered into it autocratically. . . .

"The Socialist leader in the Reichstag said:—

" 'Notwithstanding the dislike of Socialists to war,' on general principles, the entire Socialistic party in the Reichstag votes for these war credits because Germany, without reason, has been attacked by the most autocratic power in the world.'

"So, as far as Germany is concerned, it is a people's war, not a rulers' war, is it not? Remember, this was the speech of the leader of the Socialists, who are opposed to war."

From the nature of the case the public statement in the Reichstag of a responsible Social Democrat is evidence as to the origin of this European war. The German Social Democrats have often proved that they keep well informed as to the secret moves of the German government. They may not know about these moves at the exact moment, but they know about them at practically the exact moment afterward. How they do it nobody knows except themselves, but of the fact itself there is no doubt; the imperial ministers have too often showed consternation and embarrassment at this knowledge of what was supposed to be confidential matters of diplomacy to leave any question as to the promptness and accuracy with which the Social Democrats get hold of the details of these matters. In the ordinary course of events in the German Empire the Social Democrats acquire this knowledge in order to use it against the government. No one can pretend that they like the German government, whether William II. be taken as the German Emperor or as the King of Prussia. Politically they exist to down him and he exists to down them. The German Social Democrats carry their opposition to the present political constitution of the German empire a good distance outside the limits of an ordinary political opposition. The mass of them do not accompany the Reichstag members of other parties to the white hall of the Berlin palace when Kaiser Wilhelm addresses them in what may be called, after the English model, the "speech from the throne"—a speech which, still following the model of that read by the English King in the House of Lords, is written by the German ministers—and such of them as now and then do attend these proceedings go in their ordinary clothes, without regard to court regulations. When, at the close of a Reichstag session, it is the custom to cheer the Emperor, the Social Democrats get up and file out of the chamber leaving the members of the other parties in that body to do the cheering. So we might go on with the relations existing between the Social Democrats and the German police to show that the former are in real opposition to the German government every day in the week and from the ground up, but it is not necessary. No one, who has personal knowledge of these details of the daily political life of Germany, doubts it.

We say, then, that statements made in the Reichstag by Social Democrats as to the origin of this present war are evidence—intelligent evidence—as to the facts of that matter; just as much as the statement of Sir Edward Grey in the House of Commons are evidence as to why England went into the war, and more so, in fact, than Sir Edward's statements, because Sir Edward was setting forth his own and the British government's view, whereas the German Social Democrats approved the acts of a government which they have always opposed, and which has always opposed them.

Of course, we are assuming that Count von Bernstorff has not forgotten or mistranslated the words quoted by him as spoken in the Reichstag in support of the war credits by the Social Democratic spokesman.* What he quotes agrees with similar citations made by us earlier from English sources. It is also to be remembered that a story went through our press after the war broke out that Dr. Liebknecht, a Social Democrat of high standing but a hard political fighter, had been shot in Berlin for refusing to go into the German army. That story appears now to have been started out of pure partisan malice. There is no need to get hot over the question of German responsibility or Russian responsibility. It is purely a question of evidence, and history will finally have to decide on the evidence. If it is a fact that the German Social Democrats openly supported the course taken by Germany in bringing her armies into the field, on the ground that "Germany, without reason, has been attacked by the most autocratic power in the world," meaning Russia, this is evidence that no intelligent man can disregard. It must be directly disproved or accepted.

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*That Count von Bernstorff did "not forge or mistranslate" the words quoted by him has been proven. We refer our readers to an article entitled "Loyalty of German Socialists," reprinted on another page of this book.

We quote from page 31 of Mr. Charles Tower's "Germany of Today" (Williams & Norgate, London) the following:

"The General Election of 1913 left the strength of the parties (in the Reichstag or Parliament of the German Empire) as follows: Social Democrats, 110; Centre, 99; Conservatives, 56; National Liberals, 46; Radical, 43; Poles, 18; Reichspartei (usually voting with the Conservatives), 15; Independents, etc., 10."—Editor.

We also refer our readers to the pamphlet just issued by The Germanistic Society of Chicago, entitled, "The Session of the German Reichstag on August the fourth, 1914," which contains the speeches of the Imperial Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, of Dr. Kaempf, President of the Reichstag, and of Mr. Haase, Representative of the Socialist Party, compiled and translated into English by Mr. Alexander R. Hohlfeld, Professor of German at the University of Wisconsin.

In the closing paragraph of his introduction in this pamphlet, Professor Hohlfeld says:

"Every speech made, as well as the general attitude manifested by all the representatives of the German people at the session of August 4, prove beyond the shadow of doubt that the entire German nation has from the start stood squarely and enthusiastically behind the Emperor and his advisors. Not one word of disapproval came from any quarter in regard to the steps taken by the government. The Socialists might easily have censured the government severely for not having done all in its power to prevent this disastrous war—and still have voted the necessary equipment for war defense.
—Editor.

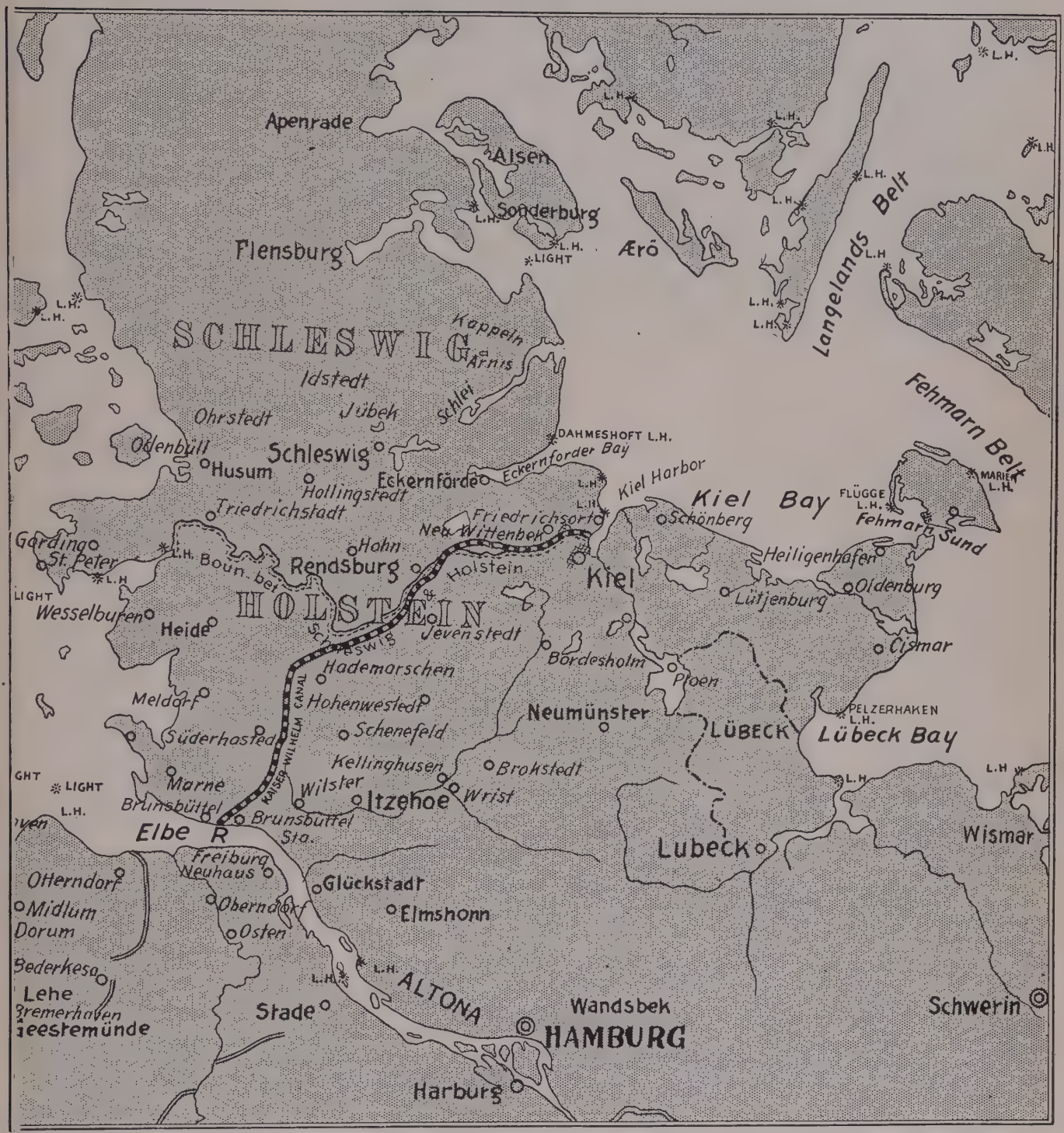
Germany's Moral and Sacred Trust to Posterity
Her Defense

"MISTRESS OF THE SEAS" IN WAR TIME.

The Fatherland, New York.
European Correspondent.

The greatest navy in the world is doing nothing. Yet she is losing some of her best ships to the Germans, but outside of these dubious activities the vaunted navy of Great Britain is chiefly conspicuous for its complete silence.

Never before did the brazen bullying of the English in regard to the rule over all the seas claimed by them manifest itself so plainly as during the course of the present European war. The bold announcement of England that with the declaration of war, Germany would also suffer the annihilation of her fleet by British war ships, proved to be a common bluff, and the end result of the first two months the loss of three times as many British as German warships, although the English openly violated the rules of international law in warfare at sea. The German war fleet lost about six small ships, aggre-



KAISER WILHELM CANAL

(From "The Navy," Washington, September, 1914)

gating 20,000 tons, while the losses of England up to September 26, as published by the English papers, were as follows:

Name.	Built.	Class.	Displacement Tons.
Aboukir	1900	Armored Cruiser.....	12,200
Hogue	1900	Armored Cruiser.....	12,200
Cressy	1900	Armored Cruiser.....	12,200
Warrior	1905	Armored Cruiser.....	13,700
Aretusa	1913	Protected Cruiser.....	3,000
Hawke	1891	Protected Cruiser.....	7,000
Gloucester	1909	Protected Cruiser.....	4,000
Pearless	1912	Protected Cruiser.....	3,300
Pathfinder	1904	Protected Cruiser.....	2,000
Amphion	1911	Protected Cruiser.....	3,500
Druid	1912	Torpedo Boat Destroyer.	776
Laurtes	1913	Torpedo Boat Destroyer.	950
Phoenix	1912	Torpedo Boat Destroyer.	776
Speedy	1899	Torpedo Boat Destroyer.	800
Pigmy 2.....	....	Schoolship	.....
Total			72,000

The success of the German ships whenever they set out for an attack has been splendid. The bombardment of Libau, the checkmate of the Russian Baltic fleet in the Gulf of Finland and the unchallenged rule over the Baltic formed the prelude to German success on the seas. Then followed the brilliant advances made in the North Sea: German cruisers and submarine boats forged ahead as far as the Shetland Islands while a small auxiliary cruiser laid mines right in the mouth of the Thames, resulting in the blowing up of several English ships. At the same time the cruisers "Goeben" and "Breslau" appeared off the African coast, bombarded the naval depots of Algiers and threatened French communications with their main colonies. Pursued by English and French warships, these bold "sea-hussars" succeeded in breaking the blockade of Messina and escaping unmolested through the Dardanelles. Besides, already in the beginning of the war varied splendid successes of the German squadron in the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. The "Dresden" on the Brazilian coast, the "Koenigsberg" on the east coast of Africa, and in particular the "Emden" in East India waters and the "Karlsruhe" in American waters scored a number of surprising successes. * * *

A GERMAN GIBRALTAR.

Why Was Helgoland Ceded by England in Recent Years?

The Boston Herald.

The Island of Helgoland is called the Gibraltar of the North Sea. It dominates the approaches to all German seaports on the North Sea and the Kiel Canal* and constitutes the greatest menace to the British fleet if it attempts a close-in blockade of German ports. It was ceded to Germany by England as recently as 1890 in compensation for territorial concessions in Africa by Germany.†

Discussion of the strategic value of the little island less than a square mile in extent, which lies 25 miles off the mouth of the Elbe, waged back and forth between English military authorities while the bill for its cession was under discussion in Parliament. Some asserted that it would be worth a fleet to England in case of war with Germany. Others contended it was of no value as a coaling station for a blockading force. Its nearness to the mainland would expose it to the risk of capture immediately upon declaration of war, they said, and in case of war with any other power it would require a fleet to defend it. German and French critics both agreed that in the event of war between their countries, possession of the little island would set free an army corps.

THE SONS OF THE GERMAN CROWN PRINCE

The Stork is said to have brought them a companion recently—but we are not informed if a sister or another brother

Helgoland from the middle of the tenth century was an independent republic of Frisians, but became the possession of the Dukes of Schleswig in the fourteenth century. In the beginning of the eighteenth century Denmark captured it. It was taken from Denmark in 1807 by the English, who used it during the late Napoleonic wars as a storehouse from which to smuggle goods to the continent. By the Treaty of Kiel it was ceded to England by Denmark in 1814. The British Government wished to retain it then because of its proximity to Hanover, then united to England in the person of the sovereign, and because of its supposed cession to Germany it was used as the headquarters of the English fishing fleets in the North Sea and was also a favorite watering place for Germans and Danes.

After the formation of the German Empire, Bismarck made many liberal offers to England for the purchase of the island, and the desire for its possession by the Germans was ardent. When the bill for its cession came up in 1890 in the British House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone and Sir W. Vernon Harcourt, with many of their followers, refused to vote, declaring that the Conservative Ministry had tampered with the constitution and abandoned the treaty-making prerogative of the Crown by submitting the question of a cession of territory to two Houses of Parliament.

The weight which the Germans attached at the time to the acquisition of Helgoland, after Prince Bismarck had repeatedly made offers of substantial compensation, suggested the suspicion when the island was handed over to William II., after his dismissal of the old Chancellor for apparently inadequate cause, that some secret pact or alliance was at the foot of the matter. The British subjects on the island opposed the transfer, saying that they would lose their fishing and bathing privileges when Germany started building her fortifications on their home. Their rights as British subjects were to have been preserved in the transaction.

On August 8, 1890, the British Governor, Arthur C. S. Barkly, received the German representative Herr von Botticher, and the next day Kaiser Wilhelm landed, hoisted the German flag and informally took possession, declaring:

"This island is chosen as a bulwark of the sea, a protection to German fisheries, a central point for my ships of war, and a strong place and harbor of safety in the German ocean against all enemies who dare to show themselves upon it."

*The correct name is Kaiser Wilhelm Canal (consult map .ditor.

†The compensation was the island of Zanzibar off the coast of German East Africa.—Editor.

THE DIFFICULTY OF DIGGING OUT THE GERMAN NAVY.

Editorial, New York Sun.

The destruction of three cruisers of 12,000 tons in the North sea by a German submarine occurred as Englishmen were unfolding their morning newspapers to read Mr. Churchill's speech at Liverpool, in which he declared that "if they (the

German Emperor | Crown Prince Frederic William | Prince Eitel Frederick | Prince Adalbert | Prince August | Prince Oskar | Prince Joachim

THE GERMAN EMPEROR AND HIS SIX SONS

Germans) do not come out and fight in time of war they will be dug out like rats from their holes." On the same day the English people learned the bitter truth that one small unit of the Germany navy had taken the initiative with direful results to the blockading fleet; three fine ships had been sent to the bottom, and no less than sixty officers and more than 1,000 men had died futilely for England, despite her command of the sea. The humiliation was intolerable, and men clamored from one end of the country to the other for the execution of Mr. Churchill's threat.

About three years ago Prof. William Hovgaard, who had been commander of the Royal Danish navy, wrote an elaborate paper upon the subject of "Naval Strategy in a War Between England and Germany." A perusal of it at this time would depress those countrymen of the sporting first lord admirality who are crying that the enemy must be dug out of his hole and be made to fight the British fleet. It is comparatively easy to blockade the stretch of German coast from Borkum, near the mouth of the Ems, to Cuxhaven, where the Elbe pours its water to the sea, but bringing the German navy to battle is a very different thing, chiefly because the Kaiser Wilhelm canal gives it a wide and deep waterway to the Baltic sea. The canal was opened just in time to baffle the British naval strategists in the event of war between the two countries. It is extraordinary how many things happened in the first six months of 1914 to make the undertaking of a great war by Germany propitious.

To understand the naval problem which England finds herself confronted with one must know how by connecting canals, naval bases, torpedo boat stations and fortifications Germany has been preparing for "the day"; almost as important is a knowledge of the waters and channels north and east of Denmark. The topography of Denmark, by the way, is almost as great a safeguard to Germany as the Kiel canal. The German North sea coast forms, roughly, a right angle, containing, fifty miles out from the great naval base of Wilhelmshaven, the outpost of Helgoland, formerly a British possession and parted with in an evil hour by a short-sighted statesman. The old English batteries were some time ago displaced by armored turrets mounting guns of the heaviest caliber, and a base for torpedo craft was recently constructed at a cost of $8,000,000. Very precious to Germany is Helgoland's little surface with a frontage of one mile.

The coast, of which Helgoland is the vigilant sentinel, has a length from Borkum to the mouth of the Elbe of about 100 miles. It is irregular. Between the River Ems on the extreme west to the principal naval base, Wilhelmshaven, on Jade bay is a broad peninsula through which runs the Ems-Jade canal, navigable for destroyers. Between Wilhelmshaven and Cuxhaven at the mouth of the Elbe is a bay thirty miles in width, into which flows the Weser. Almost at the Weser's mouth is Bremerhaven, and forty miles up the river the port of Bremen. On the Ems at Emden is a torpedo boat station. Forty miles due north of strongly fortified Cuxhaven, guarding the mouth of the Elbe and Hamburg, is another torpedo base at the mouth of the Eider in Holstein, a river that is connected with the Kiel canal. Cuxhaven is not the only protection of Hamburg and the Kiel canal. On the south side of that dreadnaught waterway, and between Brunsbuettel and Kudensee, a new naval station costing $8,000,000 has just been finished. Thus it will be seen that there are abundant "holes" for submarines and destroyers from Borkum, at the mouth of the Ems, to the Eider, and no less than three interior waterways to give them timely passage, while at Wilhelmshaven and Cuxhaven, also at Kiel, the Baltic entrance to the canal, the whole German fleet can lie at anchor. An attack upon the defences of the German North sea coast would therefore be likely to cost the British fleet dear, and would probably be vain and futile. Digging out the enemy has the look of a forlorn hope. Moreover, he cannot be dug out if he doesn't want to fight. He can withdraw through the great canal to Kiel on the Baltic.

It is obvious that if the British navy plans to try its fortunes in the Baltic, the fleet must be divided, being most perilous tactics. What of the passage round the north of Denmark to the Baltic? To get at Kiel the British warships would have to traverse the Skagerak, a deep body of water sixty miles wide, and the Kattegat, of about the same width, to the east of Denmark. They would then have to pass through the channel of the not very broad Great Belt, which can be easily mined or dominated by torpedo boats. Even in the wider Kattegat large warships have to move cautiously, navigation being difficult, and the German navy by using mines and submarines would have a tremendous, almost insuperable advantage. A British fleet might get as far as the eastern entrance of the Skagerak without great risk, for, according to Prof. Hovgaard, it cannot be mined, but beyond it every mile of the way would bristle with hidden perils and ambushes. High Admiral von Tirpitz would probably ask nothing better than invasion of the Baltic by Admiral Jellicoe.

In conclusion there seems to be nothing for the British navy to do but to patrol the North sea and blockade the German coast, and be content to bottle up the German battle fleet, and thus control the seven seas with the consequence that the enemy can get no food and supplies from abroad.

THE U-9—THE BEGINNING OF THE END.

New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, New York.

Herman Ridder.

The destruction by submarine torpedoes of three of Great Britain's armored cruisers is Germany's answer to the blatant threat of Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, that unless the German fleet comes out and fights in the open sea it will be dug out "like rats from holes."

The loss of the Cressy, Hogue and Aboukir may not be an overwhelming disaster to the British navy, regarded from the point of view of ships as such, but its effect can not be limited to tons of metal. The New York "Times" is inclined editorially to minimize the German achievement in the statement that "three of Great Britain's oldest and least valuable armored cruisers have been sunk by German torpedo boats." The "Herald," on the other hand, and the "Herald" is by no means pro-German in its sentiments, says: "The loss of these armored cruisers is too serious to be minimized by any declaration that they were obsolete. * * * But the vessels were far from obsolete, as they were laid down between 1899 and 1901, and should have had on an average of six years further good work before them." When such discussions occur in the camp of the enemy, what are we to expect?

The material fact is this: Great Britain has lost three armored cruisers of 12,000 tons each, with the greater portion of their combined personnel of 2,200 men. The more important fact is that British naval prestige has been sorely wounded. There can be no cry here of atrocities, barbarism or want of fair play. The German navy worked with tools with which the enemy is superabundantly equipped. Initiative won the day.

Those who, like Winston Churchill, wish to see the German fleet emerge from its protected base and try the chances of war on the open sea with a fleet which outnumbers it three to one, certainly are friends neither of Germany nor of fair play. The German fleet is but a unit in the military defenses of the Empire, and its utilization is subject to the general necessities of the war. To send it out to meet the British squadrons at the present time would be but poor strategy. The question of valor or of the ship-to-ship qualities of the two fleets does not enter into the present situation. The German fleet is hopelessly outnumbered and therefore compelled to play a defensive game. Only the most desperate straits would warrant the abandonment of such a policy.

If any adverse criticism is in place at this juncture, it should be directed not against the German, but against the British naval leaders. If Great Britain is to "dig German warships out like rats from holes" it is about time that she commenced her ferreting operations. As long as the British fleet is content only to maintain a blockade in the North Sea, it will be open to attacks similar to that which has already occurred. One by one its ships will be whittled down until its numerical superiority over the enemy ceases to be. Then it will have to meet the German fleet in open battle, under circumstances dictated by the foe, and the outcome will not necessarily be as London fain would have it.

A reef must be taken in the vaunted fighting qualities of the British navy. It may be a cruel thought, but the daughter may sometimes teach the mother. When Farragut broke out from the mast-head of his flagship: "Damn the torpedoes —go ahead," he spoke for heroic men of all times. When Commodore Dewey ran the mine-strewn channel of Corregidor, the words of Farragut were his motto. It may be expecting too much, however, to think that the British fleet commanders should profit by such lessons. When three years or so ago the text-books in London schools were scanned to see how much pro-American sentiment could be deleted from them, it is probable that Farragut's signal and Dewey's achievement met the same fate as the biographies of Washington, Lincoln and other prominent Americans.

The destruction of the three British cruisers discloses not simply the German naval policy, but also the fact that Germany is beginning to realize who her most irreconcilable enemy is. The Russian danger can be handled in the open—although one of first importance it is at the same time one which can be dealt with on the field of battle, and no German fears for the outcome. But too much has developed recently of the insidiousness of British diplomacy to permit of anything but the most retaliatory measures against Great Britain. We may expect, therefore, to see Germany's major efforts from now on directed toward the humiliation of this proud mistress of the seas. Sir Edward Grey has announced that there can be no peace until Germany is humbled. This self-constituted spokesman for the Allies has dictated Germany's policy. If I am not mistaken, it will be England, and not Germany, that will cry out in its humiliation for peace. England had her warning—Sir Arthur Conan Doyle has told us so. The operations of the German submarines against the British fleet and, when the time comes, the operation of the German dirigibles will bring home to the British people the fact that war is not simply a commercial scheme in which "our allies" go to their death in order that British purses may wax fat.

When the British army in Belgium and France ran away from the German, it was a "strategic retreat"—characterized, if I remember rightly, as "brilliant." When the German submarines destroy three British cruisers the Official Press Bureau in London class the lost vessels as "comparatively obsolete." The truth, however, will not down that the British fleet has been imbued with a wholesome fear of the enemy and that the British people are coming to see in the initiative of the German sailor something to respect. A few more exploits of this sort and the tenor of the First Lord of the Admiralty may be altered.

The names of the destroyed British cruisers have a certain significance in this war of British commercial aggression. All three were named for victories over the French dupes of present day British diplomacy. At Aboukir, Lord Nelson destroyed a French fleet; off La Hogue, Edward Russell, with his Dutch ally, annihilated the fleet of Louis XIV.; and at the battle of Cressy, England, under the third Edward, placed her mailed fist so well upon France that it remained for Jeanne d'Arc to wriggle from under it. Today France is fighting on the side of England. Germany has nothing against France. She respects her and pities her. Only as the ally of England and Russia has she called down the wrath of war upon her own head. Germany would spare France if she could. There is but one enemy from now on, one irreconcilable, determined and commercially motived enemy, England, and against her the German attack will be directed. The breach has been opened, three British cruisers have been sent to the bottom of the sea, and that is only the beginning of the end. When England started out to effect the destruction of German commerce, German culture in Europe and the world at large, she struck her own death-knell.

WON'T PLAY ANY MORE.

Translation of Editorial Which Appeared in the "Illinois Staats-Zeitung" Chicago, September 25, 1914, in German.

For ten years both England and France boasted of their great lead over Germany in the construction of submarine boats. The cautious Tirpitz was saving the costly expense of experiments for which the two western powers were throwing money out of the windows. But when the German marine office finally decided to complete the German navy by an addition of submarines, we could rest assured that the type of boats built by the Germans met the requirements of the most critical. But of course the British-French lead could not be overtaken and because of the six-fold superiority of their submarines, London and Paris felt they had every reason to boast. Only until, however, half of the Cressy class of cruisers had been sent to the bottom of the North sea by German submarine boats. Then suddenly the authorities in London discovered the brutality of this sort of warfare and cried for treaties and agreements that would be stamped with the humanity of the age. British logic, British insolence. After England has felt the stick on its own body no one else should get hold of it. London pleads for humanity? The German minister to Copenhagen has just published sworn statements of German sailors, to the effect, that at the seat fight off Helgoland, English seaman had sunk boatloads of rescued Germans by the use of hand grenades. This London admits, but claims that the British sailors were provoked.

Thus English humanity! And new treaties, new agreements? There is hardly an article of the treaty of The Hague or the London Naval act, that has not been violated by England in this war. England cut the German cable, England ignored the stipulations in reference to private property in naval warfare, England intercepted ships belonging to neutral nations, boarded them and carried off German subjects, England ignominiously disregarded the stipulations governing contraband of war, and England confiscated in and outgoing German mail aboard Dutch vessels. No, it is no longer possible to arrange treaties with England, and the wail of the Times will die away without an echo. The Britons desire an extension of the naval act, but have just shown by the sinking of the "Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse" in neutral waters, that all declarations and restrictions are naught to them, whenever they are not to their advantage.

The German steamer was lying at Rio del Oro flying the black-white-red colors, at a distance on a little fort could be seen the red-yellow stripes that formerly ruled the world, what cared the commander of the "Highflyer" for the neutrality of the roads. The seas belong to the pirates of King George the unctuous, moral and piety soaked. Damn international rights and all silly paragraphs. Hoist the red flag of piracy and then let the six-inch guns play against unprotected broadsides. "The work of five minutes," the London papers say in their accounts of this heroic deed. The Spanish government naturally protested, but the protest was smilingly chucked away in a file marked "Rubbish, don't answer." The piratical feat at Rio del Oro and the destruction of life boats at Helgoland will give all doubters a right idea of English humanity. These filibusters have now been struck and with their own weapons and they will be forced to stay in this bloody game to the finish, which will be decided by Germany and not by them.

GERMANY WILL SEIZE ALL GRAIN IN NATION.

New Orders for Conservation of Food Are Proclaimed by Federal Council.

MEAT SUPPLY IS SET ASIDE

Distributing Offices Regulate Consumption—"Plan to Starve Germany Will Be Upset."

(By the Associated Press.)

From "The Daily News," January 26, 1915.

Berlin, Germany (by wireless to London), Jan. 26.—The federal council has put into effect sweeping regulations for the conservation of the food supply, as follows:

1. All stocks of corn, wheat and flour are to be seized by Feb. 1.

2. Business transactions in these commodities are forbidden after today.

3. All municipalities are charged with the duty of setting aside suitable supplies of preserved meats.

4. Owners of corn are ordered to report their stocks immediately, whereupon confiscation, at a fixed price, will follow.

5. A government distributing office for the regulation of consumption will be established, distribution being made according to the number of inhabitants.

"Necessity for the Nation."

The Imperial Gazette today publishes the following notice regarding the confiscation of grain:

"There is no doubt that the measure ordered cuts much deeper into the economic life of our people than all the economic regulations hitherto adopted by the federal council during the war. It is, however, necessary in order to make certain the sufficient and regular supply of our people with breadstuffs until the next thrashing of the new harvest, and is, besides, a necessity of life for the government and nation.

Previous Efforts Not Effective.

"The steps heretofore taken have proved themselves not far reaching enough to bring about the sparing use of our limited supplies of breadstuffs, which, however, are in reality sufficient for our needs. In particular, the measures hitherto introduced have not prevented the feeding of bread grain to cattle.

"The present order gives us the certainty that our enemies' plan to starve Germany will be upset and assures us of plentiful bread until the next harvest."

JOBLESS IN GERMANY FEWER THAN YEAR AGO.

Unemployment Is Decreasing Despite Industrial Upheaval Caused by the War.

Revival in Industries.

Railway Income Almost Normal, Although Troops Travel Free—Few Luxuries Sold.

By Oswald F. Schuette—Special Correspondence of "The Daily News."

From "Chicago Daily News," Feb., 1915.

Berlin, Germany, Feb. 1.—Unemployment in Germany is steadily decreasing in spite of the revolutionary industrial changes that have resulted from the war. Figures have been issued concerning the unemployment in 1914. For December the statistics show a marked decrease from the figures for earlier months of the war. This condition, it is asserted, has continued. In Berlin the demand for labor has been increasing steadily, until the municipal officials have issued a warning against giving charity to unemployed men who are capable of work.

The figures concerning the condition of the labor market put the number of positions vacant in December, 1914, at 297,000, with 390,000 applicants—an average of 136.31 for each 100 positions. In December, 1913, there were 445,000 applicants for 228,000 positions—an average of 195.17 for each 100 places. In July, 1914, the number was 342,000 applicants for 237,000 positions, or 144.30 for each 100.

In August, 1914, the first month of the war, the number of the applicants jumped to 706,000 for 299,000 positions. But this condition quickly changed. In September there were 645,000 applicants for 330,000 positions, an average of 195.45 for 100; in October, 568,000 for 348,000 places, or 163.2 for 100, and in November, 491,000 for 326,000 places, or 150.61 for 100.

Railroad Receipts Almost Normal.

Another interesting feature of the condition of Germany in the war is given by the railroad statistics. Although the export and import business, which naturally is a heavy part of the traffic, has virtually been eliminated from the freight receipts, although the tourist business has been similarly cut off and although military transportation, which frequently ties up an entire system for days and weeks, is not paid for at all, the December freight receipts showed a decrease of little more than 8 per cent from December, 1913, while the passenger receipts showed a decrease of only 16.33 per cent. The November passenger figures showed even a more interesting result, as they were only

6.87 per cent below those of November, 1913. These figures back up the statement made by German industrial leaders that the industries of Germany are practically doing the business which formerly was done by foreign exporters.

The industry which suffered the least from the war was the textile industry. In many ways it made notable increases over the preceding year. According to the labor figures of this industry, 28.2 per cent of the textile workers in Germany were on the unemployed lists at the end of August. At the end of September this percentage had fallen to 17.1, by the end of October to 9.1, and by the end of November to 4.9.

Mining Industry Revives.

In the coal mining industry production is gradually resuming a normal tonnage. The potash production is about one-half of that preceding the war. In the iron and steel industry the production has suffered heavily through the paralysis of the export business and the available figures show an activity ranging from 45 to 55 per cent of that which preceded the war—although in the lines particularly affected by the demand for war supplies there has been a notable increase.

The war also depressed the machinery industry and many plants are on short time, without immediate prospects of betterment. Some of the automobile factories, under the pressure of war business, report increases; others, however, have lost considerably.

Falling Off in Luxuries.

In lines devoted to luxury the losses, of course, have been heaviest. This includes the manufacture of musical instruments, particularly pianos.

The depression which the war brought to the export phases of the electrical industries has been largely offset by the ability with which these companies have been able to devote their plants to the manufacture of other lines, particularly of war material. The result has done much to ease the labor markets in cities which otherwise would have suffered heavily under the war.

I have taken these statistics and opinions largely from the summary which is soon to be issued by the Disconto Gesellschaft, one of Germany's most important banks. It adds this comment:

"From these items it may be plainly seen that the social economy of Germany has not only evidenced its health and its strength in the last few months, but, thanks to the scientific and thorough foundation of its general output and to the high efficiency and tireless diligence of German technical achievement, it has been able to meet revolutionary circumstances with wonderful elasticity and at least to a great degree avert the damage of war."

Germany's Moral and Sacred Trust to Posterity
Spiritual Values

GERMANY'S DECLARATION.

Illinois Staats-Zeitung, Chicago.

Editorial, Horace L. Brand.

Germany declares that it is battling to preserve Western culture and civilization from conquest by the Slav. Let us analyze, as far as is in our limited power and knowledge, this declaration.

Germany showed most remarkable progress in art, literature, science and commerce—in fact, in practically every branch of human thought and energy—which we, citizens of the United States, define as civilization. Fairly judged we cannot and candidly confessed we do not deny that Germany represents the brightest type of western culture and civilization. By admitting this we do not detract nor subtract anything from the claims of England or France that these two nations also represent the highest type of western culture and civilization.

Why, then, this war among similar nations?

The only plausible answer, in the last analysis, is fear of Russia. This giant Slav power, which already controls more people and more land than any other nation in the world, is the ever alert menace to peace, because it is ever eager to enlarge the sphere of influence of the Slav. Thus, England and France should be allies of Germany against the common enemy—Russia.

That this is not the case is due to causes—although important by themselves, still minor to the main underlying cause of the giant struggle of Slav against Teuton, of oriental civilization against occidental culture.

Thus, Germany is fighting in a righteous cause, if it is right to stop the westward march of Russia and all that Russia stands for, righteous if it is right to advance the sphere of influence of art, literature, science and commerce, such as Germany has developed and given to the world with which to alleviate human suffering, to lessen human toil and increase human enjoyment.

FRENCH PRISONERS OF WAR

Notwithstanding all reports that Germany has mistreated her prisoners of war, this photograph, taken of the interior of the Zussen Barracks, shows how well they are cared for, judging from their appearance

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WHAT THE TEUTON DEFENDS.

The Milwaukee Free Press.

Herbert Sanborn, Professor of Philosophy in Vanderbilt University.

The recent letter of Dr. Charles Eliot, as well as the vehement protests of several well-meaning clergymen against the German Emperor, show plainly enough how little thought the majority actually gives to the real problems of civilization. Since the outbreak of the war, I have not yet read a single protest that has not laid bare, even in the case of clergymen, the purely materialistic philosophy of the individual making it. Underlying all such protests there is the dread of some form of physical pain or physical loss of various kinds, together with the false assumption that the idealistic Schiller repudiated once for all when he

said: "Das Leben ist der Gueter Hoechstes nicht"—the claim of the martyr throughout the ages. Of course, not all materialists nor only materialists would like to see universal peace, but it is safe to say that only they see nothing worth fighting for and that only they are in favor of peace and at cost.

The unintelligent and almost criminally dangerous agitation for universal arbitration proceeds upon the monster fallacy of assuming that international justice is, at the present stage of barbarism and Philistinism of the world as a whole, a possibility. It cannot be realized because of the fact that the vast majority of the nations of the earth, like the vast majority of individuals in most nations, does not clearly apprehend the highest aims of civilization, nor the fact that Christianity must advance beyond materialism and Philistinism before it can become a safe guardian of culture. It would be extremely dangerous to the real aims of life to allow the majority of the nations (who demands of civilization merely panem et circenses) to determine the justice of the most important claims, and for that reason all nations that do apprehend those aims and who are, furthermore, well aware that most nations do not, will always refuse to permit certain questions to be settled by the mob. Truth and justice cannot yet be determined by majority vote.

Most individuals, even in enlightened America, believe that the real purpose of civilization is the acquisition of material wealth. If asked what this is for, they can answer only in terms of luxury or at the best in terms of this or that improvement of the physical well-being of the community. Others will think of material wealth as a foundation for "education," but they think nevertheless of "education" as something strictly vocational, as something merely instrumental to "getting on in the world" and the like. The individual, as Ruskin says of his compatriots, desires that education shall enable him to "ring with confidence the bell at the double-belled doors and then after awhile to have a double-belled door for himself."

Of course this is all quite necessary as a mere preliminary to self-development, and dangerous only when it comes to be, in the individual or in society, the only aim conceived, then civilization degenerates into mere luxury or into the mad scramble for ever-increasing wealth.

Now when we study the various movements of history, we find, in addition to the superficial causes that he who runs may easily discern, certain antitheses of real principles involved. Our own Revolutionary war, for example, appears to those who merely contemplate the surface of events as a revolt against the taxation imposed by England on her colonies, but in reality this revolution was merely one phase of an opposition between the principles of autocracy and democracy, which was at work then and much later in England herself. In laying a tax on the American colonies, the crown was merely trying out a policy destined chiefly to be carried out in the home country.

From one point of view the war of the Revolution had for its aim the defeat of England and the freeing of the colonies, but from another point of view the struggle meant and resulted in the union of what had previously been separate units. The colonies were not fighting for union consciously, but that is what they were really fighting for without being aware of it. The union against a common enemy revealed to them how much they really had in common. This real struggle for a more perfect union is seen again clearly in the transition from the government under the articles of confederation to the constitution and again in the struggle of the civil war; in fact, our whole history may be summed up as a continuous struggle toward a more nearly perfect union —a struggle toward self-consciousness. So it is with many other movements of history; their inner meaning is not fully realized by most people at the time of their occurrence.

That which will go down in history in the present struggle is the unquenchable patriotism of Germans throughout the world; I doubt if there has ever been a war waged where there has been such a united people, and it seems as though this fact alone should give those who go on prattling about the "despotic kaiser" and the "struggle between autocracy and democracy" some food for reflection, particularly when we stop to consider what people this is. This is not the war of one man or a clique of men, but the war of the whole, peace-loving, home-loving German people, naturally the most phlegmatic, deliberative, and reflective race of the world. If we tell them. as England's representative Mr. Wells does, that much learning hath made them mad, I am sure that they can with perfect right make the answer that Paul did to Festus. They are not mad and the kaiser in whom they trust is not mad; these descendants of Luther, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, etc., know far better than their horror-stricken critics that they are waging war for that which is dearer to them than life itself and something no peace conference of all the nations would be willing or competent to adjudicate fairly.

In an article in the last number of the "Fatherland" I have endeavored to point out that the contest for material values which has precipitated this war between Germany and the rest of the world can only be judged fairly when we consider what claims the various nations involved can put forward to justify their possession of material values.

Germany has beaten England fairly and peacefully in the commercial contest for the markets of the world, and hence England has sought to ensnare and deliver her over to those who are her enemies for this and similar reasons. It is not unneutral to say this, for England herself has admitted it time and again, both before and since the war began. A recent article in Boston and New York papers entitled "Why England Fights," makes it clearer than ever that England is bent on the commercial ruin of Germany.

Apparently England's claim to the exclusive possession of this commerce, which she has acquired by means of a chain of fortunate accidents of history, can have before the parliament of man no more justification than the right of Germany to secure it if she can; but when we inquire, from a higher point of view, what this wealth in the two cases is to be used for England's claims vanish into trivial significance, as compared with those of this teacher of the nations. We then see plainly that it is a struggle ultimately of the highest aims known to the human races against the sordid aims of races merely veneered by culture.

England and all the other nations of Europe desire material wealth for luxury and a purely materialistic life. England, France and Italy, as is well known, have degenerated from Shakespeare to Shaw, from Descartes and Molière to Zola, and from Dante to d'Annunzio; whereas in Germany Shakespeare, Dante and Molière still live, so that in Munich for example, more plays of Shakespeare are given in a year, according to statistics than in all England and America taken together? The German university is still incomparable, and in the midst of her great material prosperity, and in spite of occasional inroads of French and English materialism, Germany has never as a people forgotten the reason for which alone material values exist. Germany is consecrated to the development of the highest spiritual values; in Germany material values are consciously and unremittingly transmitted into culture.

It is because she is as a people conscious of the fact that the other nations of the world either have had or have ceased to have this aim that she will never submit to the decision of the majority concerning its value. For her it is the supreme aim of life, that for which material wealth is merely the means. For this reason she has armed to defend herself from the barbarian and the no less dangerous Philistine, and she perceives more clearly than the latter that even on the material plane the horrors of peace may well outweigh the horrors of war.

Those who corner wheat and meat on the stock exchange, who carry on Erie and New Haven and Hartford deals, refuse sufficient protection against fire in crowded inflammable factory buildings, are among those who are apt to protest most loudly against the horrors of war. They seldom see their own mute and inglorious victims—the tuberculosis patients from the crowded tenements, the infanticides, suicides, murders, robberies, and other horrors of peace that follow in their train—horrors of peace that far outweigh those of war because they destroy not merely the body but the soul. * * *

A Word From Emperor Francis Joseph to His People

LETTER OF EMPEROR FRANCIS JOSEPH TO THE CHILDREN OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The Crucible.

(Translated by Clare Benedict.)

To the Dear Children of Our Empire:

If, on the threshold of the grave and in such a serious hour, I turn to you, beloved children, it is for more than one reason. Once you were the joy, the consolation—yes, often in the darkest moments of my long life the only consolation and the only joy—of your Emperor-King. When I saw you a sunbeam fell once again across the shadow of my existence. It is you, children, who are nearest to the heart of your Emperor-King, the flowers of my kingdom, the ornament of my people, the blessing of the future.

But it is not only to your Emperor-King that you are nearest, but to One before Whom the mightiest of this world are helpless creatures, God our Lord; in your eyes the light of the creation morn still shines, about you is still Paradise—is still Heaven. God is all powerful, in His hand lies the fate of all peoples. Everything bows to His will, by Him the stars and mankind are directed. That this almighty hand of God may guard and keep Austria-Hungary, giving her the victory over her many enemies and strengthening her in victory to the honor and glory of God—this is the only wish which remains to me after a life rich in calamity. It was my wish when I ascended the throne of my fathers—so young and full of hope—it will be the wish which perhaps will soon be on my dying lips as the last word of love and care for my realm and for my people.

May God direct all things as He wills, we human beings can do nothing without Him. As you, dear children, stand nearest to God, your Emperor-King begs you to pray that He may bless us and bestow His grace upon our cause. God grants the prayers of innocence, because He loves it, He recognizes in it His own image. Therefore cease not to pray with clasped hands, you little ones and you smallest ones of all.

If the children of the realm pray for their Fatherland, I know that all will be well with our star. Then you will have a part in the day of victory and honor of the Empire. You have called down the blessing upon our colors, upon our army.

Dear children, do not forget the empire to which—on earth—you belong, or its old Emperor.

CAPTURED RUSSIAN CANNON IN VIENNA
(By Courtesy of the "Chicago Abendpost")

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The Austro-Hungarian Red Cross.

The Austro-Hungarian Red Cross Society has organized two field hospitals for 300 men each, equipped with up-to-date instruments, etc. In connection with these field hospitals fourteen Red Cross units have been sent to the front and four depots have been formed. These depots have to provide for the regular supply of all medical necessities for the medical branch of the Army and for the Red Cross. Three hospital ships, also provided by the Red Cross, have been used to a very small extent only. Much good work has been done, on the other hand, by the Epidemic Laboratories, all under the direction of prominent bacteriologists. These laboratories have succeeded in checking the outbreak of epidemic diseases over a wide area.

The institutions, managed by the Red Cross at home, chiefly consist of Reserve Hospitals, Convalescent's Homes, Stations for soldiers who have become ill, etc. Under the agreement with the War Office the Red Cross was supposed to provide beds for 518 officers and 16,000 men, but the total number of beds available at present amounts to 85,000, five times as many as were asked for. These institutions are supported, of course, not by the Red Cross Society alone, but also by corporations, societies, committees, etc., of any description, as also by individual contributions.

The Society has been anxious to increase the number of nurses for the wounded by voluntary helpers, women and girls who had to go through a few weeks' training. This arrangement is found to work satisfactorily in general. The transport of wounded soldiers in the different towns and cities has also been taken over by the Red Cross So-

COUSIN TO "BUSY BERTHA"
(By Courtesy of the "Chicago Abendpost")

ciety, which for these purposes has enlisted the different fire brigades; 700 units in all, with a total of 17,000 members.

Other branches of the Red Cross work are concerned with providing refreshment to soldiers at the railway stations and on the roads; with the provision of underclothing and other things found suitable for the comfort of the men; with information offices for the relatives of soldiers; and with the censoring of letters written home by the prisoners of war in half a dozen more or less known languages.

The Red Cross has also undertaken to get information about the Austro-Hungarian military and civil prisoners of war in hostile countries and has recently been obliged to protest to the International Committee in Geneva against the cruel and barbarous treatment of Austro-Hungarian civil prisoners in Russia.

All this extensive work could not have been done, of course, without the ready support it found among the population of all nationalities, creeds and classes within the Monarchy. More than seven and one-half million Kronen have been collected in Austria-Hungary for the Red Cross, and 800,000 Kronen by Austrians and Hungarians abroad. About one million Kronen have been sent in besides by the affiliated societies.—"The Continental Times."

THE NEUTRAL NATIONS

Their Interests and Rights

THE EUROPEAN TEUTONIC NATIONS LOYALLY NEUTRAL

England Excepted

The European Non-Teutonic Nations Generally Not Firm

Official and Popular Neutrality

The United States

Some Neutral Nations—Spain and Portugal

THE POSITION OF HOLLAND IN THE EUROPEAN WAR.

In the Open Court.

By Albert Oosterheerdt.

The position of Holland in the great European war is both a difficult and a delicate one. In the center almost of the conflict, related to the principal warring nations by ties of blood, commerce and trade, herself an exponent of international law, which it is charged from many sides has been rudely broken, suffering greatly from the effects of the war in her trade, industry and general condition, compelled in addition to relieve a multitude of refugees, Holland has, though neutral, a most unenviable position, incurring nearly all the evil results of war without experiencing at the same time that national exaltation which is often a complement of it. Officially, of course, the Netherlands are neutral, and, as far as the government is concerned, this neutrality has been admirably kept, nor have the people at large been committing overt acts of hostility toward any of the powers involved; but it would be idle to assume that the Dutch are wholly without sympathies in this war, or that they alone have attained that state of philosophic calm which seems an absolute requirement for a complete neutrality.

The ties of blood and racial origin alone make the position of the Dutch peculiarly difficult. One of the purest Germanic nations, although not without a strong admixture of Roman blood, speaking an almost entirely Teutonic language, which is perhaps a better development of the ancient German than the modern German with its artificial constructions and ponderous word-formations, the Dutch have at all times been an outpost of *das Deutschtum*, of equal rank with the other nations of Teutonic extraction. Part and parcel of Germanic civilization, their relations with Belgium, and especially Brabant and Flanders, populated by the Flemish people, practically of the same stock and using the same language, have been particularly close. Formerly, when the seventeen Netherland provinces were united under the scepter of Charles V, only to be driven apart during the reign of his son Philip II, there existed the most intimate relationship between Belgium and Holland, two parts indeed of one country. From the southern Netherlands the northern provinces derived much, in fact, nearly all of that which afterwards made the Dutch Republic famous in art, industry, trade and commerce. When the southern Netherlands were subdued by Don Juan of Spain and Alexander of Parma, the trade and commerce of the great Flemish cities were moved almost bodily to Amsterdam and the other cities of Holland and Zealand, which owe their growth and industry in great part to the Flemish artisans, weavers, merchants and bankers who came fleeing from Antwerp and Flanders after the Spanish fury of 1585 had done its fearful work in that city. Henceforth the connection between the two Netherlands is broken, and Holland profits at the expense of Belgium. The political separation is accentuated by the religious and commercial antagonism; the northern Netherlands wax great and mighty, the southern Netherlands lead a miserable existence under foreign domination.

This condition lasts for two centuries, and is ended by the effects of the great French revolution. France wrests Belgium from Austria, while, soon after, the Dutch republic comes to an inglorious end in 1795, the Prince of Orange taking refuge in England, and Holland as well as Belgium falling under French domination. The fall of Napoleon sees both countries once more united; to Holland, already independent in 1813, Belgium is added in 1815, at the command of the Vienna Congress. The union, although quite promising at first, comes to naught in 1830, when the clerical and liberal parties of Belgium form an alliance, set up a revolutionary government and defy the northern provinces and the king. An attempt by the Dutch government to suppress the revolt culminated in the famous "Ten days' Campaign," at the end of which all Belgium lay at the feet of the victorious Dutch army. At this juncture, however, foreign powers intervened; both England and France assumed a threatening attitude, and by means of a French army compelled Holland to relinquish her hold upon Belgium. A long period of suspense followed, to be concluded finally by the neutrality treaty of 1839, signed by Great Britain, France, Russia, the Germanic Confederation, and Belgium and Holland themselves.

The first period of Belgian independence was necessarily very French in spirit and culture, thereby suppressing the old national character of Flanders and Brabant. A natural reaction followed, in which the ancient Flemish verse and prose regained their former pre-eminence—a new period of youthful vigor and noble expression in the old language of the people. The connection with Holland, never entirely lost, became more intimate as the literatures of both countries became the common property of each. Many strands of different kinds continued to form an almost indissoluble link between the two peoples, not the least of which was the General Dutch Alliance (*Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond*). Little wonder then that Dutch sympathy for Belgium in this war is ardent and sincere, and that the manifestations of charity and esteem have been universal and full throughout the whole of Holland. As indicative of Dutch feeling toward unhappy Belgium the following quotations from "Neerlandia," the official organ of the General Dutch Alliance, which has its members in every civilized country in the world, will be found illuminating. Editorially, "Neerlandia" says: "Being published in a neutral country,

'Neerlandia' must also be neutral. As Holland does not share in the fighting, the Dutch people must, both in speech and writing, withhold itself from making attacks. But as far as Belgium is concerned—for the major part inhabited by a people of Dutch race and Dutch language, accordingly, from the view-point of our Alliance and 'Neerlandia,' inhabited by our race—we must, in all calmness and sincerity, utter a word of protest against this invasion.

"In fact, Germany herself has, in the utterances of her chancellor, admitted that she was doing Belgium an injustice. We do not enter here into an inquiry as to which power or which group of powers bears the blame for the outbreak of this world-wide war. We also do not raise the question whether Germany has good reasons for saying that she fights for her existence and not for conquest, and that she was compelled in self-defense to go through Belgium; willing or unwillingly, she committed injustice.

"But we have confidence in the German people. They will, in case they are victorious, make amends and rectify what they have done to Belgium. And they will leave the country its freedom and independence. When the anger and the fever of war have passed they will have admiration and respect for the small nation which was too proud to allow invasion of its territory, and which, in defense of its honor and independence, dared to fight with a powerful enemy. And they will understand that the Dutch nation, although it remains firmly neutral, sympathizes with the heroic Belgian nation, in part a related nation, and gives expression to its admiration and pity."[1]

In perfect agreement with the thought and sentiment of this noble protest has been the hospitality and treatment accorded to the hundreds of thousands of Belgian refugees in Holland. The government itself has done everything possible for these poor people, and besides the national fund for home charity another fund has been devoted exclusively to the Belgians. While greatly suffering herself, Holland has nobly responded to this additional burden, refusing to receive the proffered aid of Great Britain and America to help in caring for the thousands of destitute Belgians. A duty voluntarily undertaken would be fulfilled in the spirit in which it was begun; this and national patriotism urged the government to reject these otherwise welcome offers of aid. That the Belgians have appreciated this generosity and unlimited hospitality on the part of Holland, which dispelled forever the unjust suspicions held against the Dutch in the beginning of the war, may be conclusively seen from an address to Queen Wilhelmina, sent by two Flemish representatives in the Belgian parliament and signed by many prominent refugees and others. The text of this eloquent address is too long to quote in full, but a translation of part of it will indicate its fervent feeling and heartfelt gratitude. "Not only," says the address, "have tens of thousands of Belgians to thank Holland for the preservation of their very lives, but also for their re-quickened faith in life and humanity. . . . Through her magnanimous love of humanity has Holland, in these days, gained more than a battle of arms. She has earned the eternal gratitude of a sister nation, compelled the admiration of all combatants and brought upon herself a blessing from on high."[2]

While bleeding Belgium is thus a recipient of Dutch (and American) bounty, the relation of Holland with the other combatant nations are no less close and essential. Germany, as might be expected, looms very large in the Dutch consciousness. From Germany their language and customs are derived, the royal house of Orange is of German descent, as are also many Dutch citizens whose forefathers fled to the Netherlands during the religious wars in Germany, or who themselves are of more recent immigration; much of their science, philosophy and arts is of German importation, while the phenomenal growth of their commerce, industry and trade within the last forty years has been in great part due to the equally remarkable development of Germany in the same period. In the great exodus of foreigners out of Germany at the beginning of the war the Dutch took little or no part; even more than the Americans they were honored and trusted by the Germans. While there was a fear in Holland at first that they would be drawn into the war, events have shown that Holland has nothing, for the present at least, to fear from Germany. The Germans have scrupulously respected Dutch neutrality, firmly as it has been kept. After the fall of Antwerp there was a great temptation to Germany to take possession of the mouth of the Scheldt, an undertaking which would certainly have resulted in war with the Dutch. But as England had refrained from sending her warships up the Scheldt, so Germany refrained from doing anything which would violate Dutch neutrality.

The Netherlands have grievances enough, however, against both England and Germany. Dutch trade is well-nigh suspended, thanks to the ubiquitous use of mines by these great powers. As the English admiralty board has declared, the entire North Sea is dangerous to shipping, greatly to the detriment and loss of the Scandinavian countries and Holland, thus illustrating the direct loss and danger to neutral lands in this most sanguinary war. At Rotterdam, where sixty boats normally enter port daily, there are now only a few steamers docking, and there is thus an almost total cessation of commerce and trade, making it difficult even to procure sufficient foodstuffs from abroad. Thanks to the energetic action of the Dutch government there is no famine in the land, all hoarding of grain being strictly forbidden, and in many communities it is being sold under the direct control of the government. While there is not, and cannot be, a comparison with conditions in Belgium, there is acute distress and a serious condition of affairs, which cannot be allowed to last indefinitely.

That the Dutch are among the principal sufferers from the war may easily be inferred from the fact of their being, for their population, the greatest commercial and trading nation on earth. In actual exports and imports the Netherlands are only exceeded by Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States. With one-seventh of the population, Holland has a total foreign commerce nearly equal to that of France, with one-tenth of Germany's millions, more than one-half her trade. According to the Statistical Abstract of the United States for 1911, French imports and exports for the year 1910 amounted to $1,384,453,000 and $1,203,124,000, respectively; those of Germany, $2,126,322,000 and $1,778,969,000; the British figures are $3,300,738,000 and $2,094,467,000; and the American, $1,527,966,000 and $2,013,549,000; while the imports of little Holland in 1909 were $1,249,423,000, and her exports $984,397,000,[3] amazing totals for such a small country of but six million inhabitants. It is true, of course, that this marvelous foreign trade is to a great extent a carrying trade and does not represent the country's industry accurately, but it indicates emphatically the dominant trading character of the Dutch nation and the absolute necessity of keeping open the great trade-routes and neutral waters. That the principles of international law have been violated by the indiscriminate sowing of mines in the North Sea is indisputable, and that Holland, already handicapped by the great war at her borders, has thus innocently been deprived of a great part of her main source of making a living, is equally beyond cavil or doubt.

It is, indeed, one of the tragic ironies of this war that the countries which have been among the foremost defenders of international law and justice have also been cruelly suffering because of their violation. Belgium, whose very existence depends on the inviolability of an international treaty, herself the creation of the great powers of Europe, has seen her life-blood slowly ebbing away in defense of it; Holland, the home of world-jurisprudence, whose great son, Hugo de Groot, laid the foundations of international law in his famous book, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, the seat of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, where it has its quarters in the Palace of Peace—the most hopeful building of modern times—has seen her trade and industry paralyzed in defiance of her neutrality; both countries victims, albeit not in the same degree, of a cruel war which they were powerless to prevent. The Netherlands certainly did not deserve the fate meted out to them, for no country has done more for international comity and justice than Holland. As Motley says on this subject: "To the Dutch Republic, even more than to Florence at an earlier day, is the world indebted for practical instruction in that great science of political equilibrium which must always become more and more important as the various states of the civilized world are pressed more closely together, and as the struggle for preeminence becomes more feverish and fatal."[4] It is on this account that the

[1] Page 199, Nov., 1914. English translation.*

*See *Index* for full reference to publication and pp. quoted.—Editor.

[2] "Neerlandia," Nov., 1914, page 208.

[3] U. S. Statistical Abstract, pp. 762-3.

[4] Rise of the Dutch Republic, Preface, p. iv.

neutral nations like Holland and the United States will have much to say as to the final terms of peace. There can be no lasting peace which leaves neutrality undefined and unprotected, which does not limit the scope and area of a conflict, or which does not prevent the visitation of war upon innocent nations.

It is a matter of uncommon interest to Holland that the positions of the great neighboring powers with respect to her have apparently completely changed from what they were historically. Thus for centuries France was the most dangerous enemy of the Netherlands, and the famous *Barrière* in the southern Netherlands was directed against her possible sudden attack, just as the Triple Alliance between England, Holland and the Emperor during the eighteenth century was for the purpose of checking the ambitious designs of France. In this war, however, Holland and France have no differences, the Dutch having no fear from the French, while Germany and England, formerly Holland's protectors against France, have become menacing to Dutch interests. England, to be sure, has not always been friendly to the Dutch, as the three wars in the period between 1650 and 1674 clearly indicate, but otherwise Dutch and English interests were by no means mutually exclusive, but rather parallel, if not quite identical. The Dutch war for independence from Spain was greatly aided by England's fight in behalf of a common Protestantism, which required the undivided support of both maritime powers in order to win against a recrudescent Catholicism, as personified in the house of Hapsburg. A century later, when William of Orange had become king of England, the alliance between England and Holland was formed, which, together with their common alliance with the emperor, was, as Professor Blok terms it, "a political and economical necessity."

At present, however, England has at least temporarily endangered the existence of Holland, although she claims of course that her measures are purely defensive, and necessary as counteracting the offensive naval tactics of Germany. That England should desire a permanent foothold on the continent, for example at the mouth of the Scheldt, is strongly to be doubted. Such a position would be precarious to hold, and it would ensure the lasting enmity of Holland as well as of Germany. It is equally improbable, however, that Germany would care to lord it over the Dutch, or annex their country. The Germans knew too well the history and character of the Dutch, and have always been too friendly to them to doom them to national extinction. It is quite possible, however, that Germany and the Netherlands will be somewhat more closely related after the war than before, and that the Dutch will prefer the friendship and protection of powerful Germany rather than her possible distrust, and perhaps conquest at her hands. That the Dutch race, whether in Holland or Flanders, will draw nearer together, is already certain. Of one other thing the world may be certain, that Holland wishes "heroic Belgium restored to the fulness of her material life and her political independence," as Premier Viviani has stated, "that it may be possible to reconstruct, on a basis of justice, a Europe finally regenerated."

THE NEUTRAL COUNTRIES.

Scandinavia.

In Germany, the underlying principle of the meeting of the three Northern Kings has met with sympathy, and the sentiment is general that the consultation of the Scandinavian countries contains no menace for Germany. The declaration made at Malmö announcing the readiness of the Scandinavian countries to defend themselves seems to be looked upon in London as a threat aimed at their pet practice of sea piracy. This alone constitutes sufficient indication of the direction from which a breach of Scandinavian neutrality is to be feared. This neutrality is, however, permanent and unconditional, since not one of the three Teutonic kingdoms entertains any desire of entering actively into European politics and for this very reason these countries have a right to demand that their interests be not interfered with. The "Globe" writes: Our fleet is our chief weapon against Germany. We must make the most of it. We will attempt however to make matters as easy as possible for the neutral countries. The "Westminster Gazette" writes: The Scandinavian countries may rest assured that we will accept with pleasure all suggestions relative to a recognition of their interests.—"Hamburger Fremdenblatt," Hamburg, Germany.

Teutonic Nations.

The Kings of Sweden, Norway and Denmark have held a consultation in Malmö to discuss the difficult economic position of Scandinavia.

It is apparent from French papers that Germany's enemies have begun to work against Prince von Bülow, even before his entrance into Rome, inasmuch as they make the statement that he is bringing the Trentino with him. Such a stupid intrigue cannot catch the clever Italian politicians. Germany cannot bestow that which she does not possess and must leave such manœuvres to other countries. The Italians must not be surprised when the German offer, suggested by the French, is not forthcoming. Our opponents must employ some other means if they wish to destroy the confidence placed in Prince von Bülow in Italy.

Great indignation is prevalent in Rome over the confiscating of more than ten steamers headed for Italian harbors, chiefly intended for Italy and laden principally with grain. Different governmental bodies and heads of grain companies called upon Sonnino, to prevent the confiscation, which would be a threatening danger to the food supplies of Italy. The direction of the Grain Exchange of Milan sent a telegraphic request to Sonnino demanding the immediate release of the grain steamers "Haijall," "Basey" and "Tellas" held at Gibraltar, Nice and Malta by the English and French governments.

In Washington, a more just conception of neutrality has finally been reached. The idea has at last become general that the delivery of such indisputable war material as arms, ammunition, etc., is not suitable, if strict and honest neutrality is to be observed. — "Hamburger Fremdenblatt," Hamburg, Germany.

The United States and Spain.

The feeling in the United States seems to be changing in favor of Germany. Anyway, the efforts of the German propaganda to bring about a German-American and an Irish-American political organization are obviously gaining ground. This organization should force the government to give up its "careful neutrality."*

In Italy, too, the feeling is becoming more and more favorable to Germany. They admire the German victory at Soissons, attributing it to the good leadership and maneuvering capacity of the Germans. They acknowledge that Germany still has strength enough to take up the offensive, whereas France is compelled to wait for assistance from abroad, assistance that England is unable to render at the present time. They admire the fact that Germany knows how to be strong and invincible and they wonder at her strong will which extends her own sway and influence in the world.

A similar reaction in the public feeling seems to be gaining ground in Roumania.

In Spain the great majority of the cabinet moved a vote of confidence in the Prime Minister Dato, in renewed support of neutrality on principle. The whole of the opposition, including the Republicans and the Carlists, congratulated the Prime Minister on his declaration. The Cortes will probably be adjourned as soon as the projects for the army and navy are done with.

According to news received from Portugal there was a serious insurrection in all the barracks on December 30 and 31, which spread to the streets, when additional troops were to be sent to the African colonies. As a matter of fact these troops were never intended for Egypt, as the people feared, but were to be taken to the colonies. The crowds of people prevented the embarkation of the troops, while even the officers did not seem to give themselves the slightest trouble to overcome the soldiers' aversion to the war. In spite of all efforts the government was scarcely able to muster any further troops, as the majority of the men capable of bearing arms are leaving the country. In Portuguese waters the English fleet has been playing the despot for some time past.

The Portuguese Cabinet has now decided to adjourn the question of Portugal's taking part in the war, without the legal consent of the Sen-

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*This article was written in Hamburg soon after the German victory at Soissons; the information, similar to that contained in an article from Sweden, also from "The Hamburger Fremdenblatt," is evidently from friendly sources, a practice to which we Americans are little accustomed in this war.—Editor.

ate. On this subject we hear from Lisbon: There has been a noticeable reaction in the general feeling towards Germany. Many Germans have availed themselves of the permission lately granted them to leave the country, and it is supposed that only about half the German colony is staying on. The majority of the Germans who have left were commercial clerks. The interruption of the commercial intercourse with Germany is beginning to be keenly felt here and many articles which used to be obtained from Germany, such as medicaments, drugs, incandescent mantles, woolen goods, millinery, sugar, etc., have gone up in price enormously. Sugar of anything like an acceptable quality now costs 32 centavos (25 cts.) per kilogram and cube sugar 36 centavos, and is scarce at that. The bonded stores are empty and there is but little importing going on. The victories in the East and in the West have not been without effect here. The mail connections have been better of late, so that the post of December 14 arrived on the 5th of January, and the "Hamburger Fremdenblatt" of December 25 on January 6.—Hamburger Fremdenblatt.

The Popular Neutrality of the United States in the World War

OUR COUNTRY'S POSITION.

Are We Neutral?

Illinois Staats-Zeitung, Chicago.

Horace L. Brand.

President Wilson's proclamation requested this nation to devote one Sabbath to praying, that peace may soon be coming to the warring people of the world.

President Wilson announced that our government sanctions the sale of weapons, ammunition and supplies for army and navy to warring nations by individuals, firms or corporations, that such sales are not violations of neutrality, and that our government will secure fair equivalent for all ships flying the United States flag, as well as for their cargoes, in case the ships are captured, provided however that the protection of our government will be withdrawn from captured vessels, as soon as proven that their cargos were intended for warring nations.

The intelligent layman will be dazed by the above emanations from Washington. The well versed lawyer will not agree with President Wilson. Many eminent authorities can be quoted to prove, that a strictly neutral land must not through its government nor through private enterprise sell war ammunition and other contraband of war to any nation at war nor to any objective in the land which is at war. President Wilson's decision is not unanimously approved by students of international law.

Let us, therefore, view this extremely important decision of our state department as loyal citizens, instead of as lawyers.

We are a peace-loving nation. We are and want to remain at peace with the world. We devoted one Sabbath to prayers, raised our voice in the fervent wish, that peace may come to all mankind as soon as possible. We claim to be a nation of high standards of morality. We paid $25,000,000 to Columbia, because our ideas of high international morality were to be brought into proper relationship with our commercial ideas of the transfer to us of the Panama canal zone. A high standard of international morality would not permit us to recognize Huerta, although elected to the presidency of Mexico, because Huerta or his minions supposedly murdered ex-President Madero.

What hollow mockery! For now stands revealed in its true light this much vaunted "high standard of international morality." In Mexico it was the "interests" back of Villa, the American dollars, which were endangered as long as Huerta was president, which caused our Government to refuse recognition to Huerta, who was the tool of English capital.

In Columbia it was POLITICS (not "high international morality") which prompted our Government to pay $25,000,000 for the Canal Zone long after ex-President Roosevelt had obtained for the United States an undisputed title from the Republic of Panama to the Canal Zone. But it was thought to be good Democratic politics to discredit the Republican ex-President Roosevelt. That this payment besmeared the fair name of the United States for an act of a former President, seems to have been overlooked.

And now it is GREED and FEAR, which prompt our Government to sanction the trading in contraband of war, and the "high standard of international morality," so loudly heralded from Washington in former cases, seems now to be consigned to innocuous desuetude. Why? Because our Government knows that our country is now and has been for many months in a state of business depression and it fears that the coming November elections will result in Democratic defeat unless SOMETHING is done at once to lift our industries out of the depression into which they have been plunged since Democratic doctrines rule this country. That SOMETHING has been found. It is the trade in contraband of war! Here is the opportunity. It requires only an official interpretation and the industries of the land are at once helped out of the business depression. The interpretation is proclaimed: trading in contraband of war is sanctioned and is also protected, provided the trader is not captured and the case proven against him. In case of capture and conviction of a crime sanctioned by our Government, no help from this Government. Thus FEAR actuates our Government. Not FEAR of Great Britain, but fear of defeat at the November elections!

And GREED actuates that small coterie of United States citizens, whose factories and warehouses sell weapons, ammunitions and supplies for army and navy. These citizens guided by GREED have played upon the FEAR of our administration at Washington until the "high moral tone of our international politics" has been cast to the winds.

For our formerly, professed "high standards of international morality" would command our Government to at once legislate a prohibition, absolute and effective, of trading in contraband of war. There is no moral ground for sanctioning the sale of weapons and war supplies to warring nations. The actual delivery at present of war supplies to either one of the warring nations will encourage the belligerents to continue war and will effectively place new means in their possession with which to prolong the war!

This is self-evident. Admit that England and its allies will receive war supplies from the United States, in order to crush Germany the more quickly. For a NEUTRAL nation such an argument would be indefensible. But we devoted one Sabbath to praying for peace. What a mockery that has become! We are working many Sabbaths and six days in many weeks 24 hours in each day in many factories, to fill orders for war supplies which are to be shipped to warring nations.

"GOTT MIT UNS."

No doubt ye are the people: Wisdom's flame
  Springs from **your** cannon,—yea from yours alone.
God needs **your** dripping lance to prop his throne,
  Your gleeful torch His glory to proclaim.
No doubt ye are the people: far from shame
  Your captains who deface the sculptured stone
Which by the labor and the blood and bone
  Of pious millions calls upon His name.

No doubt ye are the folk; and 'tis to prove
  Your wardenship of Virtue and of Lore
Ye sacrifice the Truth in reeking gore
  Upon your altar to the Prince of Love.
Yet still cry we who still in darkness plod:
  " 'Tis Antichrist ye serve, and not our God!"

C. H. JACOBS.

The Advocate War Poem Prize.

Dean Briggs and Professor Bliss Perry, the Judges of the Advocate War Poem Prize Competition have awarded the prize to C. Huntington Jacobs, '16. The prize poem "Gott Mit Uns" appears in this number of the Advocate.—The Harvard Advocate, April 9, 1915.

It will be recalled that this is the famous prize poem that caused Dr. Kuno Meyer, the great Irish philologist, to send his resignation to Harvard University.—Editor.

TWO LETTERS.

New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, New York.

Church of the Good Shepherd,
Norwood, Ohio.

Francis H. Richey, Rector.
Mr. Herman Ridder,
New York, N. Y.

If Germany is such a place as you picture in the seemingly mending articles appearing in the public press, Why do you not go there? Leave other people alone. You are at liberty to go and live in Germany and worship at the feet of the superman.

Allow me to suggest you secure transportation and go and live in Germany and relieve the American reading public of your pro-German views.

Who cares what you think?

Yours sincerely,
F. H. Richey.

New York City, November 7, 1914.

Reverend F. H. Richey,
Church of the Good Shepherd,
Norwood, Ohio.

Dear Sir:

I have your letter of the 3rd instant, and am taking the liberty of sending you a few words in reply.

The last three months have brought me several communications of the same nature. They have been so overwhelmingly outnumbered, however, by the expressions which I have received of sympathy for Germany and the German cause in this regrettable war and from persons of such obvious illiteracy and misinformation as to require no answer. Your own communication, under acknowledgment, coming as it does from a man of presumed intelligence, in a position to do a great deal of good and at the same time, judging from the intemperance of your language, a certain amount of evil, falls within another category. This fact alone impels me to acknowledge it.

I am not going to discuss Germany with you. If you will forget the war for a moment, and will take that small space of time to reflect upon the history of the German people during the last forty years, you will see why no discussion of the subject is necessary. I will say this only: if I were to choose any country but my own in which to dwell, I should choose Germany. I say this not because German blood is in my veins. I have lived for well nigh two generations at a distance from Europe which has allowed of an impartial and unbiased contemplation of the developments which have taken place therein. At the end of that time I am still convinced of the superiority of German intellectual, moral and social life over that of any country but my own. The reason why I do not "go and live in Germany" is that I was born in the United States, have lived my life there, and hope, when the time comes, to find my final resting place there.

The tenor of your letter generally is of more significance than the individual points which you raise. It challenges my right to address the American people on questions with which their interests are intimately involved. I shall not defend my right to this, which every intelligent and fairminded man admits. I will only give you my reason for doing so.

If you will recall certain utterances of President Wilson immediately after the outbreak of the war, you will remember that they enunciated a "higher neutrality" in the discussion of the issues involved. A beautiful idealism inspired the President's words, but it was an idealism doomed to early dissipation. The President's injunction could have been obeyed, but it was not. The words had scarcely left his lips, before the British press and a considerable element of our own opened a campaign of vilification against Germany and the German people which has no parallel in the history of our own or any other country. All the praise which had been heaped upon an industrious and peave-loving people over a quarter of a century was hurriedly closeted, and paper vied with paper in condemning what a year ago they had lauded. I ask you, frankly: was that neutrality? was it fair play? was it American? Is it the duty of a power standing apart and supposedly an unbiased spectator of a war such as this, to allow the whole burden of its press to be thrown by one contestant against another? The essence of neutrality is balance; and the only way in which such balance could be maintained was to offset like with like. I saw this, as did a great many other Americans, and it was only then that I sought to do what little I could to counteract the baneful influence which so apparently was being exercised by England upon this country. You need but read the articles with which our papers have teemed from English pens, to realize the danger with which we have been threatened.

I do not know who cares what I think. I know only that hundreds of thousands of Americans think with me. If you are one of those who would willingly surrender our national mind, preparatory to the rendition of our sovereignty, to the British crown, you have the same right to maintain your views that I have to express mine. It would seem, however, to comport but ill with that true Americanism which we should be able to expect from those of your holy calling especially, to challenge any American for the expression of opinions designed only for the good of the American people. I ask for Germany only fair play, and that, primarily, not for Germany, but for our own country. To render her less is to violate our own sacred standards.

I am taking the further liberty of publishing your letter and my reply thereto in The Staats-Zeitung of the 8th instant. You are privileged to give what publicity you like to them.

Very truly yours,
Herman Ridder.

COLONEL WATTERSON ON THE WAR.

Editorial, The Fatherland, New York.

Col. Henry Watterson, the editor of the Louisville "Courier-Journal," speaks of despot-ridden Germany and says the Kaiser's government "is to our seeing the sum of all iniquity. Who believes in it cannot believe in the United States."

"Marse Henry" thus arrays himself on the side of those who would like to introduce gag measures to stop German sympathizers in this war from expressing their opinions, while reserving for themselves the right to monopolize the American press and the British cable to work up sentiment in favor of their side.

We can easily understand that men with this un-American mental bias are praying for the triumph of Russia and Japan. Watterson, in other words says, any one who doesn't coincide with his point of view cannot believe in the United States.

Since when has Col. Watterson begun to believe in the United States? Not in 1861-65. Not for many, many years afterward. How did he obtain his title of "Colonel" unless it was in fighting against the United States? To him nothing was so odious as a Northern man—not even a European despot; and just as he fulminated against the Union then, he is now hurling his thunders at the German government.

We resent Col. Watterson's insult to German sympathizers, and knowing, that good Americans, *as good as he is and perhaps better*, are actively sympathizing with Germany, we will tell him why German sympathizers cannot be outdone by the reconstructed Col. Watterson in "believing in the United States."*

They believe that nothing but the overshadowing authority of the German Emperor preserved peace of Europe for twenty-three years; that under his rule and influence the cause of civilization was farther advanced than has been the case in England, France, Russia or Japan; that the question of poverty was almost solved in Germany; that the per capita wealth shifted from France to Germany; that personal liberty and the just administration of the laws have had a higher vindication in Germany than anywhere else; that municipal government reached its highest development and that more small landholders exist within the same area than in England. The Kaiser's principal opponents, as vindictive as the Colonel himself, the Socialists, rallied to his standard in defense of the intellectual and national treasures which the Kaiser had fostered and protected for the German nation. Two of the most distinguished members of the British Cabinet, Mr. Burns and Lord Morley, resigned from the ministry rather than approve the war. Great Americans like Dean Burgess of Columbia University, and many other scholars of international fame, are protesting against England's part in the war and espousing the cause of Germany.

Does Marse Henry mean to say that Prof. John W. Burgess, Prof. Herbert Sanborn of Vanderbilt University; Mrs. Barclay Hazard, of the Florence Crittendon Mission, and countless other intellectual leaders and philanthropists not of German ancestry "cannot believe in the United States" because they don't agree with his point of view? They didn't agree with his point of view on the Civil War, in which 187,000 Germans enlisted while the Colonel's English friends were destroying the commerce of the United States and buying Confederate bonds to further the destruction of the country in which he now tells us no one can believe who believes in the justice of the Kaiser's cause.

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* Note—The phrase, in italics, "as good as he is, and perhaps better," is my own, to make the idea clear. —Editor.

There is no place like home, if one lives in the United States.—From "The Daily News," August 28, 1914.

LIE OR DIE.

Translation of Editorial.

Illinois Staats-Zeitung, Chicago.

The senile Dr. Eliot, formerly president of the Harvard University, has in view of the fact that everybody is talking, found it impossible to remain silent. The senile scientist unburdened his mind in an article in the "New York Times" in favor of England—as a matter of course.

Dr. Eliot needs show no consideration when expressing his sympathy for England. He has the undisputed right to make sure that his expressions of sympathy are delivered to the right address, and we think we have the same right. And though we regret that this light of America's intellect is—according to our view of the matter—wasting his sympathy on those unworthy of it, we can hardly reproach him for doing so. It is another thing, however, when the former university president does not content himself with an expression of his views, but insists on rendering a verdict, which he claims admits of no recall. In this instance a critical inquiry is not only timely, but absolutely necessary.

When Dr. Eliot boldly declares that a perusal of German publications has convinced him that German editors and professors were ignorant of the true causes that led to this war, he shows an insolence that should not only be branded as such but also ridiculed.

It is making a show of his boundless conceit, when Dr. Eliot attempts to prove that he, sitting in his study on this side, had a better opportunity to fathom the real causes of the war, than, for instance, Herbert Kraus of the University of Leipzig, who is known the world over as an authority on matters relating to international law. And it is an unheard of insult to such men as Haeckel, Eucken and others to claim that they were not acquainted with the subject they were writing on.

Professor Eliot undoubtedly had a more reliable and truthful source of information than these gentlemen. Dr. Eliot gets his information from English sources and from American papers, and as a matter of course his statements are more reliable than those of German scientists.

Anything bearing an English stamp is accepted as true in America, by Tom, Dick and Harry, even though mendacity is written on its face and its odor penetrates the clouds. And even Professor Eliot wishes to be no exception, for it would be an easy matter for him to learn how to make history in England.

The American journalist, James O'Donnell Bennett, has informed "The Chicago Tribune"—his paper—that in England it is either lie or die. He published a letter received from his wife, who is in London at the present time, in which she states that she has had trouble, because he took the privilege of sending reports containing the truth to America. One of his colleagues has already been imprisoned and his papers confiscated.

Perhaps Dr. Eliot is planning a trip to England and as a precautionary measure has advertised his passport in the columns of the "New York Times" to enable him to wander about undisturbed in the free British kingdom.

In this case the stand taken by the American scientist is easy to understand, but can hardly be excused. Dr. Eliot should follow the example of his colleague Burgess. Professor Burgess, also an American, prefers to scan the pages of the world's history with the aid of the lenses of truth.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY 300 PASSENGERS ON BOARD THE HOLLAND LINE STEAMER "ROTTERDAM."

NEW YORK, Sept. 7.—Passengers on the Holland-America liner Rotterdam, which arrived from Rotterdam today, signed a statement declaring false the reports that Americans had been ill-treated in Germany. The statement closed with the request that a copy be forwarded to President Wilson and Secretary Bryan and was signed by Rev. J. F. Ohl of Philadelphia; Rev. August Rohrig, Hazelton, Pa.; Dr. J. J. Buel, Cleveland, Ohio; Dr. A. W. Stilliams, Chicago, Ill.; Max Wester, New York; Rev. Henry Tappert, Covington, Ky.; Rev. Dr. T. Soentgrath, Columbus, Ohio; Rev. M. Rieger, Duluth, Minn.; Rev. J. A. Rossenbach, Darien, Conn., and several hundred others. The statement follows:

"The undersigned American citizens, passengers on the steamship Rotterdam, all of whom were in Germany during the present hostilities, ask the Associated Press, through its various channels, to give publicity to the following statements:

"That the reports regarding ill-treatment of Americans by Germans, emanating from English and French sources, are absolutely false.

"Travel through Germany, as far as the extraordinary circumstances permitted, was altogether safe, as officials and all classes of the people were, without exception, very friendly and helpful.

"No well-authenticated atrocities were perpetrated by German troops.

"All of the German official bulletins regarding the progress of the war were in every case subsequently confirmed, and thus the reports coming from English, French and Belgian sources disproved.

"In our judgment the distorted reports which have reachel America were sent out with the deliberate purpose of deceiving Americans and thus creating a sentiment in favor of the powers now arrayed against Germany.

"We ask all Americans to suspend judgment until they have had opportunity to make an impartial inyestigation of the causes which have led to the present conflict, and especially to study the diplomatic correspondence. It is our conviction that Germany has not been the aggressor, but that the war has been forced upon her by the envy and greed of those nations that are jealous of her growing industrial and commercial importance, and for this reason are ready and anxious to destroy her as a people.

"We hereby request the Associated Press to forward a copy of this paper to the President of the United States and the Secretary of State."

CHARGES OF GERMAN CRUELTIES DENIED BY U. S. CORRESPONDENTS.

The Associated Press has received by wireless from Berlin a message which follows. It was sent from Aix-la-Chapelle to Berlin for transmission. The authors, all of whom were originally assigned to Brussels, and when that city was taken they were returned to Aix-la-Chapelle, from which city they have been endeavoring to reach London, but without success. The telegram was partly mutilated by interference and certain words are missing, but the text here given is clearly that intended by the authors:

In spirit we unite in rendering (sic) German atrocities groundless, as far as we are able to. After spending two weeks with and accompanying the troops upward of 100 miles, we are unable to report a single instance unprovoked. We are also unable to confirm rumors of mistreatment of prisoners or of non-combatants with the German columns. This is true of Louvain, Brussels, Luneville and Nantes while in Prussian hands.

We visited Chateau Soldre, Sambre and Beaumont without substantiating a single wanton brutality. Numerous investigated rumors proved groundless. Everywhere we have seen Germans paying for purchases and respecting property rights, as well as according civilians every consideration.

After the battle of Biass (probably Barse, a suburb of Namur), we found Belgian women and children moving comfortably about. The day after the Germans had captured the town in Merbes Chateau, we found one citizen killed, but were unable to confirm lack of provocation.

Refugees with stories of atrocities were unable to supply direct evidence. Belgians in the Sambre Valley discounted reports of cruelty in the surrounding countries. The discipline of the German soldiers is excellent, as we observed.

To the truth of the statements we pledge our professional and personal word.

ROGER LEWIS,
The Associated Press.

IRVIN S. COBB,
Saturday Evening Post and Philadelphia Public Ledger.

HARRY HANSEN,
Chicago Daily News.

JAMES O'DONNELL BENNETT
and
JOHN T. M'CUTCHEON,
Chicago Tribune.

War fever apparently is the most contagious disease on earth.—From "The Daily News," August 28, 1914.

SPEECHES MADE AT A MASS MEETING OF GERMANS IN FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON.

From the "Boston Globe," Monday, August 31, 1914.

By Robert Sturm.

It is with deepest regret that we feel ourselves obliged to meet here today for mutual consolation on account of the unjust attitude which our press has taken against everything German, but which, however, has now been somewhat modified through President Wilson's appeal for neutrality.

A few very intelligent writers are possessed of a neutral view, but these are exceptions to the rule. Our position as German-Americans is to be doubly deplored because it compels us to resort to the unpleasant task of reminding the press what the Germans have done for America—and, in fact, for the whole world.

We have been told that the papers are obliged to print the news as it comes, but it is not the news we find fault with; it is the placing of the headlines on the news which exhibits the animosity and lack of neutrality on the part of our papers.

Some of the manufactured news we get from the other side is an insult to American intelligence.

Just recall the difference of the published reports when war was declared—of the meeting of the House of Parliament in London and the meeting of the Reichstag in Berlin. What England does and invents seems to our press the most important news of the world; what Germany does, our press is content with simply publishing the manufactured atrocities of the "barbarians."

When the German cable was cut at the Azores, it was surmised that the English had cut it, and it caused great joy in the editorial rooms of the papers; it was considered an awfully clever trick of the English, just like them to isolate Germany completely from the rest of the world.

Germany's doom was now a foregone conclusion and the papers predicted this doom with great elation and satisfaction, and we German-Americans threw the paper aside, thinking the end of the world had come, and we felt like imitating the ostrich until the catastrophe was over.

Two weeks afterward the rumor penetrated our editorial rooms that Germany herself had cut the cable to isolate herself against reports leaking out about the movements of her armies. This rumor caused consternation among our editorial staffs. When the English cut it it caused joy and when the Germans cut it, it aroused the hateful spirit.

We are told that this animosity is not directed against the German people, but against the "Kaiser" and the army. It is strange that other countries has kaisers and armies and not a word is said about them, and we ourselves here are endeavoring to enlarge our army and keep a big navy, and we think we are justified in doing so. Why not give Germany the same privilege?

We are told that the German people are the most intelligent in the world; that they represent the school of education for the world; that they are on the top notch of the sciences, music, literature and everything which represents human culture—but the Kaiser and the army ought to be ousted.

The gist of these supposedly flattering remarks is that Germany should drop the Kaiser and the army to give the other powers an easier chance to disintegrate her into the former number of States, which then could be easily debarred from commercial competition.

As Americans, we boast our admiration for a good fighter for commercial competition, and because Germany has proven to be a good fighter for commercial competition, and because Germany has proven to be a good fighter, we rejoice at seeing her knocked out. This is strange fair play. We forget that against our own disintegration we fought for four and one-half years with the then welcome assistance of the "barbarians" for the preservation of our Union, because we thought a whole was stronger than two halves. Germany needs her army to keep her union whole.

Germany's phenomenal rise in commercial competition frightened the other world powers of Europe and they concocted the scheme to fight Germany's growth with printer's ink by incessant and systematic slander all over the world.

At the same time these very powers have prepared to force Germany into a fight so as to crush her by combination, because singly no one dared to do it. They did not even trust their European combination, so they whispered into the Jap's ear: "It was the Kaiser who swung the flag of the yellow peril."

We are now confronted with the inglorious spectacle of four world powers courageously bombarding a little German town in China, and, as is customary in war, they are now fervently praying for the success of their united arms.

The German bears no inborn hatred or ill-will against any other nationality or people. On the contrary his admiration for everything foreign is a fault.

We ask no one's sympathy. We have met here today to express our regret for the slandering statements and the exhibitions of undeserved hatefulness in a neutral country.

When we consider what Germans have done for America, we feel that we have a right to come to this hallowed hall, to this Cradle of Liberty, to ask for fairness and for justice.

By Prof. J. A. Walz, of Harvard University (in part):

This hall has always been the refuge of the maligned; of those who have been unjustly treated, and it is here that we plead for justice and fairness to the German cause.

Fortunately, our country is neutral. Our noble and peace-loving President has made it clear that the United States Government will observe neutrality in letter and in spirit; he has called upon all loyal Americans to be neutral. We are loyal Americans and we are proud of it. In calling this meeting, we have not disregarded the President's request, nor have we come here to stir up animosities among our fellow citizens.

All we ask is suspension of judgment, willingness to listen to the other side, fair play for Germany. We know that the American people love fair play, but we also know that the average American knows little about European politics and cares less about them.

We believe that the German people and the German Government have not been fairly treated by a large part of the American press. We should fail in our duty as American citizens if we did not stand up for what we believe to be the truth.

The greatest war of history has begun and the first question is: Who is responsible for the catastrophe? It will be the task of future historians to unravel all the entangled threads that led up to this conflict, but at the present time England and France point at the German Emperor as the aggressor, the disturber of peace, and many of our American papers repeat the cruel charge.

A man must be judged by his deeds. Even those who have not been admirers of the German Emperor must admit that his acts have always been in the interest of peace. In the Boer War he kept strictly neutral, though the German people, yes, the whole non-British world, were loud in their condemnation of British aggression.

It was the German Emperor who prevented the joint action of Russia and France against England in favor of the Boers by refusing to take part. When Russia's army was fighting Japan ten years ago, the German Government assured Russia that Germany would make no hostile move, though the Russian frontier was bared of troops and defeat had demoralized the Russian army.

In the Morocco affair, when France fully recognized Germany's claims by offering her a part of Morocco, England stepped in and the German Emperor, rather than plunge Europe into a war, waived the German claims to Morocco and accepted a small compensation in Central Africa.

It has been urged by well-meaning friends of peace that the German Emperor should have waited until Russia actually invaded German territory to avoid the odium of a declaration of war.

But to have waited until then would have deprived the German people of almost every chance of victory. No Government, Republican or monarchial, has the right to throw away the future of its people. The Russian bear saw the opportunity for his long-planned conquest of Eastern Europe. He was determined upon war and he was sure of French support, he was sure of England.

In this supreme moment, when the fate of the German people was in the balance, the German Emperor and the federal council of the Empire had the moral courage to take upon themselves the odium of a declaration of

war—the most terrible odium that a government can take upon itself in our times.

Now, if you believe that a man has the right to strike if his enemy is reaching out for a mortal blow, you must admit that the German people had the right of self-defense.

"Germany must expand," they say, "but she must expand along economic lines, through the application of brain power, through unremitting industry, through scientific attainments, through arts and letters."

This policy the German people, and the German Emperor, have pursued with might and main during the last 25 years; yes, ever since the foundation of the Empire.

"The German Emperor is crazy," was a remark frequently heard at the outbreak of the war. But how is it that a nation of 67,000,000 men, women and children stand by this Emperor in the present hour of stress? Social Democrats and Conservatives, Catholics and Protestants, capitalists and workmen, Jews and Gentiles, have joined hands with this Emperor in defense of the nation's life and future. We see the whole German people transfixed with the passion for self-sacrifice.

What then is the crime of Germany that has brought about this unholy alliance against her? In the British and French press and in certain articles in our own papers we find all sorts of explanations. We read of the bad manners of the Germans, of the insolence of the military caste, of the arrogance of the officials.

We are told that the German Government is despotic, that the people are down-trodden, that there is no liberty. Some of these charges doubtless contain some truth. There are bad mannered Germans; you do find insolent officers and arrogant officials in Germany; certain external aspects of German Government and administration are irritating to Americans, though the average German does not mind them very much; there is less self-government in Germany than among us; the parliamentary bodies of the Empire wield less power than in this country.

But there is no despotism in a country with a written Constitution, where the law is supreme and is enforced among high and low. Our own reformers point again and again at the excellent administration of German municipalities. These reasons do not explain why the great powers of Europe have united to strike a death-blow at the life of the German people.

Much has been written during the last few weeks about the sinister designs of Germany, but I have not seen any reference to an article which appeared 17 years ago in the British periodical, the "Saturday Review," September, 1897. The article is known to every student of European politics of the last 20 years.

The author says: "If Germany were extinguished tomorrow, the day after tomorrow there is not an Englishman in the world who would not be richer. Nations have fought for years over a city or a right of succession; must they not fight for $250,000,000 of yearly commerce? England is the only great power who can fight Germany without tremendous risk and without doubt of the issue."*

The article closes with the Latin phrase, "Germaniam esse delendam"—Germany must be destroyed. Similar statements, though not quite so bald, have since been made in public and in private by Englishmen of standing.

It is the German view that this catastrophe is due primarily to economic causes. Because German women were willing to bear children and German men were willing to support the children; because German men and women used their brains and their bodies to build up German industries and commerce; because the Germans built a navy to protect that commerce and because they were guilty of getting rich—for these reasons, England formed the all-powerful alliance, enlisting in her cause the desire for revenge of the French, the desire of conquest of Russia, the desire for supplanting the white race in the Pacific of the Japanese. Edward VII prepared the unnatural alliance and Nicholas II set it in motion.

What will be the outcome of the war? We can judge of the future only by the past. Russian victory will mean the domination of Russian despotism on the European continent. There will be a dismemberment of Germany; there will be chaos in Central Europe.

Then we shall see other great wars, for Russia will make herself mistress of Asia, and England will have to fight her former ally for the possession of India and Asia Minor. But how does England hope to fight the huge armies of Russia then? Her fleet will avail her nothing and her natural ally, the German Empire, she has helped to destroy.

There will be war in the Pacific, for Japan, after crowding out, with England's help, one white nation, will try to make herself master of the Pacific. Then our own country will be affected, and we shall have to build a navy two and three times as large as now to keep our commerce and our possessions in the Pacific.

Let no one be deceived. Russian Czardom aims at world dominion. For 300 years Russia has steadily advanced over Asia and Europe, to the east and to the west, to the north and to the south. She has at times been checked, but she has never been defeated.

If Germany and Austria-Hungary are victorious, it will mean law and order in Central Europe. There will doubtless follow the establishment of a Central European customs union which will unite the various economic interests of the large and small nations, Germanic and Slavic, and which will still permit independent national life and development.

Then the war drum will be heard no longer on the blood-drenched fields of Europe. Humanity, progress and civilization will have a new lease of life.

*Possibly so, if she can succeed, by hook or crook, to get the rest of the non-Teutonic world to fight her battles for her.—Editor.

France will forever bury her thoughts of revenge; England will still be a great colonial empire, but she will have to share the dominion of the sea with other powers and she will never be able again to embroil the continent.

Russia will still be a great country with boundless possibilities of internal development, but she will have no opportunity to crush small nations within her dominion. Democracy will be triumphant in Europe, though the form of government will remain the constitutional monarchy.

The following resolutions were adopted:

RESOLVED, That we, American citizens residing in Greater Boston and representing different racial elements of the United States, particularly the German element, assembled in Faneuil Hall, approve unreservedly the policy of strictest neutrality in the present European conflict proclaimed by the President of the United States as solely compatible with the interests of the United States.

RESOLVED, That we sympathize with the German people and the German Government in the present war, which has been wantonly forced upon them by the aggressive jealousy of powerful nations.

RESOLVED, That we regret and condemn the unwarranted attacks upon the German people and Government by a large part of the American press.

RESOLVED, That we see a great danger to the future of our country in the attack upon Germany by Japan as England's ally, which is clearly an attempt to dominate the Pacific politically and commercially, to the detriment of the United States.

COMMENT ON DR. CHARLES W. ELIOT'S ADDRESS TO THE BUSINESS WOMEN'S CLUB, BOSTON, MASS.

New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, New York.

Herman Ridder.

The note sounded by Dr. Charles W. Eliot in his address to the Boston Business Women's Club on the 15th instant is ominous. If Dr. Eliot's words have been correctly reported they amount to no less than the assertion that the United States is called upon to go to the assistance of the Allies should they become exhausted in the conflict against Germany. We have become accustomed to England's campaign to capture the moral support of the American people in its most immoral of connections with the present war in Europe, a campaign in which Dr. Eliot himself has been a banner-carrier, but we cannot but express a degree of surprise at the discovery that our moral support was to be captured only as a preliminary to securing our military support. I cannot refrain from calling attention to the fact that the suggestion comes not from Arthur Conan Doyle or H. G. Wells, Arnold Bennett or Sir Gilbert Parker,

but from an American who has a certain claim upon our ears, and one who was originally selected to be the American Ambassador to England. As such, it shows the depth to which the enemies within are willing to sink in their attempt to surrender the United States to England, and the craft with which England, working to the end of our moral-military support, is conducting its propaganda in this country.

I venture to suggest that if Professor Muensterberg should have called upon the United States to lend its military strength for the defense of Germany, President Eliot would have arisen in horror at the suggestion and have added another $10,000,000 argument for the removal of the belligerent professor. I do not know how much Harvard needs money, but I do know that in the handling of this question Dr. Eliot's advice has been registered in his Boston address.

I do not suppose that President Wilson had any meed of confidence in the powers of his utterance on that higher neutrality of silence which he proposed to the American people, to effect its acceptance. In any case, the results have been disappointing, and were destined to be. Our hearts could not be chained against feeling for one side or another, nor could our voices be prevented from giving expression to those feelings. I do not think, however, that any great amount of harm can come from the logomachy which we have engaged in. It is natural and inevitable that nations going to war should seek the sympathy of neutral peoples. It is as natural and inevitable as the desire of the individual about to commit an act of questionable legality to buttress his reputation before his fellowmen. Both Germany and England sought our goodwill—the one by a frank statement of its case, the other by attempting to defile the fair name of its opponent. Both have secured a certain share of sympathy in America. We are quite ready to judge the facts of the case as they are presented to us and to allot our moral support where it seems most to be deserved. But there we stop.

The designs of England to force the United States into the war, along with Russia, France, Japan and Portugal, have been observable for some time. The invitation to send an American fleet against Turkey was but one of the disclosatory symptoms of these designs. And now we have them absolutely and unmistakably enunciated to us by the Doyen of Harvard.

I call attention to Dr. Eliot's remarks only as a warning to the American people. They carry no more weight than the earlier recriminations lodged against Germany by their author. Dr. Eliot cannot claim the right to speak for the United States, but as an honored leader of American thought, his words have a double significance. They will be significant both in this country and in England. We cannot do better, therefore, than to remind our cousins across the water that the suggestion of military support conveyed in Dr. Eliot's words has no substantial basis in fact.

We do not want war. Our feeling toward the European conflict is one primarily of regret that it ever was made necessary. Our great desire is that it may come to an early end. And least of all do we wish to become involved in it. Separated from the scenes of action by a thousand leagues of ocean, secure in our alliance with the Atlantic, we still have suffered from the folly of Europe. Shall we cut loose from that alliance and precipitate ourselves into the fray? Dr. Eliot says, "Yes!" The American people say, "No!" Wherever our sympathies may lie, our interests are unquestionably bound up with peace. Were Germany the monster which Dr. Eliot paints her, I would still say that the war in Europe is a concern of Europe, and that our interference therein would be but the adding of fuel to a fire already great enough.

The right of Dr. Eliot to declaim against Germany is as well established as is that of those who can still see in Germany something to admire and respect, to defend her cause. And this right has been worked by Dr. Eliot for all there is in it. Only when he slops over so far as to say that we are morally bound to go to the assistance of England, do his remarks come within the category of the indefensible. If my memory does not play me false, Dr. Eliot has until recently posed as a man of peace. In fact, he was sent, not so long ago, on a world-junket in the interest of the Carnegie Foundation for Universal Peace. Today, the preaching of a long lifetime is abandoned, and war is his text. I cannot but think that all that Cicero wrote "de Senectute" was written in vain. The youth of our land is crying out today for peace, and it is advanced senility that is clamoring for conflict.

I do not think that Dr. Eliot's propaganda will carry much weight in Washington or Washtenaw. It will certainly require a more logical defense of the cause of the Allies than we have had to date to bring to their support the army and navy of the United States. And granting the possibility of such defense, it will demand a greater amount of logic than Dr. Eliot has been able to bring to the support of his contentions, to justify the suggestion that we wish in any way to become a party to the conflict. Our position is, cogently, that if the nations of Europe wish to cut each other's throats they are privileged to do so. It is none of our business. We wish equally to let alone and to be left alone; and wherever our sympathies may lie, with Germany or with her enemies, one thing is unmistakable: we do not wish to get mixed up in the mess. The greatest condemnation of Dr. Eliot's attitude is to be found in the fact that it is flagrantly opposed to this well-known stand of the American people.

REFUSING TO AID SLAUGHTER.

JOHN J. STEVENSON

Who refuses "to be a party to the bloody war in Europe" though his business has been the manufacture of munitions. "It is better to make things that are useful."

It is not for Germany's diplomatic reasons that one American accedes to Germany's demand that America cease furnishing the Allies with war-munitions. "It is so much better to make things that are useful to mankind than to make things that destroy mankind," says John J. Stevenson, president of the Driggs-Seabury Ordnance Corporation; and his company refuses to furnish munitions for the war now raging. They have declined orders for millions of dollars' worth in the last four months, he tells a correspondent of the New York "Sun," orders that would have kept their plant going on full shifts night and day, but would have been "a contributing factor to the carnage now putting millions of men in Europe under the ground and on crutches." Agents of the Russian, French and British governments, he asserts have for months tried to get his company to manufacture shells for them, and just as persistently as these requests have come so have they been refused. The company of which Mr. Stevenson is the head was originally organized to manufacture war-munitions, and in its early history prospered on carnage. Altruism is not wholly the cause of the company's conversion, however, as its president humorously acknowledges:

"The last time we made war-munitions was for the United States Government about eight years ago. We manufactured 119,000 shells and we lost some money. I then joined Andrew Carnegie's peace society—and have been an active member since.

"A man's experience in life sometimes quickens his conscience. That is what happened to me, I suppose. The loss of that money opened my eyes to a better realization of the horrors of war. Since then I have put the notion of manufacturing war materials out of my mind. . . .

"I would rather, far rather, that the Driggs-Seabury Ordnance Corporation never again make any article that might be used to destroy life. . . .

Convert Them all—Governor Included.

"It is a crime that men such as the great artists of France are in the field being shot at—and shot—when they could and should be at home advancing the world's civilization instead of tearing it down and being cut down themselves with bullets.

"Modern warfare is merely a question of the best guns, the most modern war machinery and implements, and the longest purse—and

"When the billions upon billions of dollars have been expended and the millions upon millions of men killed or maimed or so shattered in health that they are unable to follow their daily work, the conflagration ceases. Then falls the burden of this ruthless butchery upon the under dog, and he must stagger through life under the load. He must foot the bills, must pay, pay, and pay, until patience ceases and rebellion rules. Then comes repudiation of the so-called government bonds, and revolution. . . .

"When the democracy of Europe comes into its own, as it surely will as one of the results of the conflagration now raging, I think there will

be such a panic as will surpass the French revolution of 1793.

"The income tax today in England is twelve times greater than in the United States, with only half the latter's population to draw from. There is already talk and a probability of this taxation being doubled before the year is out. That is why I say that a man in such a game who wins loses."—The Literary Digest.

THE OTHER SIDE.

The Fatherland, New York.

Louis Sherwin.

Nothing is more natural, more inevitable than the grievous Prussophobia with which nine out of ten non-German Americans enter into any discussion of war. A widespread unthinking almost vindictive hatred of Germans, a cruel desire for the defeat, humiliation and dismemberment of the German empire seems to greet the German sympathizer wherever he goes. It is depressing, it is baffling, it is almost maddening at times. But when you consider its causes it is easy to understand. The average American has only one source of information—his newspaper. His newspaper gives him either half truths or—in the case of the rabid, jingo Anglophile press, absolute lies. And the American reader, as a rule, cannot read between the lines. He cannot sift the truth from the lies, however disingenuous they may be. The chances are that he has been educated at an American school or university. Consequently he has not the thorough grounding in history to enable him to determine what the truth is.

For instance, the New York morning newspapers nearly all have their own correspondents in Paris and London. But in Berlin, for some reason, they have not hitherto seen fit to send any men from their own staff. They obtain their German news via London. Now it is perfectly obvious that German news that comes filtering through England will have an anti-German flavor. Some of the Berlin correspondents of the American papers are also correspondents of London dailies. The correspondents of the New York Times, for instance, is also correspondent of the jingo Daily Mail. He is a man of undoubted probity, a sincere, self-respecting journalist. But the most honest man in the world will have his own opinions and prejudices.

But you would imagine that on questions of history at least a newspaper might be accurate. Now let me give an instance. In the New York Times last Sunday appeared the following statement: "No outsider knows the terms by which Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy are bound together." If the word "outsider" is here meant as a synonym for a writer on the New York Times the statement is perhaps accurate. But speak for yourself, John. The terms of the Triple Alliance have been known to the world at large for nearly 30 years. It is nearly 30 years ago that they were published in all the newspapers. **They were reprinted in the New York Staats-Zeitung ten days ago.**

This amazing confession of ignorance appeared under the signature of Albert Bushnell Hart. Who is Bushnell Hart? Professor, so please you, professor of government at Harvard University! Can you imagine what chance the average American has to be correctly informed when a professor at one of the foremost universities in the country will allow such a thing to appear under his signature?

Again this erudite trainer of the young, talks repeatedly of the assassination of King Milan by his previous Servians in 1903. Well, what is a historical fact or so between friends? To be sure it was Alexander who was murdered. However, I suppose accuracy is mere bric-a-brac in the mind of a professor of government.

But how can a man who makes such a statement give American readers correct information about the causes of the war? How can American readers hope to learn the truth when that is the best approach to it they can get from even academic sources?

After this can you be surprised that scantily informed writers turn out such editorials as those of the Evening World? I quote a sample:

"The wolf is forced to eat the lamb forsooth because the lamb bleated! An arrogant and bellicose old man in Vienna backed by the eager warrior watching from Berlin, mumbles sanctimonious nonsense about tranquillity while all Europe shudders at the appalling ring of war preparations."

I trust the Pulitzer School of Journalism will hold this up to its pupils as being almost everything that editorial comment should not be. For bad taste, sloppy thinking, superficiality of information it would be hard to match. But the humorous part of it is that in another editorial the same Evening World declares that "general continental wars are not made nowadays by monarchs or even by fierce militarists panting for careers." Now which of these two statements are the readers of the Evening World asked to believe?

Here is another gem from the same palladium of our civic liberties:

"When history comes to look for the causes of the appalling crisis which darkens Europe, what will it find? The pretended cause an offshoot of the Balkan problem, which has been settling itself these forty years. The real causes: Senile Hapsburg arrogance generations old; the inveterate belligerence of a Kaiser whose throne rests upon military power and privilege; and the fatalistic war spirit of a great despotism where men are born to be sacrificed."

When history comes to look for the appalling causes, etc., it will hardly, I think, come to the editorial columns of the Evening World.

Editorial comment, we have been taught, should explain, interpret and review the news of the day, going beneath the surface and bringing out the meaning of apparently unrelated facts in the light of historical precedent. What can a man know of history who makes the pompous, slovenly statement that the Balkan problem has been "settling itself these forty years?" What can a man know of German history, German institutions, the character of the German people who has the spread-eagle notion that the Kaiser's throne "rests upon military power and privilege?" Has he paid any attention to the news that in this crisis every party in the empire including the Social-Democrats has rallied not in any sentimental support of William II., but out of sheer self-defense against the aggression of the Slav and the sentimental jealousy of the Frenchman?

I have lived in Germany; some of my best friends are Germans. Never have I met a German who had any animosity towards French people or France as a country. Neither I nor anybody else has found in all Germany any trace of such animosity. The hatred of the Frenchman for Germany, on the other hand, is proverbial. Never for a moment has the idea of "Revanche" been allowed to die down. Talking with the average American I find that he sympathizes with this. All he can remember is that Prussia took Alsace-Lorraine from France in '71. Why does not somebody tell him that Alsace and Lorraine were originally German provinces, that they were violently taken over and colonized by the French? As long as such misunderstandings are suffered to persist how can you expect the people of the United States to form a fair judgment of the rights of this quarrel?

For extreme examples of malignant, violent nonsense I quote the following excerpts from the Evening Telegram.* Of course any person expecting intelligence or enlightenment from an Evening Telegram editorial would be capable of expecting humor from a comic supplement, good cooking in an English home or an original thought from Arthur Brisbane. But here, I submit as an instance of deliberate inflammatory malice:

"Wake Up, England!"

"With Europe in a state of war from the Bay of Biscay to the Ural Mountains and from the Kara Sea to Crete; with Germany disregarding treaties so far as invasion of neutral territories go; with her friends in the Triple Entente going to the front by land and sea, Great Britain lags behind; sits supinely; is mute; holds Cabinet meeting after Cabinet meeting and says she will later announce her position.

"Members of the British Cabinet of peace party tendencies are responsible for the disgrace of a nation. Doddering old fossils or men who think more of their own pockets than of the honor of England and the sacredness of national understanding are overriding the will of the populace. They should be out picking buttercups rather than trying to dictate policies."

But again the amazing, pitiful thing about this piece of rubbish is not so much its obvious malice as its ignorance. * * *

NEW YORK SPEAKS IN THUNDEROUS TONES.

Thousands Crowd the Great Hippodrome Demanding Respect for American Flag and No Entangling Alliances—Presidents Jefferson, Madison and Roosevelt Forbade the Shipping Arms.

From "The Irish Voice," March 17, 1915.

New York City—The great Hippodrome was packed to the doors by an enthusiastic audience at a Washington's Birthday mass meeting held under the auspices of the "For America League." All in the audience were provided with small American flags, which rose and fell with the applause.

The one topic discussed by the speakers, who were ex-Gov. O. B. Colquitt of Texas, Congressman Stephen G. Porter of Pennsylvania, and Congressman Eben W. Martin of South Dakota, was America's stand in the present war.

Debasing the American Flag.

England's "navalism" was attacked as a menace to the United States, the flying of the American flag by a British ship passing through the English Channel was denounced as a "debasement of the American flag," the mention of the name of Secretary of State Bryan by one of the speakers evoked hisses and hoots that lasted for just sixty seconds, and a resolution which was adopted by acclamation declared the seizure of the steamship Wilhelmina by the British government as "a clear invasion of our rights as a neutral nation," and demanded "the unhampered right of our merchants to transport foodstuffs to neutral nations and to non-combatants in the belligerent nations."

To Organize Throughout the Country.

The resolution also resolved that the "For America League" should be organized throughout the United States immediately. The league was planned about three weeks ago at a meeting at which Bainbridge Colby presided, and that Sunday night's gathering was the organization meeting.

Judge J. H. Tierney, who presided, introduced as the first speaker Congressman Porter of Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. Porter urged his auditors to help remove the opposition to the bill in Congress to stop the shipment of arms and ammunition to belligerent countries. There was only one practicable way to minimize war, he said, and that was to establish an international court of arbitration. When this failed neutral countries should refuse to ship anything to belligerent countries. It was Mr. Porter's mention of the Secretary of State that caused the hisses, which were repeated whenever Mr. Bryan was mentioned either by name or as "the prince of peace."

The speaker quoted Mr. Bryan as saying that this country would violate the laws of neutrality by preventing the shipment of arms to the Allies. The statement was laughed at, as was mention of the fact that President Wilson had set apart a "day of prayer for peace." England's navy, he said, could close every port in the United States in forty-eight hours. One of my colleagues in Washington asked me the very pertinent question: Is there not a probability of these guns we are sending over, being turned on our soldiers?

German Militarism and English Navalism.

"If German militarism is such a menace to the United States," he said, "why is it that all of our clashes have been with English navalism?"

Congressman Martin, the second speaker, said he believed in absolute neutrality, which was our only hope of keeping peace at home and of being of service in the ultimate settlement of the European war. The use of the American flag by British ships was, in his opinion, a violation of international law. He declared that the administration should lodge a stronger protest with the English government on account of it. If Great Britain was allowed to use the flag other belligerent nations should have the same privilege, and it would be only a brief time before the flag would cease to be a protection to Americans on sea or land.

"Paint our national colors in bold design on the hull of every American ship that sails the high seas," he said. "This could not be mistaken and would not be counterfeited."

The main speaker of the evening was ex-Gov. O. B. Colquitt of Texas, who was introduced by Judge J. H. Tierney as "the man who would have settled the Mexican question with his Rangers over a year ago if it had not been for the Prince of Peace in Washington."

The audience rose and cheered as ex-Governor Colquitt of Texas took the stand and the orchestra played "Dixie." Mr. Colquitt said:

"I am sure we're all American citizens here and love this country more than any other." He devoted considerable time to reciting many of the instances in which German and Irish-Americans had done patriotic service in America's history.

Continuing he said:

"Why do we who claim to be free and undivided in our sympathies follow so much the wishes and fashions of the British? We have done that ever since the birth of the Republic. In the time of Washington, many of our people were aping British customs, mimicking British ideals and worshipping British gold. Many are doing that still.

We Had to Fight England in 1812 for Self-Protection.

"The War of 1812 was due to the treatment of our ships and seamen by the British and that nation continued to trample under foot the laws of nations until this little Republic had to fight her for self-protection. In the last few months she has been doing the same things that brought about the War of 1812.

The First Neutrals.

"George Washington wrote the first neutrality proclamation ever issued by the United States, at the time of the war between Great Britain and France, when he insisted that there should be no entangling alliances with other nations. Jefferson, Madison and Roosevelt all asked for neutrality that forbade the shipping of arms. Now President Wilson says that we would break the laws of neutrality if we stopped shipping arms.

"Compare what the Germans have done for this country with what the British have done. Von Steuben de Kalb and Herkimer were of our bravest generals. Look at the British in the Revolution, hiring Indians and paying them $8 for every scalp of a patriot. Look at the Mason and Slidell affair and the assistance given the Confederacy in the Civil War by England.

"I am the son of a soldier of the South, yet I love that old flag that is being made an object of ridicule on the high seas by its use to shelter the ships of a belligerent power. If the belligerents are allowed to use it, neutrals will soon follow their example, and the flag will become the laughing stock of all nations.

Honest Neutrality, Not Diplomatic Neutrality.

"I believe in honest neutrality, not diplomatic neutrality. Our government that now refuses to forbid the shipping of arms, because it says it is unneutral, is the same government that two years ago put an embargo on arms going into Mexico. With an honest neutrality and a real neutrality, this war would be over in ninety days.

"If I were President we would send battleships as escorts to our boats carrying bread abroad, and there would be an embargo placed on the shipment of guns, swords and cannon. Didn't we issue orders prohibiting the export of arms to Mexico a short time ago? I would build a navy sufficient to compel the respect of Great Britain."

The resolutions, which were read amid cheers, were as follows:

The Resolutions.

"We American citizens in mass meeting assembled in the New York Hippodrome upon the eve of Washington's birthday, renew our fealty to the principles laid down by the fathers of this republic, which shall be allowed to work out its great destiny, free from the influence or domination of any foreign power.

"Desiring peace with all nations, we earnestly urge upon our people and our government the maintenance of real neutrality in this lamentable world war. We insist, however, upon the preservation of our rights as a neutral nation, and demand that the American flag shall adequately protect American citizens, native and naturalized alike, in every phase and sphere of this war.

"We protest against the use of the American flag by any belligerent as tending to lower its dignity and diminishing its inherent protective force.

"If we allow the merchant marine of belligerent countries to fly our flag to deceive their enemies it will soon cease to afford protection to American citizens and to the American merchant marine. When the American flag floats over a ship at sea, it should mean that the ship, its passengers and cargo, will be protected to the full limit of American power.

"We approve the declaration of this government that it will hold the Ger-

man government to strict accountability for the unwarranted loss of American lives or ships in the British waters, but if the misuse of the American flag by Great Britain shall be a contributing cause to such calamity, we demand that our nation shall hold the British Government to strict accountability equally with the German government.

"Believing with Thomas Jefferson that a belligerent might feel the desires of starving an enemy nation, but she can have no right of doing it at our loss, nor of making us the instrument of it,' we demand the unhampered right of our merchants to transport foodstuffs to neutral nations, and to noncombatants in the belligerent nations.

"We declare the seizure of the Wilhelmina, an unquestionably American ship, loaded with products from American farms and shipped by American citizens, a clear invasion of our rights as a neutral nation, and consider untenable the position of the British government that it had a right to seize the Wilhelmina's cargo, because destined for the use of the German government, as that government expressly excluded from its control foodstuffs imported by other nations.

"We declare our dissatisfaction with the purchase by belligerent nations of any cargoes seized by it, because it interferes with our unequivocable right to ship innocent goods in neutral bottoms to any neutral nation and to the non-combatant population in any belligerent nation to whom we choose to sell; and for the further reason that we believe that such seizure and appropriation tends to cripple our commerce and impair our sea prestige.

"We favor a policy, well within our rights, of withholding arms and munitions of all kinds, from any nation abridging our rights as a neutral power.

"We recognize commercial rivalry as a primary cause of wars, are opposed therefore to a monopoly of the seas by any nation, favor the freedom of the seas for all the peoples of the world, and urge the upbuilding of an American merchant marine, so that in peace or in war American ships, manned by American seamen, carrying the American flag, can take innocent American goods to the furthermost parts of the world, free from restraint or interference by any nation.

"Be It Further Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of State, Members of the United States Senate and of Congress.

"Be It Further Resolved, That the 'For America League,' under whose auspices this meeting was held, shall be organized throughout the United States, and steps to that end be taken immediately."

It was resolved to send copies of the resolutions to President Wilson and the members of the Senate and House of Representatives.

We pray for peace, but lose no opportunity of selling firearms, dynamite, powder, cartridges and other articles of war to the Allies, so as to enable them to kill more "German barbarians." — The Publisher of "War Echoes."

SHALL AMERICA FURNISH ARMS?

Question of Neutrality Is Sanely Treated by Chief Juctice Dr. Noldeke.

From "Hamburger Fremdenblatt," by Chief Justice Dr. Noldeke.

The fact that citizens of the United States are supplying the Allies with arms and ammunition has become a matter of great interest on both sides of the Atlantic. The announcement of the vastness this traffic has assumed has justly aroused the attention of all concerned. A strong movement is making itself felt in the United States in favor of prohibiting such traffic. This movement, however, is opposed not only by our adversaries, but also by the numerous American manufacturers who are gaining large profits from this trade. Those who are favoring the abolishment of the exportation of arms may be interested to know that Germany has by no means become reconciled to the fact that these arguments are being made.

It is true that Germany is aware of the fact that the wording of The Hague convention does not demand of any neutral government the passing of laws prohibiting their citizens from dealing in war materials with belligerents. Forbidden only is the fitting out or arming of ships for the belligerents within neutral territory, and it is the duty of the government to prohibit such unneutral acts by all possible means. Thus the American Government has forbidden the delivery of submarines to the belligerents.

The former Lord Chancellor of England, Lord Loveburn, in his book on "Private Property in Naval Warfare" criticizes the absence of logic in the present state of affairs. Says Lord Loveburn: "Thus private individuals may be allowed to load a ship full of bombs and shells, providing she is only going to carry them to a belligerent fleet. If, however, the ship is to take actual part in this hostile operation the neutral government is obliged to prevent her departure by all available means. As to the war material, it is left to the belligerent to help himself."

If, as international law stands at present, a neutral government is not obliged to prohibit the exportation of arms, such prohibition, if resorted to by a neutral state, could not be regarded as a hostile act by the belligerents. Thus if one of our adversaries should be guilty of another violation of international law, if the report be true that they have declared to the Swedish government that they regarded its decree, prohibiting the transit of weapons through Swedish territory as an unfriendly act, the only condition for such a prohibition is that it must be applied to all belligerents without discrimination.

This expressed rule of The Hague convention may well be considered with reference to the present attitude of the American government. According to international law, all belligerents are to be treated equally by the neutrals. It is plain that actual conditions, especially on account of the geographical situation, make an equal treatment somewhat difficult. Still, the unequal treatment which allows shipments of arms to some of the belligerents is in no way compatible with the principle laid down in The Hague convention.

It seems significant that the United States not only has quietly looked on while some of our adversaries have secured millions of dollars' worth of war materials, but that the government of the United States is taking no firm stand against the fact that England, in contradiction to well-established rules of international law, prevents the sending of food supplies not only to Germany, but to neutral countries, such as Holland, Italy and Scandinavia.

If Secretary Bryan thinks that the American government is impartial toward all belligerent powers he may be literally correct. If, however, this "legal equality" is compared with the actual facts, one sees at a glance that there is anything but "actual equality" of treatment. The inequality is so glaring that the Americans cannot help seeing it if they are truly desirous of keeping a real neutrality.

FALK CENSURED FOR MAKING ALLY SHELLS.

German-American Alliance Is Told A.-C. Co. Manufactures Shrapnel.

Investigating Committee Urges Re-Election of Present Board Members Because of Views on Languages.

From "Milwaukee Free Press," March 20, 1915.

The Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing company and Otto H. Falk, its president, were censured at the annual meeting of the German-American Alliance last night in the West Side Turn Hall, when a committee named to make an investigation reported that the concern is turning out shrapnel shells for the Allies.

The report says:

"Shrapnel shells are manufactured by the Allis-Chalmers company of West Allis. Upon investigation of A. J. Lindemann, Milwaukee, president of the Neutrality League, it was stated that Otto H. Falk was not in any way connected with that organization.

Report on School Candidates.

"We greatly regret that in our beautiful city shells are being made for such purposes. Furthermore, we regret that a man in whose veins there runs German blood is the head of the concern that makes weapons to be used to kill the Germans and against the German cause."

President J. Meyer in his report on investigations as to the attitude of school board candidates upon teaching a second language—German or French —in the public schools, said that he had received unsatisfactory answers from four men. He advised that they be opposed in the coming election.

Membership Now 15,000.

The membership of the alliance is now more than 15,000, an increase of 3,000 in the last year.

$25,000,000 LOAN TO CZAR REVEALS MORGAN BENT.

Father of Present Head of Firm—A Deeply Religious Man—Favored Russia; Son Believed to Follow Him.

By Boersianer.

(Chicago Examiner, Jan. 17, 1915.)

Through J. P. Morgan & Co., Russia borrowed $25,000,000 here last week. It is stipulated that the money must be "used in the purchase of supplies for export."

Necessarily, "supplies" must mean other than foodstuffs; for of cereals, meats and edibles, Russia has a supersufficiency. It is an over-abundance that, despite the war, threatens to render Russia uncomfortable financially.

Although farming is anything but scientific in Muscovy—the most primitive means are employed—Czardom grows a fourth of the world's wheat crop, the same proportion of oats, a third of the barley and 60 per cent of the rye yield. But the war has stopped Russia's exports. She cannot dispose of the usual surplus as usual. The Baltic Sea and the Black are closed to the Northern giant. Western European countries, so much in need of Russian grains, are depending upon America for their deficiencies.

The cost to Russia of the loan arranged by Morgan & Co. is not known. The chances are the lenders are richly remunerated. When the Russian wants money he will pay the price, no matter how high.

Is the Morgan loan a good loan? The probability favors the affirmative. Intrinsically Russia is incalculably wealthy; extrinsically, appallingly poor. As suggested above, her agriculture possibilities are limitless, her population, physically, among the best. But the government and the mental morale of the people are the disquieting factors to political economists.

The former owes to foreigners some $4,000,000,000; the latter as much. For a nation of 171,200,000 inhabitants the indebtedness appears not large. But when the policy and the people are scrutinized, the debt is serious, indeed.

Above 90 per cent of Russians are illiterate. Aside from the Czar and his ministers there is no governmental responsibility—the Duma is merely a ministerial puppet. France, with a population of only 39,600,000, with only a tithe of Russia's area, has a per capita debt of $166, against Russia's $26. Yet, the world would willingly lend France millions more, where it would reluctantly advance Russia hundreds more.

The explanation lies in the government and the people; in civilization and semi-barbarism. Occidental order, probity and education could make of Russia the commercial and financial power of the eastern hemisphere, could extinguish her huge foreign obligation in a few years.

Political and other affiliations have made it possible for Russia to borrow abroad. Of Russia's debt, France holds 95 per cent, all borrowed since the Franco-Russian Alliance was formed in the eighties. Gossips have wondered at the friendliness of the Morgan house to the Russians. During the war with Japan the firm offered a Russian loan here—without success. Malevolent hints are again heard that the Morgan attitude has been prompted by the anti-Russian position of Morgan's rivals in finance. But this must be erroneous. If sentiment plays a part, it may not be of a spiteful or retaliative character.

The pro-Russian bent of the Morgan firm was given by the late J. Pierpont Morgan, and therefore has been inherited by his son. The deceased Morgan, as his will revealed, was a deeply religious man; and for some religious people the East always has had a more or less latent and mystic attraction. Some one has explained the attitude as nostalgia.

Man came out of the East, and he subconsciously returns to the East; all his civilization has been but an attempt at forgetting, and, in spite of that long attempt, he still remembers. When he first approaches it, the East seems nothing more than one great enigma, presented to him almost on the terrifying terms of the sphinx. He seems on the threshold of some mystery, a curtain trembles over some veiled image, perhaps the image of wisdom. The grave faces of worshipers look into his face without curiosity; they come out into the light from behind the veil and go about their daily business, and they are as inscrutable to the Westerner as if really they were in communion with a wisdom of which the West is ignorant.

Perhaps, after all, this secret with which the people of the East seem to go about is no more than certain ordinary and of necessity incommunicable thoughts. In the East everything is incommunicable. Possibly the barrier is the Oriental contempt of learning and the Occidental reverence of it.

CANDIDATES FOR THE "YOU-KNOWHAT" CLUB.

The Hornet, Chicago.

Miss Jenny Dufau, Chicago Opera singer, in an interview:

"The Germans finally came to our house and accused my sister, my father, and myself of being spies because they found a telephone there. The soldiers lined us up against the wall to shoot us, but we fell on our knees and begged them to spare the life of our father. They gave no heed until a German colonel came along and, after questioning us, ordered that we be set free."

Mlle. Trentini, another diva, on landing in New York:

"I am at Roncegno, Austria, singing, July 15. I am the only Italian in Roncegno, except my big sister, Celene.

"We go to the hotel from the theater. The swine of a landlord, he says to me: 'You are an Italian! Bah! B-a-a-h-h! Get out of my house!'

"He threw our bags into the street. Poor Celene must carry the bags five miles to the railroad station. I cannot; I am too small. As we go down the street I am mad like everything, I stick out my tongue at the swine and call 'You go to hell'!"

If it were not impossible that the railway station in Roncegno is five miles from the hotel and if the two ladies were not of the operatic profession one might doubt the object of their utterances. As it is, clever press agents' work must be suspected. Milles pardons, mesdames.

Chas. E. Russell, of New York, on his arrival from Liverpool:

"The city officials of Munich, Germany, invited many of us stranded foreigners in the city to a performance of 'Parsifal' at a local theater. As a result of the invitation the theater was crowded, and many expressions of pleasure at the hospitality of the Germans were made. After the performance the rich Americans and others who had come in automobiles found every machine in front of the theater had been confiscated."

Sly dogs, those Germans.

Elected without further proof of qualification.

Mr. Sibour. Excerpt from a New York interview:

Mr. Sibour reached Paris after passing through the country where much of the early fighting occurred. "On one field," Mr. Sibour said, he saw squares of dead German soldiers. Those on the outside had fallen, but the bodies toward the center of the squares were standing upright leaning against each other. Officers told him that the machine guns were responsible for this wholesale killing.

Is it not possible that the gentleman was half shot himself when he saw that grewsome sight? Elected unanimously.

Mrs. Henry Clews of New York permits herself to be quoted in a New York interview as follows:

Mrs. Henry Clews, wife of the New York banker, a passenger on the Lusitania, which arrived today, said that at Carlsbad, where she was one of a few Americans when the war broke out, she was made to submit to having her finger tip imprints taken by the authorities.

"Whenever I appeared in the street," she continued, " I was hooted and jeered at unless I wore a large American flag. On my way to Munich, a German officer told me that it was true that the German soldiers had driven women and children of the enemy before them when they went into battle. The officer said that the life of each soldier was precious and worth more than the lives of the women and children of the enemy."

A woman capable of telling stories like these should be submitted to Bertillon measurements. However, Mrs. C. is elected by acclamation.

Martin J. Spalding in a Chicago interview on what he saw in Belgium. After telling of the shooting of a trainload of British prisoners by the Germans, he further says:

"I also saw three nuns with their breasts cut off taken through Liège on a German prisoners' train. I did not know their nationalities."

Being a theological student in Louvain, Mr. Spalding evidently became infected with the well-known Belgian microbe of "Prevaricator Belgiensis," the existence of which the following extract from the cable of a correspondent amply proves:

"Sandbags protected them for some time, but at last the aid de camp was struck by shrapnel and had his face virtually blown away.

"Unperturbed by this terrible proof of the danger of his position, the commanding officer stuck to his post, and for further shelter placed the body of his junior over his body. In this position he lay firing whenever possible, from 8 o'clock in the morning until 4 in the afternoon."

To fire for 8 hours with a corpse lying on top of one is something remarkable—not for a Belgian hero, however.

The Anglo-Russo-Franco-Belgian-Portuguese-Japanese General Staff announces the opening of a special official news bureau on Park Row, New York.

"Authentic war news made to order and always ready for print."—From "The Fatherland," New York.

TOMMYROT FOR WHICH THE AMERICAN PRESS PAYS CABLE TOLLS.

The Hornet, Chicago.

An alleged Berlin wireless:

"Count Beroldingen, whose mother is an American woman, has been awarded two iron crosses for the following exploit:

"One day he appeared among his comrades wearing the raincoat of an English officer and found that they did not recognize him. Consequently he slipped away to the French lines. To the English commanding officer he said: 'I am an English adjutant. When will you attack? What are your positions, and what is your plan of action?'

"The English general gave the count the information he asked for.

"Beroldingen returned to the German lines. The information thus obtained won the battle for the Germans."

We cannot believe it, even of a British general. They are not as dense as that.

A London dispatch cites as proof of the scarcity of provisions in Hamburg the following incidents at Hagenbeck's zoo:

"When the meat supply failed, certain of the less valuable specimens of deer and mountain goats were shot to supply the lions and tigers with meats.

"A large boa constrictor was discovered digesting his female companion. Prior to meeting her fate she herself sated her appetite on a younger and less lengthy sister which was a third inhabitant of the glass-fronted lair."

Not a bad snake story at that!

A correspondent of Reuter's telegraphs this from Paris:

"That the fumes of the famous French three-inch shell have a most deadly effect in an inclosed space is shown by a scene that met the eyes of the French penetrating a chateau occupied by the Germans and which they had just bombarded.

"Entering the drawing room, they found a company of Wurttembergians petrified in action. Some were at the windows taking aim with their fingers still pressing the triggers, while others were at the tables where they had been playing games with cards in their hands, while still others had cigarets between their lips.

An officer stood with his mouth open as if in the act of dictating an order, and all the corpses looked absolutely lifelike."

It is really petrifying to even read this.

Official Neutrality of the United States in the World War

PRESIDENT WILSON'S NEUTRALITY MESSAGE.

"My Fellow Countrymen:

"I suppose that every thoughtful man in America has asked himself during these last troubled weeks what influence the European war may exert upon the United States, and I take the liberty of addressing a few words to you in order to point out that it is entirely within our own choice what its effects upon us will be, and to urge very earnestly upon you the sort of speech and conduct which will best safeguard the nation against distress and disaster.

"The effect of the war upon the United States will depend upon what American citizens say and do. Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned. The spirit of the nation in this critical matter will be determined largely by what individuals and society and those gathered in public meetings do and say, upon what newspapers and magazines contain, upon what ministers utter in their pulpits, and men proclaim as their opinions on the street.

"The people of the United States are drawn from many nations, and chiefly from the nations now at war. It is natural and inevitable that there should be the utmost variety of sympathy and desire among them with regard to the issues and circumstances of the conflict. Some will wish one nation, others another, to succeed in the momentous struggle. It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to allay it. Those responsible for exciting it will assume a heavy responsibility, responsibility for no less a thing than that the people of the United States, whose love of their country and whose loyalty to its Government should unite them as Americans all, bound in honor and affection to think first of her and her interests, may be divided in camps of hostile opinion, hot against each other, involved in the war itself in impulse and opinion if not in action. Such divisions among us would be fatal to our peace of mind and might seriously stand in the way of the proper performance of our duty as the one great nation at peace, the one people holding itself ready to play a part of impartial mediation and speak the councils of peace and accommodation, not as a partisan, but as a friend.

"I venture, therefore, my fellow countrymen, to speak a solemn word of warning to you against the deepest, most subtle, most essential breach of neutrality which may spring out of partisanship, out of passionately taking sides. The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another.

"My thought is of America. I am speaking, I feel sure, the earnest wish and purpose of every thoughtful American that this great country of ours, which is, of course, the first in our thoughts and our hearts, should show herself in this time of peculiar trial a nation fit beyond others to exhibit the fine poise of undisturbed judgment, the dignity of self-control, the efficiency of dispassionate action; a nation that neither sits in judgment upon others nor is disturbed in her own councils and which keeps herself fit and free to do what is honest and disinterested and truly serviceable for the peace of the world.

"Shall we not resolve to put upon ourselves the restraints which will bring to our people the happiness and the great and lasting influence for peace we covet for them?"

THE GERMAN-AMERICAN AND THE PRESIDENT'S NEUTRALITY PROCLAMATION.

The Fatherland, New York.

Dr. Julius Goebel.

President Wilson's recent appeal for neutrality was of the greatest interest to German-Americans. We may rest content if it was a result of the protest of the German-American National Alliance against the hatred, the lies and the insults of the American press, long under the vicious domination of England. If, however, it is a warning directed against us, it is superfluous and calls for certain rectifications.

It is not as German citizens that we protest, but as Americans, and, furthermore, from the same patriotic motives as those which inspired the President. We protest above all against the secret and insidious assumption at the bottom of all attacks upon Germany; that this country is a dependency of England. The spirit of antagonism against Germany adopted by ignorant newspaper writers could never have found so strong an echo in public opinion had not the latter for years been poisoned by the idea of a supposed Anglo-Saxonism of our people.

We protest, further, against that pretended impartiality which discards as biased and of questionable veracity whatever statements are issued by the Germans, meanwhile accepting as gospel whatever is advanced by the English, French or even Russians. This attitude—the famous "judicial attitude" of certain circles in America—pre-supposes a state of mendacity and hypocrisy which seems incomprehensible to our German sense of truth. To the German mind truth is the expression of the most sacred ethical convictions and not a wax figure which may be modeled to suit the occasion. We therefore consider it our sacred duty to give utterance to our convictions until the mask of hypocrisy has been torn away and truth has become victorious.

We consider the present war a life and death struggle of the German people for their national existence and for their highest possessions. We know that this war was forced upon the German people by their enemies and their jealous neighbors, and that they did not seek it. We are convinced that the downfall of Germany would be an irreparable blow to American culture, which is more closely united to the higher civilization of Germany than to that of any other European nation. We decry every wanton war as infamous and as an inexpiable crime, and as Germans we know no more glorious and heroic ideal than that of peace bringer. But we believe also in the ethical justification of a sacred war such as the German people are today waging for its very life and for its mission in the history of the world, and we cast aside as hypocritical all loose talk about world peace when it of a strong people is thereby to be destroyed. The desire to crush by force or by the power of arbitrary agreement, as in the days of the "Holy Alliance," the development of a people such as the Germans is a crime against life itself, and the Germans would be a doomed people and not a nation of men, were they silently to resign themselves to the fate which their enemies have decreed for them.

I believe that every German-American will fully agree with President Wilson that our country must preserve a strict and true neutrality in this war. This can only come about, however, when the American press ceases to influence public opinion in favor of England and Germany's other enemies by the publication of false reports and representations, thereby offending millions of citizens who are of a different opinion. In ordinary life we shun as a cad anyone who is inconsiderate of the feelings of others. If we were to treat the anti-German press as we should treat such a person, the results would soon be apparent. Above all let us support the German-American papers. Although at the moment they may not be able to give us any direct news from Germany, they, at least, act as a healthy corrective to the contradictory and antagonistic reports of doubtful value which are telegraphed from London and Paris, and they stand united for the German cause.

May the cry of rage against Germany which has swept the country during the past few weeks be a call to union for every German-American and every Anglo-American with German inclinations. When it is a question of the existence or non-existence of a noble people and of a culture to which America owes its best, we cannot stand cooly aside. Nothing is farther from our intention than to offend or antagonize our fellow-citizens of English, French, or Slavic origin, but we demand the right to stand for the truth according to the measure of our knowledge and to offer our struggling brothers all material and moral support of which the German spirit is capable in hours of need.

PRAYERS FOR PEACE.

A Proclamation by the President of the United States, Designating Sunday, October 4, 1914, As a Day of Prayer and Supplication for Peace in Europe.

Whereas great nations of the world have taken up arms against one another and war now draws millions of men into battle whom the counsel of statesmen have not been able to save from the terrible sacrifice;

And whereas in this as in all things it is our privilege and duty to seek counsel and succor of Almighty God, humbling ourselves before Him, confessing our weakness and our lack of any wisdom equal to these things;

And whereas it is the especial wish and longing of the people of the United States, in prayer and counsel and all friendliness, to serve the cause of peace:

Therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do designate Sunday, the fourth day of October next, a day of prayer and supplication and do request all God-fearing persons to repair on that day to their places of worship there to unite their petitions to Almighty God that, overruling the counsel of men, setting straight the things they can not govern or alter, taking pity on the nations now in the throes of conflict, in His mercy and goodness, showing a way where men can see none, He vouchsafe His children healing peace again and restore once more that concord among men and nations without which there can be neither happiness nor true friendship nor any wholesome fruit of toil or thought in the world; praying also to this end that He forgive us our sins, our ignorance of His holy will, our willfulness and many errors, and lead us in the paths of obedience to places of visions and to thoughts and counsels that purge and make wise.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this eighth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fourteen, and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and thirty-ninth.

[Seal.] Woodrow Wilson.

By the President:

William Jennings Bryan,
Secretary of State.

BELGIANS AND GERMANS AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

Translation of Editorial Which Appeared in German in the "Illinois Staats-Zeitung," Chicago, September 16, 1914.

On their way to this country the Belgian commission stopped off at London to get instructions. Whatever these gentlemen did not know was imparted to them by that past master of fabrication, Sir Edward Grey. Special efforts were made to impress the Belgians that the more they falsified the greater their chance for success would be, for the American, they were told, loves the prodigious, and nothing but a description of wholesale brutality strikes him. Also that his sentimental credulity and his credulous sentimentality assured the Belgians of his sympathy from the start, and furthermore, that the Anglo-American press had prepared the field with touching unanimity. The cruelties committed by the Belgians in the Congo that caused demonstrations of protest in this country are forgotten, also the scandalous examples set by their former King Leopold. Today Belgium is a morally pure country, the home of humanity, that feels fully justified in sending its representatives to America to complain of the barbarism of Germany. That the same barbarians six years ago were praised to the skies by these very Belgians because they needed German generosity as a protection against England's selfishness is history; but nevertheless the Germans are barbarians. It is also history that the Lord Chancellor Haldane, at the time secretary of war, on April 7 a year ago remarked to the noted historian Dr. Robt. Davidson, that he was convinced that England, in order not to decline intellectually, must fertilize its mental fields with German culture. However, the Germans are barbarians. The fact that the governor of this state and the mayor of this city, on the occasion of the unveiling of the Goethe monument, both spoke of the Germans as the most peace-loving and law-abiding citizens, and that President Wilson in his historical works accords the Germans full recognition, this is

UNCLE SAM'S OFFICERS IN GERMANY
American Military Attachés on the Occasion of Visiting the "Franzerkasern" in Berlin
(By Courtesy of the "Chicago Abendpost")

all history, but is ignored, for the Germans must be branded as barbarians and even if all the attainments of the Germans be denied.

The Belgians, who themselves admit that they did not witness the cruelties alleged to have been committed, were received with open arms in this country that claims to be neutral, and today they are to be received by the same President that requested the naturalized citizens of this country to show no feeling whatever in the matter. He receives them as a matter of courtesy. The President demanded that we show no feeling, and we complied. He is not willing to sacrifice his courtesy for the neutrality of the country.

But this time the Germans have become active. In consequence of a movement begun by the ILLINOIS STAATS-ZEITUNG, a wave of protest has swept over the country and petitions were signed by the thousands, a great many by people not of German descent. Mr. Horace L. Brand, the publisher of this paper, has undertaken to deliver the thousandfold documentary evidence of indignation to the President. The protest of the voters against a violation of neutrality by a few foreigners and on the part of the President of this neutral republic cannot go amiss—because it is a protest of the voters.

A COLD DASH.

Illinois Staats-Zeitung.

The allies have not only suffered defeats on European soil but also on American. The "Tribune" which surely cannot be suspected of evincing a friendly feeling toward Germany, has through its columns sent a dash of ice cold water at the Belgian commission at the very time the alliance of slander and adjectives celebrated orgies.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S GREETING TO THE BELGIAN ROYAL COMMISSION.

Chicago Daily News.

President Wilson said to the commission:

"Permit me to say with what sincere pleasure I receive you as representatives of the king of the Belgians, a people for whom the people of the United States feel so strong a friendship and admiration, a king for whom they entertain so sincere a respect, and express my hope that we may have many opportunities of earning and deserving their regard.

"You are not mistaken in believing that the people of this country love justice, seek the true paths of progress and have a passionate regard for the rights of humanity. It is a matter of profound pride to me that I am permitted for a time to represent such a people and to be their spokesman, and I am honored that your king should have turned to me in time of distress as to one who would wish on behalf of the people he represents to consider the claims to the impartial sympathy of mankind of a nation which deems itself wronged.

Prays for End of the War.

"I thank you for the document you have put in my hands containing the result of an investigation made by a judicial committee appointed by the Belgian government to look into the matter of which you have come to speak. It shall have my most attentive perusal and my most thoughtful consideration.

"You will, I am sure, not expect me to say more. Presently—I pray God very soon—this war will be over. The day of accounting will then come, when, I take it for granted, the nations of Europe will assemble to determine a settlement. Where wrongs have been committed their consequences and the relative responsibility involved will be assessed.

"The nations of the world have, fortunately, by agreement made a plan for such a reckoning and settlement. What such a plan cannot compass the opinion of mankind, the final arbiter in such matters, will supply. It would be unwise, it would be premature, for a single government, however fortunately separated from the present struggle, it would be inconsistent with the neutral position of any nation, which, like this, has no part in the contest, to form or express a final judgment.

Speaks Frankly, Voicing Friendship.

"I need not assure you that this conclusion in which I instinctively feel that you will yourselves concur, is spoken frankly, because in warm friendship and as the best means of perfect understanding between us—an understanding based upon neutral respect, admiration and cordiality.

"You are most welcome and we are greatly honored that you should have chosen us as the friends before whom you could lay any matter of vital consequence to yourselves, in the confidence that your cause would be understood and met in the same spirit in which it was conceived and intended."

PRESIDENT WILSON'S REPLIES.

Editorial from "The Hartford Daily Courant," September 18, 1914.

President Wilson's replies to the Belgian envoys and to the German Emperor were exactly what the country expected them to be. They were friendly and sympathetic in tone and were expressed in words carefully chosen. He was right in saying that the time has not yet come for the passing of judgment. The Courant said several days ago that this much it was the President's duty to do and that there was nothing more that he could do. His course was so plain that there was no possibility for any but a blind man to stumble, and Dr. Wilson is not blind. It is surprising, therefore, to find certain Washington correspondents sycophantically ranting about the remarkable cleverness of the President in keeping out of trouble. There couldn't have been any trouble unless the President had made it. The way was so plain that a wayfaring man, though a fool, need not have erred therein. The President performed a simple task in a simple and straightforward way. Nothing is to be gained by trying to make it appear that he passed through a difficult ordeal with superhuman wisdom and skill.

SPECIFIC DUMDUM CHARGES.

German Ambassador Gives Names of Firms He Says Are Making Illegal Bullets for Allies.

Washington — Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, has presented to the State Department affidavits and exhibits in an effort to prove his charges that dumdum bullets are being manufactured in the United States and shipped to the Allies. A month ago, when von Bernstorff made general charges of this nature, Secretary Bryan, after an investigation, said they were without foundation.

The new charges name several American firms, giving the quantities of bullets turned out and the dates of shipment. Mr. Bryan would not give out the new affidavits, but referred them to Secretary of War Garrison, with the request that he make an investigation through officers of the army detailed to all the great gun and ammunition factories.

AMERICAN NEUTRALITY.

By Frank Harris.

In a Letter Sent as a Special Favor to the Editor for "War Echoes."

President Wilson at this moment is carrying a heavier burden of responsibility than any man in recorded history. No prophet or saint, no statesman or hero has ever had such an opportunity, for it is my belief that he could bring about an almost immediate peace and probably on his own terms; that is, on more equitable terms than are likely to be reached by the combatants and the balance of their forces.

The fact recently set forth in the "London Times" that Great Britain is suffering from a "shortage of ordinary munitions of war" and this at "the beginning of the summer campaign," gives President Wilson his opportunity. A short time ago his mere expression of opinion that submarines should not be shipped to any of the combatants, stopped the exportation. In the same way he could forbid the exportation of munitions of war to any of the combatants as he forbade their exportation to Mexico. He has not thought it wise to do so; but the power gives him his great opportunity.

He might inform Sir Edward Grey that as the deadlock in the present war had existed now for over six months and as there was no probability that it would be changed in the near future to the advantage of either of the combatants, it would be well if Sir Edward Grey would formulate reasonable conditions of peace. A mere expression of President Wilson's opinion would be sufficient; but he might add that if Sir Edward Grey thought fit not to comply with this request made in the interests of humanity, he would be compelled to reconsider his refusal to interfere with the export of munitions of war to the combatants.

As soon as Sir Edward Grey's proposals were received, the President could lay them before the German-Austrian powers. It may be asked: What inducement could the President of the United States offer to the Emperors of Germany and Austria to induce Germany to give up the portions of France and Belgium and Russian Poland which she has conquered? Germany has again and again declared that she has only taken up the sword because she was attacked and that she sought no advantage from the war. But if this declaration is hardly to be taken literally, President Wilson might point out that the main objects he proposed to himself to justify his interference were a general disarmament and the neutralization for all future time of the seas and the air. There can hardly be any doubt that Germany would regard these terms as worthy of very considerable sacrifices. It may be taken for granted that peace could be brought about on these lines by President Wilson, within this month.

I am sure, from his public utterances, that President Wilson is fully alive to all the high responsibilities of his position and that he is resolved to use his powers in the best spirit for the benefit of humanity. But sometimes a casual suggestion even from an outsider may open up a new line of thought; and I cannot help thinking that Sir Edward Grey, too, might be willing to have his share in the fame that will certainly belong to the men who shall bring out of this world war a lasting peace.

IF WE HAD THOUGHT OF AMERICA FIRST!

If we had thought neither of England nor Germany, should we have allowed the former to cut *our* cable connection with the latter? England harmed the United States as much as Germany, for it afforded England an opportunity to fill our press with lies —no other word would express our meaning—and the American mind with a false impression of Germany. America was greatly harmed by this, for it will take long years to erase from the American mind the wrong impression engraved on it by the libelous English press bureaux.

America, therefore, had a right to an uncensored communication with Germany, her friend, and it was because we thought of England and not of America first that we did not force England to repair the German cable.

If it had not been for our love and fear of England, if we had thought of America first, should we have allowed that country to tear to tatters the code of international law, to forge out of *her* necessity fetters for the whole neutral trade, ours included; to haul our vessels, against all law and custom, from off the high seas and into her ports, where she damaged the cargoes by unlawful and unnecessary inspections and kept the vessels for weeks to await her pleasure?

If we had thought of America first and disregarded our love and fear of England, should we have meekly stood by when she trampled on our flag in the *Greenbriar* case, for which she has not apologized as yet, seven weeks after it happened?

If we had loved and feared England less and America more, should we have, as the "Gaelic American" contends, allowed three British war vessels to hold up our battleship Texas at our own shores, and then have suppressed the news of it?

If we had thought of America first, forgetting for once our fear and love of England, should we have waited five months—from August 4th to December 26, 1914—before officially protesting against England's arbitrary and illegal interference with American trade and shipping? Should we have feared to claim the stars and stripes as our very own emblem, the misuse of which would be considered a hostile act?

Should we have allowed England to hoist on her vessels the stars and stripes, the emblem of the free and the brave, to evade in fear and trembling the consequences of her acts, and *endanger*, again unlawfully, our own vessels?

If we had thought of America first, should we have permitted England to force us to help her starve the German civilian population, by weakly allowing her to take the *Wilhelmina*, an American vessel, with foodstuffs for German civilians, into an English port to be kept there till an English prize court can decide upon an American case?

If we had thought of America first in the *Dacia* case, should we not have sent an American war vessel along to see that England did not put into execution her threat to capture her as a prize, and, once more, decide an American case in an English prize court?

Can anybody sincerely say, that in all these cases we have stood fairly and squarely on American rights, have thought of America first, without love or fear of any country, considering nothing but our righteous cause?—The Crucible.

THE OFFICIAL NEUTRALITY OF THE UNITED STATES.

The following exchange of an official correspondence between the Secretary of State, the Hon. William Jennings Bryan, and the Hon. Senator William F. Stone, will give a good exposition of the position of the government up to January first, 1915. Up to this time (April 23d) the policy of the government seems to have changed very little, as Mr. Bryan's reply to the German Minister at Washington of yesterday, also included under this head, will show; both the letters addressed to the Department are included, and the reader may judge for himself as to the justice in the case.—Editor.

NEUTRALITY.

Letter of Senator Stone.

"January 8, 1915.

"Dear Mr. Secretary:

"As you are aware, frequent complaints or charges are made in one form or another through the press that this Government has shown partiality to Great Britain, France, and Russia as against Germany and Austria during the present war between those powers; in addition to which I have received numerous letters to the same effect from sympathizers with Germany and Austria. The various grounds of these complaints may be summarized and stated in the following form:

"1. Freedom of communication by submarine cables, but censorship of wireless messages.

"2. Submission to censorship of mails and in some cases to the repeated destruction of American letters found on neutral vessels.

"3. The search of American vessels for German and Austrian subjects—
(a) On the high seas.
(b) In territorial waters of a belligerent.

"4. Submission without protest to English violations of the rules regarding absolute and conditional contraband, as laid down—
(a) In the Hague Conventions.
(b) In international law.
(c) In the Declaration of London.

"5. Submission without protest to inclusion of copper in the list of absolute contraband.

"6. Submission without protest to interference with American trade to neutral countries—
(a) In conditional contraband.
(b) In absolute contraband.

"7. Submission without protest to interruption of trade in conditional contraband consigned to private persons in Germany and Austria, thereby supporting the policy of Great Britain to cut off all supplies from Germany and Austria.

"8. Submission to British interruption of trade in petroleum, rubber, leather, wool, etc.

"9. No interference with the sale to Great Britain and her allies of arms, ammunition, horses, uniforms, and other munitions of war, although such sales prolong the war.

"10. No suppression of sale of dumdum bullets to Great Britain.

"11. British warships are permitted to lie off American ports and intercept neutral vessels.

"12. Submission without protest to disregard by Great Britain and her allies of—
(a) American naturalization certificates.
(b) American passports.

"13. Change of policy in regard to loans to belligerents:
(a) General loans.
(b) Credit loans.

"14. Submission to arrest of native-born Americans on neutral vessels and in British ports, and their imprisonment.

"15. Indifference to confinement of non-combatants in detention camps in England and France.

"16. Failure to prevent transshipment of British troops and war material across the territory of the United States.

"17. Treatment and final internment of German steamship "Geier" and the collier "Locksun" at Honolulu.

"18. Unfairness to Germany in rules relative to coaling of warships in Panama Canal Zone.

"19. Failure to protest against the modifications of the declaration of London by the British Government.

"20. General unfriendly attitude of Government toward Germany and Austria.

"If you deem it not incompatible with the public interest I would be obliged if you would furnish me with whatever information your department may have touching these various points of complaint, or request the counselor of the State Department to send me the information, with any suggestions you or he may deem advisable to make with respect to either the legal or political aspects of the subject. So far as informed I see no reason why all the matter I am requesting to be furnished should not be made public, to the end that the true situation may be known and misapprehensions quieted.

"I have the honor to be,
"Yours, sincerely,
"WM. J. STONE.

"Hon. William Jennings Bryan,
"Secretary of State."

Letter of Secretary of State.

"Department of State,

"Washington, January 20, 1915.

"Dear Mr. Stone:

I have received your letter of the 8th instant, referring to frequent complaints or charges made in one form or another through the press that this Government has shown partiality to Great Britain, France, and Russia against Germany and Austria during the present war, and stating that you have received numerous letters to the same effect from sympathizers with the latter powers. You summarize the various grounds of these complaints and ask that you be furnished with whatever information the department may have touching these points of complaint, in order that you may be informed as to what the true situation is in regard to these matters.

In order that you may have such information as the department has on the subjects referred to in your letter, I will take them up seriatim.

(1) Freedom of communication by submarine cables versus censored communication by wireless.

The reason that wireless messages and cable messages require different treatment by a neutral Government is as follows:

Communications by wireless can not be interrupted by a belligerent. With a submarine cable it is otherwise. The possibility of cutting the cable exists, and if a belligerent possesses naval superiority the cable is cut, as was the German cable near the Azores by one of Germany's enemies, and as was the British cable near Fanning Island by a German naval force. Since a cable is subject to hostile attack, the responsibility falls upon the belligerent and not upon the neutral to prevent cable communication.

A more important reason, however, at least from the point of view of a neutral Government, is that messages sent out from a wireless station in neutral territory may be received by belligerent warships on the high seas. If these messages, whether plain or in cipher, direct the movement of warships or convey to them information as to the location of an enemy's public or private vessels, the neutral territory becomes a base of naval operations, to permit which would be essentially unneutral.

As a wireless message can be received by all stations and vessels within a given radius, every message in cipher, whatever its intended destination, must be censored; otherwise military information may be sent to warships off the coast of a neutral. It is manifest that a submarine cable is incapable of becoming a means of direct communication with a warship on the high seas. Hence its use can not, as a rule, make neutral territory a base for the direction of naval operations.

(2) Censorship of mails and in some cases repeated destruction of American letters on neutral vessels.

As to the censorship of mails, Germany as well as Great Britain has pursued this course in regard to private letters falling into their hands. The unquestioned right to adopt a measure of this sort makes objection to it inadvisable.

It has been asserted that American mail on board of Dutch steamers has been repeatedly destroyed. No evidence to this effect has been filed with the Government, and therefore no representations have been made. Until such a case is presented in concrete form, this

Government would not be justified in presenting the matter to the offending belligerent. Complaints have come to the department that mail on board neutral steamers has been opened and detained, but there seem to be but few cases where the mail from neutral countries has not been finally delivered. When mail is sent to belligerent countries open and is of a neutral and private character it has not been molested, so far as the department is advised.

(3) Searching of American vessels for German and Austrian subjects on the high seas and in territorial waters of a belligerent.

So far as this Government has been informed, no American vessels on the high seas, with two exceptions, have been detained or searched by belligerent warships for German and Austrian subjects. One of the exceptions to which reference is made is now the subject of a rigid investigation, and vigorous representations have been made to the offending Government. The other exception, where certain German passengers were made to sign a promise not to take part in the war, has been brought to the attention of the offending Government with a declaration that such procedure, if true, is an unwarranted exercise of jurisdiction over American vessels in which this Government will not acquiesce.

An American private vessel entering voluntarily the territorial waters of a belligerent becomes subject to its municipal laws, as do the persons on board the vessel.

There have appeared in certain publications the assertion that failure to protest in these cases is an abandonment of the principle for which the United States went to war in 1812. If the failure to protest were true, which it is not, the principle involved is entirely different from the one appealed to against unjustifiable impressment of Americans in the British Navy in time of peace.

(4) Submission without protest to British violations of the rules regarding absolute and conditional contraband as laid down in The Hague conventions, the declaration of London, and international law.

There is no Hague convention which deals with absolute or conditional contraband, and, as the declaration of London is not in force, the rules of international law only apply. As to the articles to be regarded as contraband, there is no general agreement between nations. It is the practice for a country, either in time of peace or after the outbreak of war, to declare the articles which it will consider as absolute or conditional contraband. It is true that a neutral Government is seriously affected by this declaration as the rights of its subjects or citizens may be impaired. But the rights and interests of belligerents and neutrals are opposed in respect to contraband articles and trade and there is no tribunal to which questions of difference may be readily submitted.

The record of the United States in the past is not free from criticism. When neutral this Government has stood for a restricted list of absolute and conditional contraband. As a belligerent, we have contended for a liberal list, according to our conception of the necessities of the case.

The United States has made earnest representations to Great Britain in regard to the seizure and detention by the British authorities of all American ships or cargoes bona fide destined to neutral ports, on the ground that such seizures and detentions were contrary to the existing rules of international law. It will be recalled, however, that American courts have established various rules bearing on these matters. The rule of "continuous voyage" has been not only asserted by American tribunals but extended by them. They have exercised the right to determine from the circumstances whether the ostensible was the real destination. They have held that the shipment of articles of contraband to a neutral port "to order" from which, as a matter of fact, cargoes had been trans-shipped to the enemy, is corroborative evidence that the cargo is really destined to the enemy instead of to the neutral port of delivery. It is thus seen that some of the doctrines which appear to bear harshly upon neutrals at the present time are analogous to or outgrowths from policies adopted by the United States when it was a belligerent. The Government therefore can not consistently protest against the application of rules which it has followed in the past, unless they have not been practiced as heretofore.

(5) Acquiescence without protest to the inclusion of copper and other articles in the British lists of absolute contraband.

The United States has now under consideration the question of the right of a belligerent to include "copper unwrought" in its list of absolute contraband instead of in its list of conditional contraband. As the Government of the United States has in the past placed "all articles from which ammunition is manufactured" in its contraband list, and has declared copper to be among such materials, it necessarily finds some embarrassment in dealing with the subject.

Moreover, there is no instance of the United States acquiescing in Great Britain's seizure of copper shipments. In every case, in which it has been done, vigorous representations have been made to the British Government, and the representatives of the United States have pressed for the release of the shipments.

(6) Submission without protest to interference with American trade to neutral countries in conditional and absolute contraband.

The fact that the commerce of the United States is interrupted by Great Britain is consequent upon the superiority of her navy on the high seas. History shows that whenever a country has possessed that superiority our trade has been interrupted and that few articles essential to the prosecution of the war have been allowed to reach its enemy from this country. The department's recent note to the British Government, which has been made public, in regard to detentions and seizures of American vessels and cargoes, is a complete answer to this complaint.

Certain other complaints appear aimed at the loss of profit in trade, which must include at least in part trade in contraband with Germany; while other complaints demand the prohibition of trade in contraband, which appear to refer to trade with the allies.

(7) Submission without protest to interruption of trade in conditional contraband consigned to private persons in Germany and Austria, thereby supporting the policy of Great Britain to cut off all supplies from Germany and Austria.

As no American vessel so far as known has attempted to carry conditional contraband to Germany or Austria-Hungary, no ground of complaint has arisen out of the seizure or condemnation by Great Britain of an American vessel with a belligerent destination. Until a case arises and the Government has taken action upon it, criticism is premature and unwarranted. The United States in its note of December 28 to the British Government strongly contended for the principle of freedom of trade in articles of conditional contraband not destined to the belligerent's forces.

(8) Submission to British interference with trade in petroleum, rubber, leather, wool, etc.

Petrol and other petroleum products have been proclaimed by Great Britain as contraband of war. In view of the absolute necessity of such products to the use of submarines, aëroplanes, and motors, the United States Government has not yet reached the conclusion that they are improperly included in a list of contraband. Military operations today are largely a question of motive power through mechanical devices. It is therefore difficult to argue successfully against the inclusion of petroleum among the articles of contraband. As to the detention of cargoes of petroleum going to neutral countries, this Government has, thus far successfully, obtained the release in every case of detention or seizure which has been brought to its attention.

Great Britain and France have placed rubber on the absolute contraband list and leather on the conditional contraband list. Rubber is extensively used in the manufacture and operation of motors and, like petrol, is regarded by some authorities as essential to motive power today. Leather is even more widely used in cavalry and infantry equipment. It is understood that both rubber and leather, together with wool, have been embargoed by most of the belligerent countries. It will be recalled that the United States has in the past exercised the right of embargo upon exports of any commodity which might aid the enemy's cause.

(9) The United States has not interfered with the sale to Great Britain and her allies of arms, am-

munition, horses, uniforms, and other munitions of war, although such sales prolong the conflict.

There is no power in the Executive to prevent the sale of ammunition to the belligerents.

The duty of a neutral to restrict trade in munitions of war has never been imposed by international law or by municipal statute. It has never been the policy of this Government to prevent the shipment of arms or ammunition into belligerent territory, except in the case of neighboring American Republics, and then only when civil strife prevailed. Even to this extent the belligerents in the present conflict, when they are neutrals, have never, so far as the records disclose, limited the sale of munitions of war. It is only necessary to point to the enormous quantities of arms and ammunition furnished by manufacturers in Germany to the belligerents in the Russo-Japanese war and in the recent Balkan wars to establish the general recognition of the propriety of the trade by a neutral nation.

It may be added that on the 15th of December last the German ambassador, by direction of his Government, presented a copy of a memorandum of the Imperial German Government which, among other things, set forth the attitude of that Government toward traffic in contraband of war by citizens of neutral countries. The Imperial Government stated that "under the general principles of international law, no exception can be taken to neutral States letting war material go to Germany's enemies from or through neutral territory," and that the adversaries of Germany in the present war are, in the opinion of the Imperial Government, authorized to "draw on the United States contraband of war and especially arms worth billions of marks." These principles, as the ambassador stated, have been accepted by the United States Government in the statement issued by the Department of State on October 15 last, entitled "Neutrality and trade in contraband." Acting in conformity with the propositions there set forth, the United States has itself taken no part in contraband traffic, and has, so far as possible, lent its influence toward equal treatment for all belligerents in the matter of purchasing arms and ammunition of private persons in the United States.

(10) The United States has not suppressed the sale of dumdum bullets to Great Britain.

On December 5 last the German ambassador addressed a note to the department, stating that the British Government had ordered from the Winchester Repeating Arms Co. 20,000 "riot guns," model 1897, and 50,000,000 "buckshot cartridges" for use in such guns. The department replied that it saw a published statement of the Winchester Co., the correctness of which the company has confirmed to the department by telegraph. In this statement the company categorically denies that it has received an order for such guns or cartridges from or made any sales of such material to the British Government, or to any other Government engaged in the present war. The ambassador further called attention to "information, the accuracy of which is not to be doubted," that 8,000,000 cartridges fitted with "mushroom bullets" had been delivered since October of this year by the Union Metallic Cartridge Co. for the armament of the English army. In reply the department referred to the letter of December 10, 1914, of the Remington Arms-Union Metallic Cartridge Co., of New York, to the ambassador, called forth by certain newspaper reports of statements alleged to have been made by the ambassador in regard to the sales by that company of soft-nosed bullets.

From this letter, a copy of which was sent to the department by the company, it appears that instead of 8,000,000 cartridges having been sold, only a little over 117,000 were manufactured and 109,000 were sold. The letter further asserts that these cartridges were made to supply a demand for a better sporting cartridge with a soft-nosed bullet than had been manufactured theretofore, and that such cartridges can not be used in the military rifles of any foreign powers. The company adds that its statements can be substantiated and that it is ready to give the ambassador any evidence that he may require on these points. The department further stated that it was also in receipt from the company of a complete detailed list of the persons to whom these cartridges were sold, and that from this list it appeared that the cartridges were sold to firms in lots of 20 to 2,000 and one lot each of 3,000, 4,000, and 5,000. Of these only 960 cartridges went to British North America and 100 to British East Africa.

The department added that, if the ambassador could furnish evidence that this or any other company is manufacturing and selling for the use of the contending armies in Europe cartridges whose use would contravene The Hague conventions, the department would be glad to be furnished with this evidence, and that the President would, in case any American company is shown to be engaged in this traffic, use his influence to prevent so far as possible sales of such ammunition to the powers engaged in the European war, without regard to whether it is the duty of this Government, upon legal or conventional grounds, to take such action.

The substance of both the ambassador's note and the department's reply have appeared in the press.

The department has received no other complaints of alleged sales of dumdum bullets by American citizens to belligerent Governments.

(11) British warships are permitted to lie off American ports and intercept neutral vessels.

The complaint is unjustified from the fact that representations were made to the British Government that the presence of war vessels in the vicinity of New York harbor was offensive to this Government and a similar complaint was made to the Japanese Government as to one of its cruisers in the vicinity of the port of Honolulu. In both cases the warships were withdrawn.

It will be recalled that in 1863 the department took the position that captures made by its vessels after hovering about neutral ports would not be regarded as valid. In the Franco-Prussian war President Grant issued a proclamation warning belligerent warships against hovering in the vicinity of American ports for purposes of observation or hostile acts. The same policy has been maintained in the present war, and in all of the recent proclamations of neutrality the President states that such practice by belligerent warships is "unfriendly and offensive."

(12) Great Britain and her allies are allowed without protest to disregard American citizenship papers and passports.

American citizenship papers have been disregarded in a comparatively few instances by Great Britain, but the same is true of all the belligerents. Bearers of American passports have been arrested in all the countries at war. In every case of apparent illegal arrest the United States Government has entered vigorous protests with request for release. The department does not know of any cases, except one or two which are still under investigation, in which naturalized Germans have not been released upon representations by this Government. There have, however, come to the department's notice authentic cases in which American passports have been fraudulently obtained and used by certain German subjects.

The Department of Justice has recently apprehended at least four persons of German nationality who, it is alleged, obtained American passports under pretense of being American citizens and for the purpose of returning to Germany without molestation by her enemies during the voyage. There are indications that a systematic plan had been devised to obtain American passports through fraud for the purpose of securing safe passage for German officers and reservists desiring to return to Germany. Such fraudulent use of passports by Germans themselves can have no other effect than to cast suspicion upon American passports in general. New regulations, however, requiring among other things the attaching of a photograph of the bearer to his passport, under the seal of the Department of State, and the vigilance of the Department of Justice, will doubtless prevent any further misuse of American passports.

(13) Change of policy in regard to loans to belligerents.

War loans in this country were disapproved because inconsistent with the spirit of neutrality. There is a clearly defined difference between a war loan and the purchase of arms and ammunition. The policy of disapproving of war loans affects all governments alike, so that the disapproval is not an unneutral act. The case is entirely different in the matter of arms and ammunition, because prohibition of export

not only might not, but, in this case, would not, operate equally upon the nations at war. Then, too, the reason given for the disapproval of war loans is supported by other considerations which are absent in the case presented by the sale of arms and ammunition. The taking of money out of the United States during such a war as this might seriously embarrass the Government in case it needed to borrow money and it might also seriously impair this Nation's ability to assist the neutral nations which, though not participants in the war, are compelled to bear a heavy burden on account of the war, and, again, a war loan, if offered for popular subscription in the United States, would be taken up chiefly by those who are in sympathy with the belligerent seeking the loan. The result would be that great numbers of the American people might become more earnest partisans, having material interest in the success of the belligerent, whose bonds they hold. These purchases would not be confined to a few, but would spread generally throughout the country, so that the people would be divided into groups of partisans, which would result in intense bitterness and might cause an undesirable, if not a serious, situation. On the other hand, contracts for and sales of contraband are mere matters of trade. The manufacturer, unless peculiarly sentimental, would sell to one belligerent as readily as he would to another. No general spirit of partisanship is aroused—no sympathies excited. The whole transaction is merely a matter of business.

This Government has not been advised that any general loans have been made by foreign governments in this country since the President expressed his wish that loans of this character should not be made.

(14) Submission to arrest of native-born Americans on neutral vessels and in British ports and their imprisonment.

The general charge as to the arrest of American-born citizens on board neutral vessels and in British ports, the ignoring of their passports, and their confinement in jails, requires evidence to support it. That there have been cases of injustice of this sort is unquestionably true, but Americans in Germany have suffered in this way as Americans have in Great Britain. This Government has considered that the majority of these cases resulted from overzealousness on the part of subordinate officials in both countries. Every case which has been brought to the attention of the Department of State has been promptly investigated and, if the facts warranted, a demand for release has been made.

(15) Indifference to confinement of noncombatants in detention camps in England and France.

As to the detention of noncombatants confined in concentration camps, all the belligerents, with perhaps the exception of Servia and Russia, have made similar complaints and those for whom this Government is acting have asked investigations, which representatives of this Government have made impartially. Their reports have shown that the treatment of prisoners is generally as good as possible under the conditions in all countries, and that there is no more reason to say that they are mistreated in one country than in another country or that this Government has manifested an indifference in the matter. As this department's efforts at investigations seemed to develop bitterness between the countries, the department on November 20 sent a circular instruction to its representatives not to undertake further investigation of concentration camps.

But at the special request of the German Government that Mr. Jackson, former American minister at Bucharest, now attached to the American embassy at Berlin, make an investigation of the prison camps in England, in addition to the investigations already made, the department has consented to dispatch Mr. Jackson on this special mission.

(16) Failure to prevent transshipment of British troops and war material across the territory of the United States.

The department has had no specific case of the passage of convoys of troops across American territory brought to its notice. There have been rumors to this effect, but no actual facts have been presented. The trans-shipment of reservists of all belligerents who have requested the privilege has been permitted on condition that they travel as individuals and not as organized, uniformed, or armed bodies. The German Embassy has advised the department that it would not be likely to avail itself of the privilege, but Germany's ally, Austria-Hungary, did so.

Only one case raising the question of the transit of war material owned by a belligerent across United States territory has come to the department's notice. This was a request on the part of the Canadian Government for permission to ship equipment across Alaska to the sea. The request was refused.

(17) Treatment and final internment of German steamship "Geier" and the collier "Locksun" at Honolulu.

The "Geier" entered Honolulu on October 15 in an unseaworthy condition. The commanding officer reported the necessity of extensive repairs which would require an indefinite period for completion. The vessel was allowed the generous period of three weeks to November 7 to make repairs and leave the port, or, failing to do so, to be interned. A longer period would have been contrary to international practice, which does not permit a vessel to remain for a long time in a neutral port for the purpose of repairing a generally run-down condition due to long sea service. Soon after the German cruiser arrived at Honolulu a Japanese cruiser appeared off the port and the commander of the "Geier" chose to intern the vessel rather than to depart from the harbor.

Shortly after the "Geier" entered the port of Honolulu the steamer "Locksun" arrived. It was found that this vessel had delivered coal to the "Geier" en route and had accompanied her toward Hawaii. As she had thus constituted herself a tender or collier to the "Geier" she was accorded the same treatment and interned on November 7.

(18) Unfairness to Germany in rules relative to coaling of warships in Panama Canal Zone.

By proclamation of November 13, 1914, certain special restrictions were placed on the coaling of warships or their tenders or colliers in the Canal Zone. These regulations were framed through the collaboration of the State, Navy, and War Departments and without the slightest reference to favoritism to the belligerents. Before these regulations were proclaimed, war vessels could procure coal of the Panama Railway in the zone ports, but no belligerent vessels are known to have done so. Under the proclamation fuel may be taken on by belligerent warships only with the consent of the canal authorities and in such amounts as will enable them to reach the nearest accessible neutral port; and the amount so taken on shall be deducted from the amount procurable in United States ports within three months thereafter. Now, it is charged the United States has shown partiality because Great Britain and not Germany happens to have colonies in the near vicinity where British ships may coal, while Germany has no such coaling facilities. Thus, it is intimated the United States should balance the inequalities of geographical position by refusing to allow any warships of belligerents to coal in the canal until the war is over. As no German warship has sought to obtain coal in the Canal Zone the charge of discrimination rests upon a possibility which during several months of warfare has failed to materialize.

(19) Failure to protest against the modifications of the Declaration of London by the British Government.

The German Foreign Office presented to the diplomats in Berlin a memorandum dated October 10, calling attention to violations of and changes in the Declaration of London by the British Government and inquiring as to the attitude of the United States toward such action on the part of the allies. The substance of the memorandum was forthwith telegraphed to the department on October 22 and was replied to shortly thereafter to the effect that the United States had withdrawn its suggestion, made early in the war, that for the sake of uniformity the Declaration of London should be adopted as a temporary code of naval warfare during the present war, owing to the unwillingness of the belligerents to accept the declaration without changes and modifications, and that henceforth the United States would insist that the rights of the United States and its citizens in the war should be governed by the existing rules of international law.

As this Government is not now interested in the adoption of the Declaration of London by the belligerents, the modifications by the belligerents in that code of naval warfare are of no concern to it except as they adversely affect the rights of the United States and those of its citizens as defined by international law. In so far as those rights have been infringed the department has made every effort to obtain redress for the losses sustained.

(20) General unfriendly attitude of Government toward Germany and Austria.

If any American citizens, partisans of Germany and Austria-Hungary, feel that this administration is acting in a way injurious to the cause of those countries, this feeling results from the fact that on the high seas the German and Austro-Hungarian naval power is thus far inferior to the British. It is the business of a belligerent operating on the high seas, not the duty of a neutral, to prevent contraband from reaching an enemy. Those in this country who sympathize with Germany and Austria-Hungary appear to assume that some obligation rests upon this Government in the performance of its neutral duty to prevent all trade in contraband, and thus to equalize the difference due to the relative naval strength of the belligerents. No such obligation exists; it would be an unneutral act, an act of partiality on the part of this Government to adopt such a policy if the Executive had the power to do so. If Germany and Austria-Hungary can not import contraband from this country it is not, because of that fact, the duty of the United States to close its markets to the allies. The markets of this country are open upon equal terms to all the world, to every nation, belligerent or neutral.

The foregoing categorical replies to specific complaints is sufficient answer to the charge of unfriendliness to Germany and Austria-Hungary.

I am, my dear Senator,

Very sincerely, yours,
W. J. BRYAN.

Hon. William J. Stone,
Chairman Committee on Foreign Relations,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C."

PRESIDENT WILSON AND THE AMERICAN EXPORTATION OF WEAPONS.

The American Department of State announces that the government, for obvious reasons, does not approve of the movement against exportation of weapons. It is therefore probable that should the bill be passed by the House, it will probably be vetoed by President Wilson. America seems for the present to retain her former standpoint, and the efforts of the German Americans in union with the Irish, seem to have been of no avail. It may be expected, however, that the protest of the German government against the breach of actual neutrality by the exportation of weapons from America to England and France, will find effectual support from another source. We place our confidence in the continued efforts of our German countrymen and of the Irish in America, to whom the proper recognition has not been accorded, at least not in proportion to their numbers and worth.—"Hamburger Fremdenblatt," Hamburg, Germany.

OFFICIAL TEXT OF GERMAN REPLY TO U. S.

Berlin, May 28, 1915.—The undersigned has the honor to make the following reply to the note of his excellency Mr. James W. Gerard, ambassador of the United States of America, dated the 15th inst., on the subject of the impairment of many American interests by the German submarine war:

The Imperial Government has subjected the statements of the Government of the United States to a careful examination and has the lively wish on its part also to contribute in a convincing and friendly manner to clear up any misunderstandings which may have entered into the relations of the two governments through the events mentioned by the American government.

Not to Attack Neutral Ships.

With regard, first, to the cases of the American steamers *Cushing* and *Gulflight*, the embassy has already been informed that it is far from the German Government to have any intention of ordering attacks by submarines or flyers on neutral vessels in the zone which have not been guilty of any hostile act; on the contrary, the most explicit instructions have been repeatedly given the German armed forces to avoid attacking such vessels. If neutral vessels have come to grief through the German submarine war during the past few months, by mistake, it is a question of isolated and exceptional cases which are traceable to the misuse of flags by the British Government in connection with carelessness or suspicious actions on the part of (the?) captains of the vessels.

Has Expressed Its Regret.

In all cases where a neutral vessel through no fault of its own has come to grief through the German submarine or flyers, according to the facts as ascertained by the German Government, this government has expressed its regret at the unfortunate occurrence and promised indemnification where the facts justified it. The German Government will treat the cases of the American steamers *Cushing* and *Gulflight* according to the same principles; an investigation of these cases is in progress; its result will be communicated to the embassy shortly; the investigation might, if thought desirable, be supplemented by an international commission of inquiry pursuant to Title 3 of The Hague convention of Oct. 18, 1907, for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

Explanation as to Falaba.

In the case of the sinking of the English steamer *Falaba*, the commander of the German submarine had the intention of allowing passengers and crew ample opportunity to save themselves. It was not until the captain disregarded the order to lay to and took to flight, sending up rocket signals for help, that the German commander ordered the crew and passengers by signals and megaphone to leave the ship within ten minutes; as a matter of fact he allowed them twenty-three minutes and did not fire the torpedo until suspicious steamers were hurrying to the aid of the *Falaba*,

With regard to the loss of life when the British passenger steamer *Lusitania* was sunk, the German Government has already expressed its deep regret to the neutral governments concerned that nationals of those countries lost their lives on that occsaion. The Imperial Government must state for the rest the impression that certain important facts most directly connected with the sinking of the *Lusitania* may have escaped the attention of the Government of the United States. It therefore considers it necessary in the interests of the clear and full understanding aimed at by either government primarily to convince itself that the reports of the facts which are before the two governments are complete and in agreement.

Lusitania Called a Cruiser.

The Government of the United States proceeds on the assumption that the *Lusitania* is to be considered as an ordinary unarmed merchant vessel. The Imperial Government begs in this connection to point out that the *Lusitania* was one of the largest and fastest English commerce steamers constructed with government funds as auxiliary cruisers and is expressly included in the navy list published by British admiralty.

It is, moreover, known to the Imperial Government from reliable information furnished by its officials and neutral passengers that for some time practically all the more valuable merchant vessels have been provided with guns, ammunition and other weapons and re-enforced with a crew specially practiced in manning guns. According to reports at hand here, the *Lusitania*, when she left New York, undoubtedly had guns on board which were mounted under decks and masked.

Rewards for Ramming Submarines.

The Imperial Government furthermore has the honor to direct the particular attention of the American Government to the fact that the British admiralty by a secret instruction of February of this year advised the British merchant marine not only to seek protection behind neutral flags and markings but even when so disguised to attack German submarines by ramming them. High rewards have been offered by the British Government as a special incentive for the destruction of the submarines by merchant vessels and such rewards have already been paid out.

In view of these facts, which are satisfactorily known to it, the Imperial Government is unable to consider English merchant vessels any longer as "undefended territory" in the zone of maritime war designated by the admiralty staff of the Imperial German navy; the German commanders are consequently no longer in a

position to observe the rules of capture otherwise usual and with which they invariably complied before this.

Says Troops Were Carried.

Lastly, the Imperial Government must specially point out that on her last trip the *Lusitania*, as on earlier occasions, had Canadian troops and munitions on board, including no less than 5,400 cases of ammunition destined for the destruction of brave German soldiers who are fulfilling with self-sacrifice and devotion their duty in the service of the Fatherland. The German Government believes that it acts in just self-defense when it seeks to protect the lives of its soldiers by destroying ammunition destined for the enemy with the means of war at its command.

The English steamship company must have been aware of the dangers to which passengers on board the *Lusitania* were exposed under the circumstances. In taking them on board in spite of this the company quite deliberately tried to use the lives of American citizens as protection for the ammunition carried and violated the clear provisions of American laws, which expressly prohibit and provide punishment for the carrying of passengers on ships which have explosives on board. The company thereby wantonly caused the death of so many passengers.

Blame Laid on Ammunition.

According to the express report of the submarine commander concerned, which is further confirmed by all other reports, there can be no doubt that the rapid sinking of the *Lusitania* was due primarily to the explosion of the cargo of ammunition caused by the torpedo. Otherwise, in all human probability, the passengers of the *Lusitania* would have been saved.

The Imperial Government holds the facts recited above to be of sufficient importance to recommend them to a careful examination by the American Government.

Reserves Final Statement.

The Imperial Government begs to reserve a final statement of its position with regard to the demands made in connection with the sinking of the *Lusitania* until a reply is received from the American Government and believes that it should recall here that it took note with satisfaction of the proposals of good offices submitted by the American Government in Berlin and London, with a view to paving the way for a modus vivendi for the conduct of maritime war between Germany and Great Britain. The Imperial Government furnished at that time ample evidence of its good will by its willingness to consider these proposals. The realization of these proposals failed, as is known, on account of their rejection by the Government of Great Britain.

The undersigned requests his excellency, the ambassador, to bring the above to the knowledge of the American Government and avail himself of the opportunity to renew, etc.

VON JAGOW,
Minister for Foreign Affairs.
(The Daily News, Chicago.)

FULL TEXT OF PRESIDENT WILSON'S ANSWER TO GERMANY.

Following is the full text of the "second note" of the United States to Germany, drawn by President Wilson and signed by Robert Lansing, Acting Secretary of State:

The Secretary of State ad interim to the American Ambassador to Berlin.

Department of State, Washington, D. C., June 9, 1915.—American Ambassador, Berlin:

You are instructed to deliver textually the following note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

In compliance with your excellency's request I did not fail to transmit to my government immediately upon their receipt your note of May 28, in reply to my note of May 15, and your supplementary note of June 1, setting forth the conclusions so far as reached by the Imperial German Government concerning the attacks on the American steamers *Cushing* and *Gulflight*. I am now instructed by my government to communicate the following in reply:

The Government of the United States notes with gratification the full recognition by the Imperial German Government, in discussing the cases of the *Cushing* and the *Gulflight*, of the principle of the freedom of all parts of the open sea to neutral ships and the frank willingness of the Imperial German Government to acknowledge and meet its liability where the fact of attack upon neutral ships "which have not been guilty of any hostile act" by German aircraft or vessels of war is satisfactorily established; and the Government of the United States will, in due course, lay before the Imperial German Government, as it requests, full information concerning the attack on the steamer *Cushing*.

Attempt to Escape No Excuse.

With regard to the sinking of the steamer *Falaba*, by which an American citizen lost his life, the Government of the United States is surprised to find the Imperial German Government contending that an effort on the part of a merchantman to escape cature and secure assistance alters the obligation of the officer seeking to make the capture in respect of the safety of the lives of those on board the merchantman, although the vessel has ceased its attempt to escape when torpedoed.

These are not new circumstances. They have been in the minds of statesmen and of international jurists throughout the development of naval warfare, and the Government of the United States does not understand that they have ever been held to alter the principles of humanity upon which it has insisted. Nothing but actual forcible resistance or continued efforts to escape by flight when ordered to stop for the purpose of visit on the part of the merchantman has ever been held to forfeit the lives of passengers or crew. The Government of the United States, however, does not understand that the Imperial German Government is seeking in this case to relieve itself of liability, but only intends to set forth the circumstances which led the commander of the submarine to allow himself to be hurried into the course which he took.

Refers to Guns on Ship.

Your excellency's note, in discussing the loss of American lives resulting from the sinking of the steamship *Lusitania*, adverts at some length to certain information which the Imperial German Government has received with regard to the character and outfit of that vessel, and your excellency expresses the fear that this information may not have been brought to the attention of the Government of the United States.

It is stated in the note that the *Lusitania* was undoubtedly equipped with masked guns, supplied with trained gunners and special ammunition, transporting troops from Canada, carryng a cargo not permitted under the laws of the United States to a vessel also carrying passengers, and serving, in virtual effect, as an auxiliary to the naval forces of Great Britain.

Fortunately, these are matters concerning which the Government of the United States is in a position to give the Imperial German Government official information.

Germany Was Misinformed.

Of the facts alleged in your excellency's note, if true, the Government of the United States would have been bound to take official cognizance in performing its recognized duty as a neutral power and in enforcing its national laws. It was its duty to see to it that the *Lusitania* was not armed for offensive action, that it was not serving as a transport, that it did not carry a cargo prohibited by the statutes of the United States and that, if in fact it was a naval vessel of Great Britain, it should not receive clearance as a merchantman; and it performed that duty and enforced its statutes with scrupulous vigilance through its regularly constituted officials.

It is able, therefore, to assure the Imperial German Government that it has been misinformed.

Ready to Receive Evidence.

If the Imperial German Government should deem itself to be in possession of convincing evidence that the officials of the Government of the United States did not perform these duties with thoroughness the Government of the United States sincerely hopes that it will submit that evidence for consideration.

Whatever may be the contentions of the Imperial German Government regarding the carriage of contraband of war on board the *Lusitania* or regarding the explosion of that material by the torpedo, it need only be said that in the view of this government these contentions are irrelevant to the question of the legality of the methods used by the German naval authorities in sinking the vessel.

Principle of Humanity First.

But the sinking of passenger ships involves principles of humanity which

throw into the background any special circumstances of detail that may be thought to affect the cases, principles which lift it, as the Imperial German Government will no doubt be quick to recognize and acknowledge, out of the class of ordinary subjects of diplomatic discussion or of international controversy.

Whatever be the other facts regarding the *Lusitania*, the principal fact is that a great steamer, primarily and chiefly a conveyance for passengers and carrying more than a thousand souls who had no part or lot in the conduct of the war, was torpedoed and sunk without so much as a challenge or a warning, and that men, women and children were sent to their death in circumstances unparalleled in modern warfare.

Plain Words as to Tragedy.

The fact that more than 100 American citizens were among those who perished made it the duty of the government of the United States to speak of these things, and once more, with solemn emphasis, to call the attention of the Imperial German Government to the grave responsibility which the Government of the United States conceives that it has incurred in this tragic occurrence, and to the indisputable principle upon which the responsibility rests.

The Government of the United States is contending for something much greater than mere rights of property or privileges of commerce. It is contending for nothing less high and sacred than the rights of humanity, which every government honors itself in respecting and which no government is justified in resigning on behalf of those under its care and authority.

No Excuse for the Submarine.

Only actual resistance to capture or refusal to stop when ordered to do so for the purpose of visit could have afforded the commander of the submarine any justification for so much as putting the lives of those on board the ship in jeopardy.

This principle the Government of the United States understands the explicit instructions issued on Aug. 3, 1914, by the Imperial German Admiralty to its commanders at sea to have recognized and embodied, as do the naval codes of all other nations, and upon it every traveler and seaman had a right to depend. It is upon this principle of humanity as well as upon the law founded upon this principle that the United States must stand.

Willing to Be Mediator.

The Government of the United States is happy to observe that your excellency's note closes with the intimation that the Imperial German government is willing, now as before, to accept the good offices of the United States in an attempt to come to an understanding with the Government of Great Britain by which the character and conditions of the war upon the sea may be changed. The Government of the United States would consider it a privilege thus to serve its friends and the world. It stands ready at any time to convey to either government any intimation or suggestion the other may be willing to have it convey, and cordially invites the Imperial German Government to make use of its services in this way at its convenience. The whole world is concerned in anything that may bring about even a partial accommodation of interests or in any way mitigate the terrors of the present distressing conflict.

Expects Justice to Be Done.

In the meantime, whatever arrangement may happily be made between the parties to the war, and whatever may in the opinion of the Imperial German Government have been the provocation or the circumstantial justification for the past acts of its commanders at sea, the Government of the United States confidently looks to see the justice and many vindicated in all cases where Americans have been wronged or their rights as neutrals invaded.

The Government of the United States, therefore, very earnestly and very solemnly renews the representations of its note transmitted to the Imperial German Government on the 15th of May and relies in these representations upon the principles of humanity, the universally recognized understandings of international law and the ancient friendship of the German nation.

Insists on Rights of Neutrals.

The Government of the United States cannot admit that the proclamation of a war zone from which neutral ships have been warned to keep away may be made to operate as in any degree an abbreviation of the rights either of American shipmasters or of American citizens bound on lawful errands as passengers on merchant ships of belligerent nationality. It does not understand the Imperial German Government to question those rights. It understands it, also, to accept as established beyond question the principle that the lives of noncombatants cannot lawfully or rightfully be put in jeopardy by the capture or destruction of an unresisting merchantman, and to recognize the obligation to take sufficient precaution to ascertain whether a suspected merchantman is in fact of belligerent nationality or is in fact carrying contraband of war under a neutral flag.

The Government of the United States, therefore, deems it reasonable to expect that the Imperial German Government will adopt the measures necessary to put these principles into practice in respect of the safeguarding of American lives and American ships, and asks for assurance that this will be done.

ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State ad Interim.

(The Daily News, Chicago.)

UNITED STATES AND ENGLAND.

New York papers report a firmer stand on the part of the United States in her arrangements with England. The new American note with precise minimum requirements is said to have been handed over in London during the week.

In Congress the urgent consideration of a proposed resolution has been introduced, according to which the President shall be authorized to stop all trade with any nation interfering with American shipping in any way contrary to international law. A Swedish paper reminds us of Sweden's economic losses on account of England's tyranny at sea, saying, "It cannot be denied that this proposal is really radical and that, if it is carried through, it will be an effective measure against England. The idea of boycotting England's trade, unless she stops causing so much trouble to lawful neutral trade, does not exist on the American side of the Atlantic alone."

The paper goes on to relate that a Stockholm merchant proposes that an arrangement should be made between merchants and ship owners to cease exporting to England, until she sees fit to alter her commercial policy. "This," says the paper, "is the only effective means."—Hamburger Fremdenblatt.

IS NEUTRALITY OUR DUTY?

The people of the United States can hardly remain neutral in view of the events taking place in Europe. The majority of the population of this country are kin to or descendants of the people now engaged in this bloody strife.

It would mean a muzzling and suppression of all noble and sympathetic sentiments should the suggestion of President Wilson be followed, that all parties directly affected, should accept the news from the seat of war calmly. It is impossible to pen up the joys or griefs and show indifference when the heart is in a state of revolt.

The Germans of Chicago despite their love for the Fatherland have made possible what seemed an impossibility. They have abandoned that gathering to take place at Riverview Park—planned with a view to aiding their wounded and destitute brethren—as such a demonstration might be misconstrued. If this could be considered excessive precaution, it is, however, a gratifying evidence of the loyalty of Germans to the country of their choice, a showing that should especially be appreciated by Americans, who do not of necessity need show feeling for any side, and for this reason the loyal Germans can all the more demand that strict neutrality be adhered to as was requested by the President. It is only reasonable to expect, that a good example be set and the wise exhortations of the President be taken to heart. It is very deplorable and revolting when just such men allow their entire personality to be controlled by their hatred.

The divine, Charles H. Parkhurst, who as a minister should be preaching peace and as an American endeavor to transform the expressions of the head of the great American family into deeds, this divine, Charles H. Parkhurst, prominent as a citizen and minister in the great

metropolis of New York, published an article in one of the local papers, that was not written with pen and ink but with the knout of a drunken Cossack. This strange minister of the gospel said among other things:

"If a mad dog is found chasing about it is shot at once, not as a matter of vengeance but to protect the public. Well then, has peaceful and beautiful Europe ever been endangered by a more hydrophobic creature than Kaiser William? The police do not stop to negotiate or compromise with the dog, but consider only their duty to humanity and dispatch it as a public menace, treat it as Germany treated Poland at the time of the partition of that country and as it attempted to treat France in 1870 by levying an enormous war indemnity and crippling her military strength so that Germany no longer need fear an attack by France."

"Now the same medicine," Mr. Parkhurst continues, "that Germany administered to Poland and France should be given her. It might not be necessary to strangle Germany but her claws should be trimmed, her teeth broken, and enough of her fortresses razed to make her harmless, burdened with such a heavy war tax that she would stop at nothing short of absolute poverty. This policy should not be pursued with a spirit of revenge, but for the sake of safety, welfare and comfort in general. Less than this would necessitate a probable repetition of the tragedy now being enacted."

We take no pleasure in going any further into the details of this firebrand article of the New York minister, as the German language does not contain words enough to make a befitting reply possible.

Just one question: Should the naturalized German, Austrian, Hungarian, English, Belgian be blamed for manifestations of sympathy for their respective mother-countries, when this American, Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, who is bound to Europe by no fond ties, considered himself justified in speaking in such terms?

Is this the neutrality in word and deed which America promised to observe?

Neutrality of the United States of a Semi-Popular and Semi-Official Nature

UNITED STATES AND THE WAR.

The war in Europe was of Europe's making. The United States was not approached before the declaration of hostilities on the question of its attitude in the circumstances. In one way, therefore, the conflict is none of our business. If its effects could have been confined to Europe solely it would in no sense have been any business of ours. But they could not be, or, rather, have not been, and as a consequence we are brought to a situation vis-a-vis the belligerent powers which demands that we no longer delay a definite statement of our position on certain points of policy. It is not necessary to go into those eternal details which serve only to confuse and to confound. The facts are that our Atlantic coast has been subjected to a blockade by British cruisers inconsistent alike with our rightful interests as a neutral trading nation and with our claims to the privileges of an independent Power, and that our ships have been seized and carried into foreign ports, our right to peaceful trade disputed, our mails interfered with, and our citizens detained, in violation of the written laws of war and the unwritten principles which underlie the comity of nations.

The action of Great Britain in these matters is historically not without precedent. We suffered from the same treatment between 1783 and 1814, but were of the opinion that the claim of England to the rights of search and impressment was definitely settled by the War of 1812. Apparently we were wrong. The same claim to absolute and unquestionable dominion over the waters of the South were asserted by England during the War of the States. And again we thought that in the Geneva Award we had secured some controversion of England's pretensions. But today our eyes are once more opened to the fact that we have not advanced one step in over a century in the fight for the freedom of the seas. We are still face to face with the cry and claim that "Britannia rules the Waves" and that whatever transpires thereon is solely a matter for the adjudication of British courts.

The United States fought for years for the rights of private property at sea. She fought the battle of not only her own people but of the peoples of the world. And England alone opposed her. And why? Solely because as the dominant naval power of the world it was to her interest to do so. Willing enough to write into international law all the possible ameliorating conditions under which land war was to be waged, England has stood out consistently for 18th Century principles in the conduct of belligerents on the seas. She has reserved to herself, in other words, every "right" which could be availed of to maintain her unquestioned command of the water-ways of international trade. From the Declaration of Paris to the Declaration of London the policy which she has stood for has uncovered her hand.

The time has come to call a halt. We have come so far under the charm of England's campaign for our "moral support" that perhaps it is difficult to see things clearly as they are. A blind man could discern, however, between England's desires and her deserts. There is no reason why we should allot our friendship where we receive no return in kind. We are asked to support England in her present distress of war and terror, morally, and recently we have been called upon for support of a more material character; but what have we had from her? Injury and insult and nothing else!

I know that there is a certain element in Boston and in Washington, bottle-fed and nipple-nursed by England, that would like to see the Stars and Stripes hauled down and the Union Jack floating once more from Hudson Bay to Houston, Texas, but does that element represent the American people as a whole? We have had Americans in the past who realized that we are no longer a colonial appanage of Europe. Have we not one today? We have had statesmen who lived and died and fought as Americans, supported by a firm faith in our independent sovereignty, and the fact that we were big enough and strong enough to assert our right to a first place in the family of nations. Have we not one now? We have told the powers of Europe on more occasions than one that we should regard as an unfriendly act precisely what England has done and is continuing to do off our coast in the present war. Why do we submit to it today?

The answer is at hand. We have passed from the school of Clay and Webster, Seward, Fish, Blaine and Olney, to a school of psychologists, who see in every protest against our re-union with the apron strings of England nothing but "mental exercise." We are represented no longer by men, but by invertebrates. We have no longer as our spokesmen officials who speak "American," but only such as speak "English." The one redeeming excuse of our present administration, as developed by the present situation, is that knowing nothing of the mints of the case and utterly incapable of sane expression on the subject, it has done nothing. Why, however, was the one man in all America who could have handled the situation, John Bassett Moore, driven from the Service?

I am not interested in the fact that it is England that is attempting to destroy our trade and our prestige before the world. I should speak just as plainly if it were Germany or Austria, Japan, China or Chile. The point to be made is that no nation on God's earth has a right to interfere with American trade as it is being interfered with; and that no administration in Washington, whether Whig or Tory, Republican, Democrat of Progressive, has a right to surrender our dignity to any such nation.

We are face to face today with facts, not theories. We are face to face with conditions which spell for us in the future only defeat in the fight for a further share in the world's trade. We are face to face with a problem that demands that we either assert our rights, or withdraw our claim to be more than a colony of the

British crown. The question is: Shall we assert those rights, not insultingly, but clearly and in no unmeaning periphrasis, or shall we admit the claim of other powers to dictate to us on what conditions we shall continue to exist and to have intercourse with the people of the world? A century ago the answer would have been clear; a half century ago, a decade ago, it would have been so. But today we seem to wallow in the sloth of a psycho-pacificism which is incapable of either right thinking or manly protest.

It is time that the American people registered their interpretation of the Presidency—that they asserted the duty of its incumbent to be the fullfilment of the national desire and not the proclamation of personal theories, however gilded their frames, that are inconsistent therewith. We want only the rights of a neutral nation at peace with all the world, and these are being denied to us. It is a telling disgrace that our representatives have not the courage to maintain the dignity of their country.

AMERICAN NEUTRALITY.

We translate the following editorial from the New York "Staats-Zeitung" of September 16 as a significant utterance expressive of a strong feeling among millions of American citizens.—Editor.

We have it from the lips of proud Americans, from the columns of their press from Park Row to Times Square, that "Britannia Still Rules the Waves." And now more than ever since the capture of helpless German merchant ships in great number. We hear no word of protest from the lips of these England-serving Americans against the dominating attitude of this same England toward America in dictating—yes, dictating—in what manner it shall deal with the belligerents, as though we were still a British Crown colony.

Not a single protest has been made against England's ukase, supported by her European allies, that in future the passports of American citizens of German birth will not be respected. American nativists themselves have never dared to divide American citizens into two classes. In silence the obedient servant in America submits to this insult of his master, England.

We have endured a great deal within the past few weeks and have charged much to the account of a terrible world war, much that otherwise would have caused the blush of shame to rise to the cheeks of a loyal American. But this last is the straw that breaks the camel's back.

We have stood by in silence when England dictated to the free and independent United States how and with whom they might communicate by wireless. Without a whimper the United States submitted (and Congress made no sign of protest) when England said: "You shall not purchase German ships with your own money, shall not admit them to registry under the American flag, shall not relieve your own absolute need for raw material, not contraband, obtainable only in Germany." Britannia, your master, says no!

We remained silent when England rifled American mail on the "Potsdam"; we have silently endured seeing our trade with Germany and Austria reduced from millions to zero. And on top of all this the inhibition against American passports in the hands of American citizens, on the ground that they were not born in England or Russia—the Russia which today is persona grata in those editorial rooms under the influence of England, the same Russia with whom we abrogated our treaties for doing what she has again done under England's dictation.

At that time a wild wave of indignation swayed the hearts of all the Hearsts and the Sulzers. Today we hear not a word of protest.

What is the administration in Washington going to do about it? What of Congress? What of the men who made such tremendous protests then? What of the members who otherwise call themselves German-Americans?

Do you intend to submit to being ruled by Britannia?

H. G. WELL'S APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Illinois Staats-Zeitung, Chicago.

Otto Stein.

In his appeal to the U. S., printed in the "Tribune" of August 21st, H. G. Wells, the English writer, says: "At the end we do most firmly believe there will be established a new Europe, a Europe ridded of rankling oppressions, with a free Poland, a free Finland, a free Germany, and the Balkan question settled, the little nations safe and with peace secure."

It is touching to see England sacrifice thousands or hundred thousands of lives to "help poor oppressed nations" to freedom. No selfish motive ever actuates England. She combines with Cossacks, Turcos and Japanese to free the oppressed nations of Europe just as she combined with the Indians to give the U. S. their liberty. When she has freed Poland, Finland, Germany, no doubt she will free India, Egypt, The Transvaal Free State and give Gibraltar back to Spain. She did not enter into the war in order to destroy Germany's commercial competition. Nothing is further from her thoughts. To protect Belgium's neutrality she took to arms and to protect China's neutrality, she doubtless, will fight Japan. Now she appeals to the U. S. "not to play the part of a merely numerous little people, cute at trading." She wants us to look on, not to take advantage of the opportunity now offered us to establish our own merchant marine, she does not want us to supply foodstuffs to the German people—let them starve.

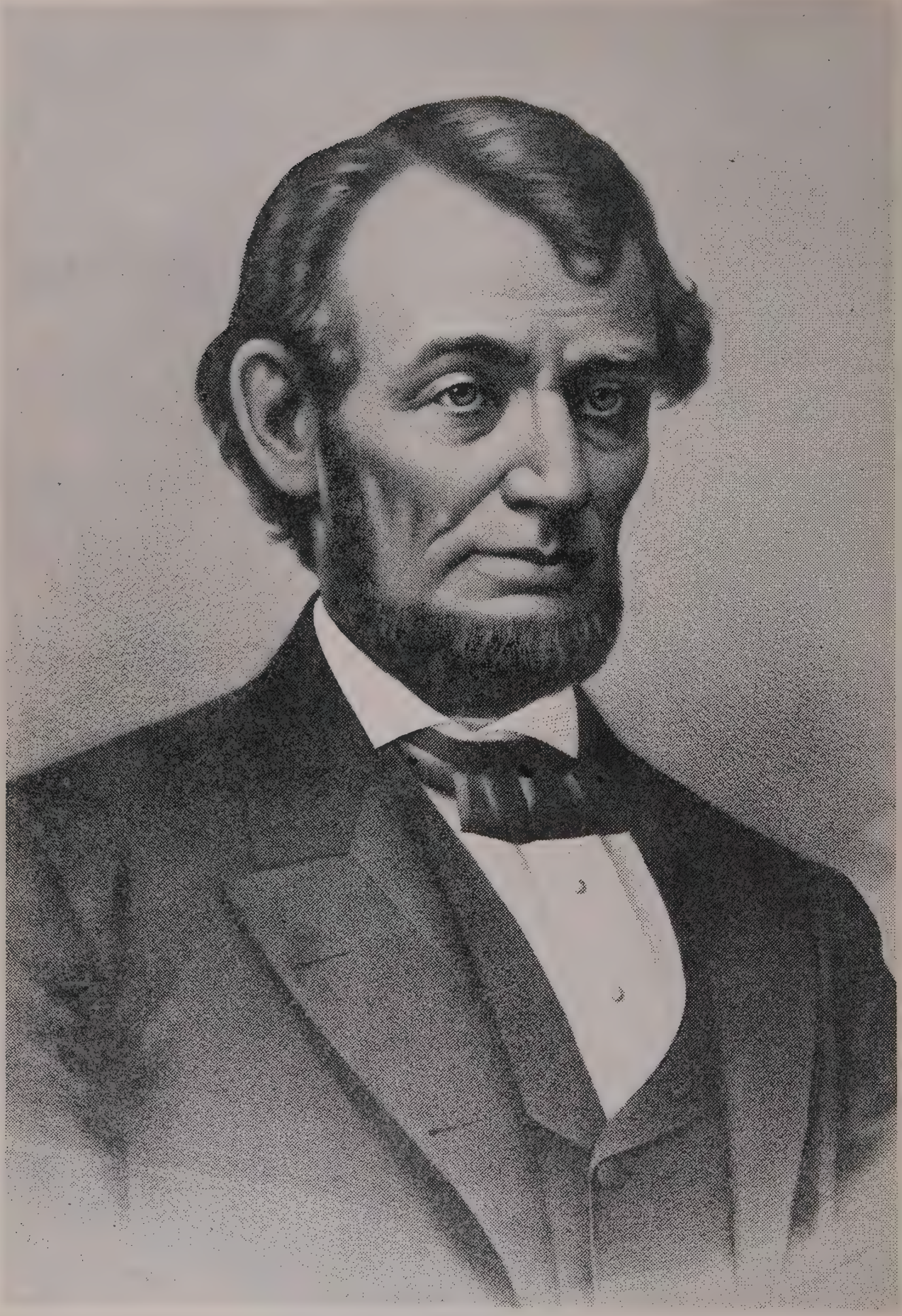
In the same issue in which the splendid appeal appears we find the following notice:

The movement to capture Germany's trade has been taken up with splendid vigor and the government is giving fully its official support. The board of trade, which is a government department, is doing everything possible, while the colonial office is gathering information from the dominions anent the character of previous German imports. The chamber of commerce is arranging meetings between manufacturers and former importers of German goods.

It is beyond my understanding how the American people, and particularly the American newspapers, can sympathize with England and the present war. Since the War of Independence there has been no occasion on which England did not try her level best to injure our country, and even in the Mexican trouble it was admitted that England, through Sir Lionel Carden, tried very hard to involve us in war. Now she led Japan to take steps which, if they will not cause us to go to war, will give us serious trouble, and whatever she does, she does to help the poor oppressed. If it helps her at the same time to pocket diamond mines, canals built by others, whole countries, she accepts them only in trust for humanity. It is an old saying that no hypocrite is as dangerous as one who is able to deceive himself, and of all the sickening spectacles the history of the world has shown the most disgusting is that of "Perfidious Albion" posing as the champion of liberty and right. The British middle class, therefore, is full of an angry, vague disposition to thwart that expansion which Germans regard very reasonably as their natural destiny; there are all the possibilties of a huge conflict in that disposition, and it is perhaps well to remember how insular—or at least how European—the essentials of this quarrel are. We have lost our tempers, but Canada has not. There is nothing in Germany to make Canada envious and ashamed of wasted years, etc., etc."

There spoke the true Mr. Wells, the able critic and man of a world outlook. Not the one sided Englishman who recommends a new map of Europe on ethnological lines for the Slav, the Italian, the Teuton, the Frenchman, and the Magyar, but not for the Celt. Let every little tribe govern itself excepting only the Irish and the Boers; for them English righteousness is better than self-government.—Mrs. Herman Landauer, 5326 East End Avenue.

In view of a rediculous Paris story as to the speedy flight of Prince Eitel Friedrich at the approach of some British troops, which story was probably cabled with gusto to London, it may be of interest to state that whereas none of the near relatives of the royal houses of England and Russia, much less their sons, are at the front, Emperor William has all of his male offspring at the firing line. Proof of this is furnished by the wounding of Princes Eitel Friedrich and Joachim. Crown Prince Franz of Bavaria, too, has been wounded in the knee. The Hohenzollerns have certainly never been afraid of the smell of powder.—The Hornet.



LINCOLN
(By Courtesy of the "Chicago Abendpost")

Remember the Words of George Washington.

The Father of Our Country.

"The duty and interest of the United States require that they should, with sincerity and good faith, adopt and pursue a conduct **FRIENDLY AND IMPARTIAL**, toward the belligerent powers."

"Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony, religion and mortality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it?"

"The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligations which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity toward other nations."

"Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature."

"In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachment for others should be excluded, and that in place of them **JUST AND AMICABLE FEELINGS TOWARD ALL** should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty or its interest."

"It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concession, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained and by exciting jealousy, illwill and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupt or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray the interest of their country without odium, sometimes even with popularity, gilding with the appearance of a virtuous sense of obligation a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliance of ambition, corruption or infatuation."

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and mortality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these finest props of the duties of men and citizens."—The Illinois Staats-Zeitung, Chicago.

WASHINGTON CABINET NOTES.

From "The Fatherland," New York, October 14, 1914.

About the activities of the daughter of Secretary of State Bryan and her husband, an English army officer, dispatches informs us:

London, Sept. 29.—Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owen, daughter of Secretary of State Bryan, whose husband is an officer in the British army and will soon leave for the front, is busily engaged in relief work.

The Hon. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, asserts in his paper, the "Raleigh News and Observer," that the "New York Herald" is by far the best medium for war news. It may be recalled that the James Gordon Bennett papers, the "Herald" and "Telegram," announced sometime ago that they would not print the German news sent by wireless via Sayville. The "New York German Herold" remarks:

"Mr. Josephus Daniels, the Secretary of the Navy, evidently prefers his news treated from the French standpoint. For the rest we might remark, if all the members of Mr. Wilson's cabinet are of Mr. Daniels' opinion, certain unneutral doings are easily explained."

"DARE TO DO YOUR DUTY."

"Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."—Abraham Lincoln.

HAS AMERICA BEEN NEUTRAL?

The press has **printed** the thoughtful "Proclamation of Neutrality" by President Wilson; but how many newspapers have **followed** it? On the contrary, Neutrality has been trampled upon by them. They have made a farce of it and did it in a most stupid manner. They have distorted the European crisis beyond recognition. Nor can it be gainsaid that the **good name of Germany has been severely slandered.** Their thoughtlessness is beyond the power of words. This country has nothing but admiration, good wishes and friendship for Germany. An "unthinking press" should not be allowed to create animosity between friendly nations. No American can forget the beautiful words of President Lincoln, "with malice toward none, with charity for all." Nor should we forget the remarkable words of Jackson, when he said, "Friendships with all nations, but entangling alliances with none."

However, history moves quickly and Fate still faster. Who can tell that the day may not come when the United States **will welcome Germany as a friend!** And a warm friend she would be. Her **word** is **good.**

Finally, the most violent pro-British element of the American Press has succeeded in bringing *upon its head,* to a very large extent, the loss of American life of the Lusitania and elsewhere. In future, for Heaven's sake, "let us think of America" first!—Editor.

GREAT BRITAIN REPRIMANDS PRESIDENT WILSON.

Editorial from "The Fatherland," New York, September 30, 1914.

Sir Lionel Carden, formerly Great Britain's representative in Mexico, now on his way to his new post in Brazil, severely reprimands President Wilson for his order withdrawing our troops from Vera Cruz. The British diplomat does not hesitate to characterize President Wilson's action as "a shame." The interview is printed in the New York "Sun" and is vouched for by one of that newspaper's ablest reporters and two of his colleagues. The subsequent perfunctory denial by Sir Lionel isn't taken seriously by any one acquainted with the editorial integrity of the New York "Sun," and this minister's past record for impertinence toward the President of the United States.

English warships have seized and destroyed the mail of American citizens addressed to Germany without regard to neutrality, in flagrant violation of the conventions of international law. This act of piracy is almost a casus belli.

Evidently British statesmen look upon the United States as a province of the British Empire. Else they would not dare to strain to the breaking point the neutrality proclaimed by President Wilson. But they are making their reckoning without their host. Possibly their information on American sentiment is derived from such publications as Collier's Weekly and the New York

Times. They forget that they will have to take into account the American people. They may have succeeded in wresting the Panama Canal from us by legal trickery, but they will find us ready to defend the rights of our citizens today as in 1812. Already public opinion in this country is veering around. We begin to see the ally of Japan, our arch enemy, in her true light. We know that Great Britain is equally desirous of thwarting our plans for an efficient merchant marine as she is determined to destroy the commerce of Germany. Great Britain may have the right to destroy German commerce because she is at war with the German Empire. But her iron fist is raised, though gloved with the silk of hypocrisy, to nip in the bud, even in times of peace, our plan of acquiring by purchase a fleet of American bottoms.

Who doubts that Great Britain if she succeeds in annihilating German commerce, will next turn her attention to the United States?

A WORD TO AMERICA.

By a Prominent Austro-Hungarian Statesman.

There has always existed in Austria-Hungary a feeling of sympathy for America, and we have believed that it was not altogether unreciprocated. We knew very well that we were not so much in the thoughts of the people over there as they were in ours. Many Americans have very indistinct ideas, if any, about Austria-Hungary, and when they have chanced to visit us we did not know which side ought to be the more ashamed, we, that those abroad had heard so little concerning us, or our visitors, because they possessed so little knowledge of European geography, history and politics.

But if Americans, with the exception of those living here, know us but slightly, it is likewise true that their acquaintance with Germany is limited. The articles which the ex-president of Harvard University, Chas. W. Eliot, wrote shortly after the outbreak of the war, in the attempt to interpret the public opinion of America, were remarkable indications of how exclusively the views of German life and activity held there are drawn from English sources. The Germany which he condemns, and to a very slight degree praises, is as different from the real one as a caricature is from a photograph. Germany, according to Dr. Eliot, is striving for a world-wide empire, is an incorporation of militarism and concludes secret treaties without the knowledge of its people. It does not seem to him worthy of mention that England has appropriated a large part of America, half Africa, all India and all Australia. That Russia and France spend much more money on their armies than Germany; that England has laid down the fundamental principle: its navy must be as strong as that of any other two countries combined; that Sir Edward Grey made secret agreements with France, Belgium and Russia, which he denied before Parliament—these are facts of which the learned doctor has either never heard or has forgotten. In his view the German Empire holds Schleswig-Holstein, nine-tenths of whose population are Germans, in its power, against the will of the latter, and is altogether a detestable conqueror and oppressor, in distinction to England, France and Russia, whom he apparently considers received their great possessions as a gift. The good doctor has also not the slightest thought of the well-known love of peace of our Emperor nor does he appear aware of the unremitting efforts of the German Kaiser to preserve the peace. In short, Dr. Eliot discloses an ignorance concerning us and Germany that in reference to America would be surprising in one of the pupils of our secondary schools.

It would have been useless to attempt to make known to Americans, fed with English representations, that the Russian government had prepared the war a long time in advance, and that the English ministers had some time back laid the wire, so that it only needed the Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolajewich to press the button for the explosion to follow.

Americans who know Europe and have a sense for European ideas like the philosopher Fullerton, have attempted to bring home, in some degree to their countrymen the truth in these matters, and what they have not succeeded in doing, it will not be possible for an Austrian, in the short space of a newspaper article, to accomplish. Let then an Englishman be quoted.

In the year 1909, there appeared in the English monthly, "The United Service Institution," a prize article written by a British naval officer, in which the following sentences occur: "We (Great Britain) do not go to war on sentimental grounds. I doubt if we have ever done that. War is the outcome of commercial disputes; its aim is to force upon our adversaries by means of the sword, those conditions which we consider necessary for creating for ourselves commercial advantages. We make use of all thinkable pretexts and inducements as the reasons for war, but trade is the one that is at the bottom of them all. Whether we give out that a defensive purpose, the gaining of a strategical position, the breach of treaties and what not else has been the occasion, all of these rest ultimately on trade, the simple and sufficient reason for which is, that trade is for us a vital necessity."*

That is frankly said. And now comes the hypocrisy: An English manufacturer sent to Austrian, and probably to German public men also, on the outbreak of the war, his business announcement, to which he appended some political reflections regretting that in Germany the teachers and clergy had not impressed it upon the people; in business competition, foreign countries must also be allowed to live. How does such Pecksniffian morality please Americans?

The Russian foreign minister, Sassonoff, who a few days ago in the Duma did his turn as a political thimble-rigger with much success, has called upon most of the countries which are not yet at war with us, to fall upon us, and secure for themselves a part of the booty, a portion of our territory or something from our commerce and industry. He proclaimed in diplomatic circumlocutions that Russia must possess Constantinople and the Dardanelles; and the prime minister and several enthusiastic representatives expressed loud and openly their assent. In consequence of this, England will, if victorious, occupy Palestine and a part of Arabia; Japan has already begun to take China in guardianship. The world is to be divided up anew, and the Americans regard this as something very fine, if they can only join in the general chase to run Germany down.

The removal of German competition from the markets of the world can, however, be the end in view of only that small number of Americans who do not take into consideration that England and Japan would possess the place which Germany occupied. The great majority of them can hardly mean this. They join in the uproar against Germany simply because this note has been struck, and take sides against that country without much concern, because New York, following London and Paris, has made it the fashion.

If England would starve us out, the Americans would find it an excellent procedure, because we do not deserve anything better, and if Germany takes precautions to prevent this, why it is a new piece of wickedness on her part, against which the sharpest protests must be made. Lord Rosebery said in a speech: the German-American wishes to direct America as the little Hindoo does the elephant on which he sits. The German-American desires only that America be impartial, while the English leader wants to direct the elephant on the wrong road, that it may help England tread down the enemy whom she cannot herself manage, and in so doing make possibly a dangerous false step.—From the "Continental Times," Berlin.

*Emphasized by the Editor of "War Echoes."

A REPLY TO MR. WELLS.

From "The Chicago Tribune," August 29, 1912.

St. Paul, Minn., Aug. 30.—[Editor of The Tribune.]—I have read the article by Mr. H. G. Wells with mingled feelings of amusement and contempt. Such insolent articles on the part of contemporary English writers have been a strong contributory cause of the present war; they have bred in Germany a national distrust of England. According to Mr. Wells, the *conditio sine qua non* of world peace is the destruction of Germany, Germany reduced to the status of Spain, without commerce, without navy, without ambition. Surely, a difficult proposition for 98,000,000 Germans to believe.

Let us look at the motive for England's position. Germany's combined export and import trade has increased from 1880, when it was $1,429,025,000, to $4,019,072,250 in 1910. In 1900 the Hamburg-American line had twenty-six steamers, in 1914, 170. The increase in tonnage

of the North German Lloyd was slightly less. In 1900 the tonnage of warships was 152,000; in 1914 it was 1,105,000. Germany's commerce grew, to some extent, at the expense of England's. Where once the latter traded unmolested she now faces keen competition backed by scientific training, and she is steadily losing ground throughout the world.

Be frank about it Mr. Wells, and do not babble in ambiguous terms; you have set out, in time approved, true English fashion, to crush a dangerous rival, with the help of France, Russia, Belgium and Japan, for the sake of trade and nothing else.

Mr. Wells would have us believe that all the evil in this world is centered in Berlin, and all the virtues in Downing street, the same Downing street that crushed the brave Boers for the possession of the Kimberley mines, and compelled China, at the point of the bayonet to foster the opium habit among her people for the sake of dividends payable at London. I shudder at the thought of an English ruled world; there would be much hymn singing and much selling of goods in between. He condemns Kruppism, but has nothing to say about Armstrongism.

Let us look at these German savages at closer range; there are 15,000,000 of them in our midst engaged in all sorts of occupations. What is their cultural mission in our body politic? They have brought with them their traditions from the fatherland; law-abiding, a high standard of education, love for home life, thrift, and frugality. They are the kind that have developed our marvelous west; they have fought and shed their blood in the civil war for a united America, while English men of war stood off the coast giving succor to the South; they have given us educators, statesmen, bankers, and merchant princes. Of late they do not come to our shores any longer; instead of it we are getting the bedfellows of the English—the Russian, the Servian, the Croatian and Armenian, and the Japanese.

Let us preserve our spirit of fairness in this severe trial of the Teutonic race and not be hoodwinked by high sounding, hypocritical phrases by paid word mongers as to why England stirred up the present trouble.

JOHANN FRICKMANN,
Civis Americanus.

ON THE FENCE

Nations With Very Vital Interests

IN REFERENCE TO THE GERMAN-AUSTRIAN-ITALIAN ALLIANCE

Turkey, Bulgaria, Italy

In Regard to the British-French-Russian Alliance

Japan, Portugal, Roumania, Greece

Italy and the War—An Ally, Neutral, Belligerent

LET AMERICA BE NEUTRAL.

Editorial from "The Irish World," New York, September 12, 1914.

The course for the United States to adopt during the present upheaval in Europe is clear. It should be one of the strictest neutrality. Our first duty is to our own country. Loyalty to it imperatively demands that we adhere strictly to the sage advice of Washington in regard to foreign entanglements. There is an element in the United States that would have us disregard the policy outlined by him. Andrew Carnegie and those co-operating with him, would be pleased if we arrayed ourselves on England's side in the international war that is now devastating Europe. That part of the American press that is under their influence has taken sides openly with England and is now engaged in disseminating the most shameless lies about the countries with which she is at war.

It is not difficult to divine the motives that have prompted our pro-British organs to pursue this course. They aim at creating a body of public opinion, which, they hope, eventually will be strong enough to drag the country into the European war in the interest of England. One of them, the New York "Times," last Tuesday placed before its readers an article headed "War on Germany," which had been cabled to it from London by Professor W. G. Hale of the Chicago University. The Professor, by the way, is one of Carnegie's peace advocates. His idea of promoting the cause of peace is for the United States to make an immediate declaration of war against Germany. "The United States," he says, "should immediately declare war on Germany as the violator of the Hague agreements."

No time is to be lost. We are to adopt the English view of the charges against Germany and hasten to take our stand by the side of "the Mother Country." Here is the manner in which this peace advocate of the Carnegie brand rebukes us for hesitating about plunging America into the horrors of war: "We should take our part in the great struggle instead of smugly sitting by while the world's work is done by other nations. Even Germany would then know that her plot against humanity had been both judged and doomed."

The pro-British organ which publishes this stuff has a leading editorial in the same issue entitled "Our Answer to Germany," in which it states that England, France and Russia have taken up arms in defense of "political ideals," as against designs which "we hold in abhorrence." Then assuming, with the customary modesty of an Anglomaniac organ, to speak for the American people it says: "This is the answer we make to Germany. It expresses the beliefs and the feelings of the whole American people, save only some of those whose judgment is subject to the natural influence of ties of kindred."

In the quotations we have placed before our readers we have evidence of the desire of the pro-British element to involve this country in the terrible international tragedy that is unfolding itself at this moment. America should hold herself aloof from it. Those who directly or indirectly favor her participation in it should be regarded as traitors to the land that has the first claim on their allegiance.

We are reprinting two articles by "The Tribune's" war correspondents, Mr. Bennett and Mr. Patterson, which should convince even the most skeptical and prejudiced that there is absolutely no base or foundation for the terrible accusations which have been made against the German army. Consult the index for "German Atrocities Fiction So Far As Tribune Men in Belgium Can Find," and "Bennett Gives New Light on German Spirit." —The Publisher of "War Echoes."

THE HOLY WAR

Herman Ridder.

Under the heading "The Holy War" the New York Times indulges in an editorial comedy which attempts to reconcile the attitude of the Times in its firm opposition to Russia over a period of many years with its present Russian partisanship. The Times maintains that the best solution of the present position is to crush Germany and Austria, thereby forcing an alliance after the war between Russia, Germany and Austria! ! ! ! What rot! Finally the Times combines the Romanoff, the Hapsburg and the Hohenzollern dynasties and throws them all overboard together. Does the Times want to still further restrict the territory in Europe open to a number of our alien citizens? I have seen in the course of my journalistic experiences many newspaper changes of front, but I have never expected to live to see the day when the Times under its present management would be a supporter of Russia.

"* * * The world is fighting Germany. Civilized Europe is calling on uncivilized Africa and Asia to wipe out the Teutonic empires. Strangely enough, a part of public opinion in America, stimulated by a powerful press, apparently favors the Allies. Sometimes, in the seclusion of my study, I ponder on this question: Am I less American because my sympathies are roused when the odds are six to two? Am I the less American because I am thrilled when a young, vigorous empire defies the world to crush her? Why is it that I find something heroic and stirring where others remain cold and unsympathetic? Wherein lies the difference in their point of view and mine? Is there no compromise ground upon which we can meet in thorough accord and harmony?"—Herman Ridder, in the "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung."

THE WITHDRAWAL OF ITALY FROM THE "TRIPLE" ALLIANCE.

New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, New York.

Herman Ridder.

The withdrawal of Italy from the Triple Alliance at a time when its offensive and defensive provisions called upon her to go to the assistance of Germany and Austria has been variously interpreted and justified in this country and abroad. A great deal of ingenious casuistry has been displayed in the discussion of the pros and cons of Italy's position. It has no doubt served its purpose of further befuddling the brains of those whose minds were already made up that Italy should have waged common war with her allies or, on the contrary, that she was morally justified in seizing upon technicalities to free herself from the conditions of an alliance which had outlived its natural life. The wish has been father to the thought in both camps. Italy was perfectly justified in the attitude which she assumed, but her justification is not to be found in the alleged alteration of the conditions under which the Triple Alliance was formed nor in the loopholes which the Roman lawyers claim to have discovered in the documents by which it was created and renewed.

The conditions under which the Triple Alliance came into being have been set forth at length so often during the last three decades and a half, and more especially during the last two months that they can scarcely fail to have become known to most interested readers. When the Holy Roman Empire, which had given Europe the nearest approach to unity the continent had previously or has since experienced, came to an end, its component parts, for the moment left in utter chaos, began, by the laws of race attraction and adhesion, to unite along other lines. Out of this process of crystalization, among other political developments, came German Unification and Italian Unification. The laws which governed both movements and the conditions under which they operated were largely the same. The king of Prussia and Victor Emmanuel of Italy were actuated by the same motives, aimed at the same ideals and lived to congratulate each other on the realization of their dreams. But even before German Unity had become a fait accompli a bond of friendship between Italy and Prussia had been woven.

The struggle for unity in Italy was carried on not simply against internal opposition but also against the French, ardent in their support of the Papal States. It was further delayed and, but for Prussia, would have been prevented by Austria. A realization of this hopeless isolation from her immediate neighbors led Italy to propose an offensive and defensive alliance with Prussia. The treaty was signed on April 8, 1866. Shortly after war broke out between Prussia and Austria, and the recession of Venitia was the price offered by Austria to Italy for her withdrawal from the alliance with the enemy. Italy refused. She was everywhere beaten in the war, but Prussia carried the day for herself and her ally and the province of Venice was returned to Italy. The Italian states, no less than the States of Northern Germany, emerged from the war of 1866 one step further toward the goal of Unity. It remained, however, for another Prussian war to consumate the ideals of both.

After the battle of Mentana, in which Garibaldi's levies were cut to pieces by the French, Victor Emmanuel had written to Napoleon III: "The late events have suffocated every remembrance of gratitude in the heart of Italy. It is no longer in the power of the Government to maintain the alliance with France. The chassepot gun at Mentana has given it a fatal blow." The attitude of France remained unaltered, however; and it was not until the necessity arose of opposing the advance of the victorious legions of Prussia with every available soldier of France, that the French garrisons in Italy were called in. As the last French soldier filed out of Rome in 1870, Victor Emmanuel entered, and Italian Unity was achieved.

The Franco-Prussian War left Germany and Italy unified. The crop had been sown, but the harvest was yet to be reaped. Both countries were weary of war and longed for enduring peace, for only by peace could each develop intellectually, industrially and commercially as it aimed to do. With France disgruntled and Russia ever hungry and ever faithless, there was but one sure way of securing peace to Europe. It was Bismarck who forged the Triple Alliance, but he was supported no less enthusiastically in Rome than in Berlin. The Alliance was popular with all parties in Italy and remained so until the outbreak of the present war, with the possible exception of the irreconcilable Irredentists. It preserved the peace of Europe for over thirty years and under its influence Germany and Italy advanced from negligible group names to positions of first rank among the nations of the world.

The strength of the Triple Alliance lay in the fact that it was an offensive and defensive undertaking on the part of the three great states of Central Europe to hold the peace of the Continent against two nearly equally powerful nations lying on their flanks. It held France and Russia in check no less by the fact that it separated them than by the potential strength of the combined forces of the allies. It preserved the peace of Europe by offering war whenever any other power or combination of powers should choose to declare it. To say that it contemplated peace, without the possibility of having to fight for it, is absurd. The defensive alliance has yet to be written which does not regard preparation for the one as the surest means of maintaining the other. There is no discussion in the treaty of 1882 of those Utopian theories which had the run of a decade or so and came to a lamentable end when the Czar of Russia sent his famous wire to Belgrade on July 24th. The terms of the treaty were plain enough. They required that Italy join forces with Germany and Austria in the present war, just as during the whole life of the document they had required such service in the case of any European coalition against one or more of the allies. By every sane interpretation of the treaty Italy was called upon to throw her lot with those who for over thirty years had stood ready to do the same for her. And yet I say Italy was perfectly justified in declining to do so.

It is fatuous to contend that treaties are written for all time; that "there shall be perpetual peace and friendship" between or among the signatories is a fiction of speech. They are entered into by nations for present comfort, and, sometimes, for possible future gain. Italy wanted the potential fruits of the Triple Alliance as much as did Austria or Germany. She reaped her share of them. The time arrived, however, when Austria and Germany were lured into war by a powerful combination, the outcome of which was highly problematical. Italy had only an "entangling alliance" to draw her into it. She did the wise thing, and kept out. In doing so she consulted not her promises as they stood in black and white over the signatures of her plenipotentiaries, but her own present interests. These lay with peace rather than with war. The right of choice was given her by every rule of international conduct, historical and present, and she exercised it for the good of Italy. It is no longer possible to question profitably if the Russian bluff could not have been successfully called if Italy had taken a firm stand with her allies. She probably knew as well as they the extent to which Russian preparations had been carried and that the Bear of the North had at last made up his mind to strike.

The policy which Italy has pursued in standing aloof from her allies must be her answer to the alluring provinces dangled temptingly before her eyes by Russia and England. If it was war for Italy at all, it was war with and not against Austria and Germany. She tore up a treaty to save thousands of her sons and perhaps billions of her wealth, and even England, whose press is doing its best to tie another ally to England's stirrup leathers, should be able to see that these cannot now be bartered for a few square rods of territory. The hunger for land has not eaten so deep into the vitals of Italy as it has into those of the Briton.

I could conceive of no thinking man blaming Italy for the stand which she has taken were it not for the furor raised by self-righteous England and her sycophants in America over Germany's action in regard to Belgium. The two countries were brought face to face with treaties which it was not to their advantage to observe. In the case of Italy, observance of her treaty obligations meant the loss of men and dollars—enough, it is true, to warrant her in abrogating the obligation. In the case of Germany, it was a question of respecting an obsolete undertaking, the validity of which England herself had questioned and which she knew

Franch was prepared to violate, or of taking the steps necessary to the preservation of her national existence. Of the two countries, Germany was the least culpable. And yet Sir Edward Grey forced a reluctant nation into an unpopular war over this "scrap of paper"! England created Belgium to protect the British coast and trained Belgium to eat out of her hand. She cares no more for Belgian neutrality, or Belgian liberty as such, than she did for that of the South African Republic. She cares for "the smaller countries" only so long as she can control them and make them do her bidding. When they do this she likes them. She has often striven even to add to their number. During the War of the States no power in Europe was so solicitous for a small South and a small North as England. But when a friendly state, which has done England no more harm than to crave a place on the globe, finds that her existence depends upon advancing an army through Belgium, England rises in her wrath and waves a motheaten treaty in her face. And when this does not avail, declares against her a war of bayonets and Billingsgate.

Writes Guglielmo Ferrero:

"Belgium was the pretext for the war rather than the reason—the magnificent pretext offered by Germany to the party in England that had long been wanting war.* * *

"It is to be believed that even if Germany had not imprudently furnished England with that splendid pretext, England would have sought and found another."

FOLLY OF ENGLAND'S NEUTRALITY STAND.

Professing to Be the Friend of the Smaller Nations, the British Empire Disregards Many Treaty Obligations.

Reprinted from the "News of the War in Europe," supplied by "The Fatherland," New York.

Perfected criminology, criminal records of the police departments, an improved Bertillon system and the "morgue" of the large daily papers are a great handicap for the habitual criminals on their way to oblivion and fresh exploits. What these "aide-memoires" represent to the individual sinner the annals of history do represent to countries and governments. England's declaration of war on Germany came like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. What had happened? What have the Germans done to challenge the wrath of their British cousins? Why should England go to war against Germany? These questions were not asked by Germany alone, but by good, faithful British men, leading in public life, such as Lord Morley, Burns, the two retired members of the British Cabinet; Under Secretary of Education Trevelyan, also retired; Ramsay MacDonald, Stewart Houston Chamberlain, and others.

Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey, however, gave out that England's virtuous soul was indigant over Germany's breach of neutrality in Belgium. "England must constitute herself the natural protector of weak countries and people, as she had always been in the past," so they said. When this was said the world's clockwork stood still for a moment, silence reigned and everybody gasped for breath. But Satan smiled his smile for which he is so famous.

Let us turn on history's searchlight! It must undoubtedly show how England has protected the weak countries and how she has herself respected neutrality in the past.

On the 18th of August, 1759, Admiral de la Clue, the chief of the French squadron, and his Toulon fleet of seven vessels, on the way to Havre, were attacked by the British Admiral Boscawen and eighteen men-of-war in the neutral waters of Portugal. In spite of Portugal's efforts to protect her neutrality with the guns of her fortress at Lagos, in Algarve, the British paid no attention to her warnings, set the French fleet on fire and captured it—in the neutral territorial waters of Portugal, near Cape St. Vincent. Great Britain did not indemnify little Portugal, nor did she give back the captured vessels to France—she merely apologized, and that half-heartedly.

In 1793 two British men-of-war captured the French frigate "Modeste" in the neutral port of Genoa. This was a flagrant breach of neutrality, but England never restored her illegal prize, nor did she even apologize for the violation of Genoese territory.

In March, 1801, the British frigate "Squirrel" captured neutral Swedish ships in neutral Danish waters. At about the same time the British man-of-war "Achilles" captured French ships, also in the neutral waters of Denmark. No apologies were offered, no restitution made.

On the 2d of April, 1801, while every body was at peace, a strong British fleet division passed the Sound and entered the neutral port of Copenhagen, bombarding the city and destroying little Denmark's whole fleet.

In 1805 British men-of-war captured the boat "Anne" in the territorial waters of the United States.

In March, 1814, the British men-of-war "Phoebe" and "Cherub" attacked and destroyed the United States frigate "Essex," just outside the limits of the port of Valparaiso, in the neutral territorial waters of Chile.

In 1814 the American vessel "General Armstrong" was attacked and destroyed by British cruisers in the harbor of Fayal, in neutral Portuguese waters.

The case of the "Alabama," in 1862, which operated so successfully against the commercial navy of the Northern States, is too well known and requires no amplification beyond the fact that the Aribitration Court in Geneva, September 14, 1872, sentenced Great Britain for her breach of neutrality to a payment of $15,000,000 to be paid to the United States.

The same is true with reference to the "Florida" and "Shenandoah." These steamers chose for their field of action the stretch of sea between the Bahama archipelago and Bermuda and Melbourne and Hobson's Bay, respectively, for the purpose, which was immediately carried out, of going to the Arctic seas to attack American whaling vessels. The granting of coal supplies by Great Britain in quantities sufficient for such purposes constituted a flagrant breach of neutrality on the part of England.

MOBS IN ITALIAN CITIES CRY FOR WAR ON AUSTRIA.

War Minister, Friend of Triple Alliance, Said to Have Prepared Resignation.

From the "Chicago Examiner," September 17, 1914.

Rome, Sept. 16.—Mobs filled the streets today of the leading Italian cities crying "Down with Austria" and "War with the Kaiser." Troops were called out in many parts of the kingdom to repress the demonstrators, the police in most cases being found insufficient.

Despite the government's position of neutrality, the masses continue to cry for war with Austria, and the recovery of the Italian provinces, Tyrol and Istria, from the Austrian Empire.

It is again reported that the Marquis di San Guiliano, Minister of Foreign Affairs, is about to resign on account of ill health. The foreign office denies the report, but it is learned on good authority that the resignation actually has been tendered. The Marquis has been regarded by popular opinion as favorable to the Triple Alliance, and during the popular demonstrations of the last few days there has been evidence of popular feeling against him. Should the Marquis resign, Premier Salandro will take over the foreign office for the time being.

The fear is openly expressed in semi-official circles that unless the government accedes to the popular demand revolution will follow. It is maintained also that should Austria and Germany prove victorious in the war against the Triple Entente, without the assistance of Italy, the latter would be punished after the close of hostilities for her desertion of the Triple Alliance. For this reason the belief is growing that the safest thing for Italy to do is to aid France, Great Britain and Russia to make the strength of the Teutonic Empire's opponents greater.

We have heard it so often that we have come to believe it true, that the people in a country never want war; they are dragged into it by their rulers. And so we assume that the mobs in Italian cities who are clamoring for war with Austria are composed of kings and princes, dukes and counts, cabinet ministers, and other high officials.—From "The Chicago Tribune," September 17, 1914.

THE HORIZON DARKENS

The Critical Hour

HOSTILE ACTS BEFORE A DECLARATION OF WAR

The Crisis is at Hand

The European Situation Has Come to Crisis
The Emperor's Speeches

WHO BEGAN THE WAR, AND WHY? THE CASE FOR GERMANY.

Speeches by Kaiser Wilhelm II. From the Balcony of the Palace, Berlin, July 31, 1914.

A fateful hour has fallen for Germany.

Envious peoples everywhere are compelling us to our just defense.

The sword is being forced into our hand. I hope that if my efforts at the last hour do not succeed in bringing our opponents to see eye to eye with us and in maintaining peace, we shall with God's help so wield the sword that we shall restore it to its sheath again with honor.

War would demand enormous sacrifices of blood and property from the German people, but we should show our enemies what it means to provoke Germany.

And now I commend you to God. Go to church. Kneel down before God and pray for His help for our gallant Army.

ON VICTORY NEAR METZ.

From Cabinet Order of Wilhelm II., Published in Berlin, Aug. 23.

The mobilization and concentration of the army is now complete, the German railways having carried out the enormous transport movements with unparalleled certainty and punctuality. With a heart filled with gratitude my first thoughts turn to those who since 1870-71 have worked quietly upon the development of an organization which has emerged from its first serious test with such glorious success. To all who have co-operated with them I wish to express my imperial thanks for their loyal devotion to duty in making possible in obedience to my call the transportation of armed masses of German troops against my enemies. The present achievement [near Metz] convinces me that the railways of the country will be equal to the heaviest demands that might be made upon them during the course of the gigantic struggle in which we are engaged for the future of the German Nation.

THE GERMAN EMPEROR

"I know no more parties, I know only Germany!"

THE SPIRIT OF THE MEN.

Kaiser's Telegram from Dresden to the King of Saxony, Oct. 2.

I am very glad to be able to send you the best reports of the Nineteenth Army Corps and the Twelfth Reserve Corps. I visited yesterday the Third Army and greeted especially the brave 181st Regiment, to which I expressed my recognition. I found your third son and your brother Max as well as Laffert and Kirchbach in the best of health. The spirit among the men is splendid. With such an army we shall be able to complete victoriously the rest of our difficult task. To this end may the Almighty stand by us.

WILHELM.

TO THE GERMAN ARMY AND NAVY.

Proclamation by Kaiser Wilhelm II.

After three and forty years of peace, I call the men of Germany to arms.

It has become necessary to protect our most sacred possessions, the Fatherland, our very hearths against ruthless destruction.

Enemies on every hand! That is the situation. A mighty struggle, a great sacrifice confronts us.

I trust that the old spirit of battle still lives on in the German people, that powerful spirit of battle which grapples with the foe wherever it meets it, be the cost what it may, which has ever been the terror and fear of our enemies.

Soldiers of Germany, in you I place my trust! In each one of you lives the passionate will to conquer, which nothing can subdue. Each one of you knows, if need be, how to die a hero's death.

Remember our great and glorious past!

Remember that you are Germans!

God help us!

WILHELM.

Berlin, Schloss, Aug. 6, 1914.

"UP AND AT THE FOES."

Kaiser's Farewell Speech to First Regiment of Foot Guards at Potsdam.

I draw the sword that with God's help I have kept all these years in the scabbard. I have drawn the sword, which without victory and without honor I cannot sheath again. All of you will see to it that only in honor is it returned to the scabbard. You are my guarantee that I can dictate peace to my enemies. Up and at the foes, and down with the enemies of Brandenburg!

Read "The Withdrawal of Italy from the Triple Alliance," printed on another page.—The Publisher of "War Echoes."

TO THE FRONT

Note the congenial and yet dignified aspect of the group; they feel the Spirit of Patriotism to a high degree, but the thought that many may never return must also be there!

"TO THE LAST BREATH OF MAN AND HORSE."

Proclamation by Kaiser Wilhelm II.

The New York Times.

Since the foundation of the empire it has been for forty-three years the object of the efforts of myself and my ancestors to preserve the peace of the world and to advance by peaceful means our vigorous development. But our adversaries were jealous of the successes of our work. There has been latent hostility on the east and on the west and beyond the sea. It was borne by us till now, as we were aware of our responsibility and power. Now, however, these adversaries wish to humiliate us, asking that we should look on with crossed arms and watch our enemies preparing themselves for a coming attack. They will not suffer that we maintain resolute fidelity to our ally who is fighting for its position as a great power and with whose humiliation our power and honor would equally be lost. So the sword must decide.

In the midst of perfect peace the enemy surprises us. Therefore to arms! Any dallying, any temporizing would be trifling with the empire which our fathers founded; to be or not to be, is the question for the empire which our fathers founded. To be or not to be is the question for German power and German existence. We shall resist to the last breath of man and horse, and shall fight out the struggle even against a world of enemies. Never has Germany He was with our ancestors!*

Berlin, Aug. 6. WILHELM.

*A few changes have been made in this speech to improve the translation.—The Editor of *War Echoes.*

Speech of Kaiser at a Parade During Swift German Advance Toward Paris.

Comrades: I have gathered you around me here in order to take joy with you in the glorious victory which our comrades have in several days of hot battle won with their swords. Troops out of every nook and cranny of the empire helped one another in invincible bravery and unshakable loyalty to win great results. There stood together under the leadership of the son of the Bavarian King and fought, with equal blades, troops of all ages, active, reservists, and *landwehr.*

For our victory we are thankful, in the first place, to our eternal God *(unserem alten Gott).* He will not desert us, since we stand for a holy cause. Many of our comrades have already fallen in battle. They died as heroes for the Fatherland. We will think of them with honor here, and shout to the honor of those still in the field. Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!

We still have many a bloody battle before us. Let us hope for further successes like this. We shall not relent, and we shall get to the enemy's hide. We shall not lose our faith and trust in our constant, eternal God above *(unserem guten alten Gott dort oben).* We are determined to win and we must win.

FORGIVES ENEMIES.

Wilhelm's Speech from the Balcony of the Palace, Berlin, Aug. 2.

I thank you for the love and loyalty shown me. When I enter upon a fight let all party strife cease. We are German brothers and nothing else. All parties have attacked me in times of peace. I forgive them with all my heart. I hope and wish that the good German sword will emerge victorious in the right.

SPEECH FROM THE THRONE.

Kaiser Wilhelm II., Opening Special Session of the Reichstag in White Room of the Royal Palace, Berlin, Aug. 4.

Honored Sirs: It is in an hour fraught with fate that I have assembled about me all the representatives of the German people. For almost half a century we have been able to keep to the path of peace. The attempts to attribute a warlike temperament to Germany and to circumscribe its position in the world have often put to severe tests the patience of our people. With unswerving honesty, my Government, even in provoking circumstances, has pursued as its highest aim the development of all moral, spiritual, and economic powers. The world has been witness how tirelessly we strove in the first rank during the pressure and confusion of the last few years to spare the nations of Europe a war between the great powers.

The very grave dangers which had arisen owing to the events in the Balkans appeared to have been overcome, but then the murder of my friend, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, opened up a great abyss. My high ally, the Emperor and King Francis Joseph, was compelled to take up arms to defend the security of his empire against dangerous intrigues from a neighboring State. In the pursuit of her proper interests the Dual Monarchy has found her path obstructed by the Russian Empire. Not only our duty as an ally calls us to the side of Austria-Hungary, but on us falls also the mighty task of defending the ancient community of culture of the two kingdoms and our own position in the world against the attack of hostile powers. With a heavy heart I have been compelled to mobilize my army against a neighbor with whom it has fought side by side on so many fields of battle. With sincere sorrow I saw a friendship broken of which Germany had given faithful proofs. The Imperial Russian Government, yielding to the pressure of an insatiable nationalism, has taken sides with a State which by encouraging criminal attacks has brought on the evil of this war. That France, also, placed herself on the side of our enemies could not surprise us. Too often have our efforts to arrive at friendlier relations with the French Republic come in collision with old hopes and ancient malice.

Honored Sirs: What human insight and power could do to arm a people against the last extremities has been done with your patriotic help. The hostility which has been smouldering for a long time in the East and in the West has now burst into bright flames. The present situation did not proceed from transient conflicts of interest or diplomatic entanglements, it is the result of an ill will which has for many years been active against the strength and the prosperity of the German Empire. We are not incited by lust for conquest, we are inspired by the unyielding determination to keep for ourselves and all future generations the place which God has given us.

From the proofs which have been given you, you will see how my Government, and especially my Chancellor,

strove up to the last moment to avert the worst. We grasp the sword in compulsory self-defense, with clean hands and a clean conscience.

To the peoples and races of the German Empire my call goes forth to defend with all their strength and in brotherly co-operation with our ally that which we have created by peaceful labor. After the example of our fathers, firmly and faithfully, sincerely and with chivalry, humbly before God and battling joyfully before the enemy, let us place our trust in the eternal omnipotence, and may He strengthen our defense and bring it to a good end!

To you, honored sirs, the whole German people, assembled about its Princes and its leaders, look this day. Make your decision unanimously and quickly. That is my heartfelt wish.

Gentlemen (addressing the Deputies directly): You have read what I said to my people the other day from the balcony of my castle. I repeat now that I no longer know any parties. I know that you are firmly resolved without only Germans. And in order to testify distinction of party to stand by my side through danger and death, I call upon the leaders of the different parties in this House to come forward and lay their hands in mine as a pledge.

FIRST SUCCESSFUL BATTLE.

Telegram from Kaiser Wilhelm II. to Chief of Troops in Upper Alsace, Aug. 15.

Grateful to God, Who was with us. I thank you and your troops for the first victory. Please convey to all the troops which took part in the fight my imperial thanks in the name of the Fatherland.

YOUR CHIEF WAR CAPTAIN.

"THE WORLD" (NEW YORK) FOR THE CZAR

The "New York Herald's" London Correspondent Declares the Kaiser Exhausted All Means of Peace.

"England has tried consistently to secure peace," declared Sir Edward Grey.

"Every Anglo-Saxon heart throughout the world rejoices that it is so and that the blame for the most colossal crime ever committed against civilization will rest for all time where it belongs." — New York World.

We can feel—yes, we can hear—the gallant Anglo-Saxon heart of the Pulitzer Estate throbbing with patriotic ardor.

The New York Herald possibly is equally patriotic in the cause of the Anglo-Saxon, but if so it is not getting the right news from London. The World is answered in a remarkable statement by a London correspondent which appeared on the first page of the Herald August 4, and extract the following passages:

"But it is not the war on Servia that is bringing about this catastrophe incalculable. It was merely the war on Servia that supplied the spark which set in motion those irresistable forces which are dragging five of the greatest nations in the world into a war of annihilation * * * *

"The Kaiser up to the very last moment almost went down on his knees to Russia to induce her to desist from her mobilization. The dramatic story of the final interview between the German Ambassador and the Russian Minister of foreign affairs shows that again and again the request was made, and it was made at the very time that King George was urging the same thing. Thus two royal cousins up to the fifty-ninth minute of the twelfth hour used every influence at their command to put out the fire, but it had gone too far.

"Nothing then remained for the Emperor but to do literally the best he could. Since then the Imperial William, true to the traditions of his race, proceeded on the principle that the race is to the swift and the battle to the strong. The remarkable alacrity with which the German army has been mobilized, so that perhaps by this time one million and a half men are in the field, is one of the marvels of military operations."

We think this answers the great Anglo-Saxon World better than any thing directly from the editorial pen of this journal.—From "The Fatherland," New York, August 10, 1914.

A PRAYER FOR VICTORY.

By the Kaiser's Order to Supreme Council of the Evangelical Church —To Be Included in the Liturgy Throughout the War.

Almighty and merciful God! God of the armies! We beseech Thee in humility for Thy almighty aid for our German Fatherland. Bless the entire German war force, lead us to victory, and give us grace that we may show ourselves to be Christians toward our enemies as well. Let us soon arrive at the peace which will everlastingly safeguard our free and independent Germany!

FOURTH CHAPTER

EVOLUTION BY THE LAW OF WAR

IDEALS, PROGRESS, AND THE FIRST LAW OF NATURE
LIFE—AN ETERNAL COMPETITION

THE WESTERN CAMPAIGN
BELGIUM AND FRANCE THE BATTLEGROUND

Germany's Geographic Position among her Neighbors
Consequent Strategic Movements of Vast Importance of the German Armies

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THE EASTERN CAMPAIGN—RUSSIA

The Second Colossal Military Move—According to the German Strategic Plans
The Seriously Threatening Enemy in the East—Galicia and East Prussia
The "Bear" Must Save Us!

ITALY IN THE GREAT WAR
THE STREET PULLS ITALY OFF THE FENCE

Italy's Harvests from her Sowing as an Ally, a Neutral, a Belligerent
Italy Behold the Text: As ye sow, so shall ye also reap!
The Bone of Contention—Adriatic Provinces

MODERN NAVAL WARFARE
BATTLE SHIPS, CRUISERS, SUBMARINES

Cutting the German Cable and Capturing the Enemy's Merchant Marine
"The German Submarine will Win the War"

AERIAL WARFARE
ZEPPELINS, AEROPLANES, HYDRO-AEROPLANES

The Use and Effectiveness of Air-craft in the War
International Law on the Use of Aerial Weapons and Present Necessities

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PRESS ROOM CAMPAIGNS AT HOME AND ABROAD
WITH MAGNIFICENT FIRST LINE FORCES AND PLENTY OF DUM-DUMS!

The Pen is now indeed Mightier than the Sword—especially in England and France
How Strange!

THE WESTERN CAMPAIGN

BELGIUM AND NORTHERN FRANCE THE BATTLEGROUND

The German Position among her Neighbors
Consequent Strategic Movements of the German Armies
Especially during the First Month of the War

GERMANY IN THE GREAT WAR

What it means to wage War on so large a scale against so many Enemies

Some Categorical Questions answered by the Imperial German Ambassador to the United States

Concerning the Use of Weapons in Modern Warfare

Especially the Submarine and Airship

INTRODUCTION

COUNT VON BERNSTORFF

Imperial German Ambassador to the United States

GERMANY AND THE GREAT WAR.

The Independent, New York. The Imperial German Ambassador.

In order that the American people may have an opportunity of hearing the German side of the case from an official source, "The Independent" has asked Count J. H. von Bernstorff to reply to certain questions which have been much discussed in the press, and he has kindly consented to do so. The public will appreciate the frankness and definiteness with which he answers our queries.—The Editor.

Did Germany approve in advance the Austrian ultimatum to Servia?

Yes. Germany's reasons for doing so are the following: For six years Servia has been the outpost of Pan-Slavism against Austria. The principle of Pan-Slavism is the assumption that Russia is the protector of the Slav nations. This makes it clear to everybody who looks into the question that Pan-Slavism means the destruction of Austria, which is half Slav. Austria bore patiently for years the undermining campaign of the Pan-Slavic party, which was carried on in Austria. But the assassination of the Crown Prince brought her patience to a sudden end. It is believed by many people in the United States that Servia accepted all, or nearly all, of Austria's demands. In reality she did not accept the most important one, namely, that of issuing to the officers of the Servian army an official condemnation of Pan-Slavic propaganda and of the assassination of the Crown Prince. Now it has been proved that the assassination of the Crown Prince was prepared and arranged by Servian officers. He was shot with a Servian army revolver.

Could not Germany after the Austrian ultimatum was delivered have prevented Austria from precipitating the war?

If the Servian war is meant, the answer is that Austria could not possibly be kept back from going to war with Servia after her patience had been so overtaxed. I ask any American whether he thinks the American people would not have started war with Mexico immediately if during the Mexican troubles Huerta had hired assassins to kill the Vice-President of the United States? How would the reader answer this question? All European governments, with the exception of Russia, tried to localize the war between Servia and Austria. But then Russia, on Pan-Slavic principles, said she had to defend Servia. Germany did its utmost to prevent a universal war. When asked by Russia to induce Austria to make concessions, she prest Austria as far as she possibly could within the bounds of her friendship and alliance. Thereupon Austria made the greatest possible concessions, and promised absolutely to regard and uphold the integrity of the Servian kingdom. This concession was transmitted by the German Government to the Russian Government. No other answer was sent except the mobilization of the whole Russian army against Germany and Austria. Thereupon the German Government asked the Russian Government why they were mobilizing their whole army against Germany and Austria. Germany has not received the answer to this question to this day. Instead of an answer Russian troops crost the German frontier. The first Russian prisoners of war were taken before any declaration of war was made. After this act the German Government informed the Russian Government that they considered themselves in a state of war with Russia, and the rest followed as a consequence of the existing alliances in Europe.

What is the justification for the violation of the Belgian neutrality to which Germany was a party?[1]

The violation of Belgian neutrality is an action which is universally regretted in Germany. But it was considered an absolute military strategical necessity. If Germany had entered France by the routes of Metz and Strassbourg, the French army would have entered Belgian and fallen on our right flank. We had absolutely reliable information that this intention existed in the French army. We were absolutely sure that Belgium would not be able to defend her neutrality against France, and would probably not even be willing to do so, as her fortresses had all been built against Germany and not against France. Furthermore, on the first day of the war, French motor

[1]Read here: "What Belgian Neutrality Really Means," reprinted on another page.—Editor.

LEADERS OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE

cars with French officers past through Belgian to reconnoiter in Germany without being stopped by Belgian authorities. Equally French aeroplanes flew over Belgium without being stopt and bombarded German cities. Our information about the French army was furthermore corroborated by the fact that English generals visited Brussels in the spring at the time when the coalition was preparing for war against us. The governments of the coalition cannot suppose that we do not know that during the visit of King George to Paris, the military negotiations were going on between England, France and Russia for the purpose of a joint attack against Germany.[2]

Is not the dropping of shells without warning from an airship upon cities like Antwerp and Paris a violation of civilized warfare?

I am rather surprised at the words "without warning" in this question, because I do not see how a fortress, which is prepared for an attack in a country which is at war, should be without warning if it were attacked at any minute. The warning for every fortress in the country is the beginning of the war. I can only say that in our fortresses on the frontier, women and children were sent away on the very first oubreak of the war. As long as there has been war in the world, fortresses have always been bombarded. Whether they are bombarded from the air or from cannon on land is simply a technical detail.[3]

Is not the destruction of the historic edifices and library at Louvain an act of vandalism?

To begin with I doubt whether the historic edifices and library at Louvain have been destroyed. But if they should have been, the responsibility rests solely with the population of Louvain, and the act of vandalism, if there has been one, has been perpetrated also solely by that population. The facts of the case are the following: One battalion of German troops was left in charge of the city, and of the communications of the army. They were not in line, but dispersed in the city. The priests of the city, thinking that the German army had retired, distributed arms among the civilian population and our soldiers were shot unawares. The principle of civilized warfare is based on the assumption that only the soldiers of a country shall fight against the soldiers of the other country, but that civilians, women and children shall never join in the combat.[4] To maintain these principles severe punishment has always been inflicted upon any population that joins in the fight, and I do not refrain for one moment from saying that they deserve it. In this special case, however, the German soldiers who were attacked by the people of Louvain were mutilated, and treated with acts of beastial cruelty. If the returning troops with these facts before their eyes burnt down many houses of the city, I do not see how they can be blamed.

What is the Slavic peril? And why should Germany fear it more than England or France?

Germany does not fear the Slavic peril at all. However the existence of Austria as a great power has always been considered of vital interest to Germany because it keeps our flank covered. Furthermore it must not be forgotten that the alliance between Germany and Austria is quite a different kind of alliance than any of those among the powers who have formed a coalition against us. Austria and Germany have belonged together for a thousand years, and every fight between them has been regarded by both nations as a civil war. Historic developments since 1866 have changed the aspect of Austria and have formed a dual monarchy between Austria and Hungary. Austria is now half a Slav state and as such cannot permit the pretensions of Russia to be the protector of the Slavs. England and France are now fighting for Russia's purposes. Why they do so they will have to answer for themselves.

Would the purchase by the United States of the German merchant ships of New York harbor be a violation of neutrality?

According to my opinion, No. Because our shipping companies are absolutely private business undertakings without any interference of the Government. If, furthermore, these companies are, as the American Government has stated, not to receive payment until after the war, I cannot see how the purchase of these ships can in any way help Germany. The opposition to these plans seems to me to come simply from the wish to prevent the United States from having a mercantile marine. England has joined our enemies for the chief purpose of getting our trade. It would naturally gain nothing even if England did win the war if their trade were taken by the United States.

What do you think of the employment of African and Asiatic troops in an European war?

I condemn it unconditionally.[5]

In conclusion I may say that it is one of the fundamental errors of American newspapers that this is a war of kings. Most emphatically is it a war of the German people. Do not be deceived about it. Every man who doubts this is fundamentally at error. I read all sorts of things about "the kings' war," but God knows it is the people's war. The absolute feeling of the German people was that the Emperor waited as long as possible, if anything that he waited at least two days too long. If any proof is needed for this statement look at the attitude of the leaders of the German Social Democrats, who are loyally supporting the Emperor. See how different it is in Russia where the Poles are in revolution; in England where the leader of the Labor group said that it was not a people's war and the government had not done enough to prevent it. The leader of the Social Democrats in Germany said: "We hate war, but since the German nation has been attacked we will stand up like one man against the autocrat who attacked us."

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[2]On another page read: "Belgium Neutrality a Myth, Says Embassy."—Editor.

[3]If interested, read: "A Strange Set of Saints" in War Echoes.—Editor.

[4]As the question involved the killing from ambuscade of German barbarians, the strong pro-British "Chicago Herald" eulogizes the Belgian civilians in an editorial entitled "The Right to Defend Your Home," which we are reprinting in full on another page.—Editor.

[5]In order to appreciate how circumstances alter cases, you should read "But This Was To Be a White Man's War" reprinted on another page.—Consult the index.—Editor.

If no news is good news the European press censors are certainly apostles of optimism.—From the "New York American."

With the German Army and the German People In France and Belgium

TRIBUNE GIVES NEW LIGHT ON GERMAN SPIRIT.

Finds People Confident and Learns English are Being "Jollied" and Deceived—Personal Letter.

The Chicago Tribune.

The following personal letter from Mr. Bennett to the editor of THE TRIBUNE *is so remarkable that it is presented in full.*

Before there was mention of war Mr. Bennett was sent to London to be THE TRIBUNE'S *correspondent in England. At the outbreak of war he, the only* TRIBUNE *man near the seat of action, was cabled to proceed to the firing line. Since the German occupation of Brussels he has been entirely in German surroundings.*

THE TRIBUNE *does not support or decry his views. They are startling and the American people are entitled to read them.*

By James O'Donnell Bennett.

(War Correspondent of The Tribune.)

AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, Germany, Sept. 12.—Undoubtedly you have pictures of all the notables in this set (portraits of German military leaders printed on this page) but the portraits seemed to me so well executed that they might make a welcome change from the routine of photographs.

Tomorrow John McCutcheon and I shall have been in Aix just two weeks. In that time we have sent off many thousands of words to The Tribune—John about 20,000; I about 14,000. My first letter was 6,000 on our inability to verify stories of German atrocities; my second over 6,000 on the state of feeling, illustrated by numerous incidents, in North Germany. John said my letter on non-atrocities probably would create a sensation in America.

Matter Ready for Boat.

I have a big batch of descriptive matter under way for next Saturday's boat from Rotterdam to America.

In addition to the two long articles which I mailed I have also sent a 1,000 word cable by post to the Commercial cable office in London to be put on the wire there to you.

Whether the English censor will let it pass I much doubt, because, judging by the London papers we have seen and by the extracts which I enclose from a letter from Mrs. Bennett, England is wild with apprehension and stuffed with lies.

Germans Feel Confident.

The best of writers could hardly convey to you the sense of order, confidence and satisfaction existing in Germany. And, in view of what we have seen and heard in Germany, it would be difficult to exaggerate the madness of English newspapers in their policy of trying to jolly the English public into a belief that the Germans are being thrown back.

In the face of these "German reverses," Germany is constantly sending more men (thousands upon thousands of them) by train through Aix to the front.

FIRST AID

German Red Cross Surgeons giving "First Aid" to a wounded Comrade, just found by the Canine Heroes of the war. The Dog again proves himself Man's Friend in the service of the Red Cross

Aix is absolutely serene. Manufacturers are even about to launch new building operations in this vicinity the day after tomorrow.

Not Allowed to Follow.

Meanwhile we are not allowed to go into France in the wake of German columns, because, say the military authorities, vast plans are making which must in no way be imperiled by the presence of outsiders.

Those plans may culminate at the end of next week, and then, according to assurances we have received, we may be allowed to go forward.

This chance seems to us worth waiting for. If it does not materialize at the end of the week there is nothing for us to do but return to England.

Extracts from Letters.

As to the kind of reception that may await me in England, you may judge from these extracts from Mrs. Bennett's letter received by me today from London. It is dated Monday, Sept. 7, and has been a week, lacking two days, in reaching me:

"My greatest anxiety lately has been that you would write something pro-German. That, as I understand the situation here, would get you into trouble with the English authorities upon your return. They simply will not have it, no matter how true it may be.

"I wrote you a long letter last week telling you of Mr. Heitkamp's arrest (Mr. Heitkamp is manager of the Curtis Brown bureau, which serves The Tribune from London) at the instigation of the war office. He was arrested on Thursday night and not released until Saturday afternoon.

"He was handled very roughly and allowed to communicate with no one—not even his wife. He just escaped penal servitude for life, and he still does not know what they so much objected to in what he had written.

Detectives Search Mail.

"When I went down for your mail at the Curtis Brown offices I found the room which you and Mr. Heitkamp occupy full of Scotland Yard men.

"They were going through Mr. Heitkamp's papers and they went through all his papers and letters at his home. And this happened to an American whose people have lived in America since the seventeenth century and whose daily work connects him with the American press.

"So you see, my dear, how useless it is to try to say anything for the Germans. The English simply won't allow it to be used, and one takes the risk of penal servitude.

"All this has terrified me for you. You have absolutely no chance. I felt so sorry for Mrs. Heitkamp. She was not allowed to see her husband.

"As I said, I wrote you all about this, but could not get the letter through, and have been nearly frantic over the possibility of their arresting you when you return to an English port if you have sent pro-German copy to The Tribune while you were in Germany.

Fear for Safety.

"My never knowing for so many days where you were and what had happened to you made it worse.

"Please realize how serious this is and be very careful as to what you write. It would gain you nothing if you tried to be fair, and the penalty is too great. You will be careful?

"This fear has been with me constantly since Mr. Heitkamp's arrest. Of

course, I think his foreign name and his Italian wife may have made a difference.

"The Scotland yard men asked me all about you and put it all down; so you are on the records. It was unfortunate I went for the mail that morning. I can't tell you how this terrifies me. . .

"Mr. Brown, by the way, was so frightened over Mr. Heitkamp's arrest and the possibility of his being involved himself that he stayed away from the office (he was down in Cornwall) and quite repudiated Mr. H. It was really very serious, evidently, and as I say, Mr. H. cannot see what he said to bring it on himself. . . .

"Do listen to what I say about writing anything pro-German. It will only react on you and do no good."

Believe What They Wish.

Mrs. Bennett's little sidelight on the state of feeling in London will interest you. It follows:

"I don't read the papers much, for I find them too disturbing, but I hear a good deal. The people believe what they want to believe, though I think that down in their hearts they know they are not getting the real state of affairs.

"Just the same, the other kind of thing buoys them up, and that is why it is done.

"You, I suppose, are seeing only the other side, aren't you? So be careful and unbiased. Loving England and the English as you do, it must be painful for you to have to think of its future as you do think. I hope you are wrong, and I know you must hope so, too."

Not Excitable Woman.

Thus I have given you the essentials of the young lady's letter. Of course, she may have gained an overwrought impression of the state of affairs, but she is not an ill-poised or excitable woman—quite the contrary.

In any case, even if I were so disloyal to the truth as to wish to act on her warning, that warning comes too late. By this time, in a 6,000 word article headed "The Solemn Truth,"* which should reach you in Chicago tomorrow (Sunday) night, and in a 7,000 word article headed "The System at Work," which went by the boat from Rotterdam this morning—in both those articles I have committed myself up to the neck.

May Be Deported.

If reports on those articles are sent back to the English authorities after the articles appear in The Tribune I may be ditched in England. They may deport me if I try to land there.

But a man who failed to write what I have seen and heard in Germany would be a dog.

I came to Germany anti-German. So did John. But London lies and German dignity and solidity have about brought me over to the German side.

If America thinks Germany is in the least frightened or if America thinks Germany has gone mad with blood-lust, then America has only surrendered to the most stupendous campaign of lies that has been launched from Europe since Napoleon made "false as a bulletin" a proverb.

If what we have seen means anything, the world is going to wake up soon to find a gigantic new world power in the saddle.

Troops Bound Southwest.

In view of our chance—indefinite as it is—of being allowed to follow a German column at the end of the coming week, it seems to us folly to leave here. Evidently something tremendous is on, for vast bodies of troops have been pushed through Aix by trains bound southwest within the last four days.

Just before that there had been a lull of several days—perhaps four—in the rush of trains. Then it was resumed with redoubled vigor.

You will say that we should have cabled the news of this movement. Well, there is no cable, we are told, connecting Germany with the outside world.

For a few days we could have cabled out of Holland, so far as governmental permission was concerned, but we could not have cabled "collect."

To cable, every correspondent would have to have a trunkful of gold with him to pay tolls. That is impossible.

Now we are forbidden to make the short trip into Holland, even to send personal cables.

Those which we send the American consul is so kind as to take for us. He is Robert Thompson, who worked on the Times in World's fair days. He has done all he can for John and me.

Meets Patterson in Aix.

Last Sunday night I had the pleasure of seeing Joseph Medill Patterson in Aix. He came up from Berlin under military escort with five other American correspondents and was permitted to view the forts at Liège.

He was much discouraged about the war correspondents' game, and says the jig is up, and that no armies will longer tolerate them.

He was so kind as to say, however, that if my anti-atrocities story, which should, as I said, reach you tomorrow evening, did get through to Chicago it would be worth the trip I had made from London.

The government did not ask us to make this statement. We made it partly for its news value and partly from a sense of outraged decency.

Certainly the Germans are getting a rotten deal from the rest of the world in the press reports of this war. I hope America will not be inflamed by those reports with the idea that it ought "in the name of humanity" to mix up in the trouble.

Reshaping of Europe.

All the men in the groups of Americans here have been convinced by a fortnight's observation with the troops on the countryside and with the citizens in this town that the situation involves nothing less than the reshaping of Europe by Teutonic hands. It is a new European empire swinging into being, and if Europe doesn't like it Europe will have to fight over the matter for the next five and twenty years.

To us the German ascendancy seems as inevitiable as sunrise tomorrow. God save us, but the system and the power behind the system are just incredible, and the spirit of the people is overpowering.

What Joe Patterson had seen had him talking last Sunday night in precisely the same strain I am writing tonight—a strain that may seem to you hysterical, but that is in truth very, very grave.

Would Be Held Up.

We are not sending any of our articles on the state of affairs in Germany by mail to the Commercial Cable in London, to be relayed to you by cable in London, because we think that, even if we stuck to the bare facts, the English censor would not let them through.

We can keep busy, and are keeping busy, writing our observations and sending them off by the weekly Rotterdam mail.

Willing to Face English.

Does this seem to you advisable. This letter will reach you in two weeks. Suppose I stay here until it does reach you, and that upon arrival of the letter in Chicago you cable me [care of the consul] what you think as to my returning to London and facing a row with the English authorities?

As to that prospect I am not frightened, but if I were jugged it might take a lot of fussing and cabling to get me out. That would waste both time and money.

If I leave Aix before the expiration of two weeks I shall cable you my wherebouts, though if I am permitted to follow the army I may not be able to give a destination.

In any event, I shall cable the fact of departure.

A VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS.

(Reprinted from "The Fatherland," New York, September 30, 1914.)

THE LEADER'S POSITION.

Many stories of alleged atrocities committed by the Germans in the European war are being circulated in America.

The "Leader" does not believe these stories to be true, and will not publish them.

The manner of life of the many Germans in this community gives the lie to any charge that the German people are barbarous. America has no better citizens than those of German birth.

No race of people surpasses the Germans in humanity, kindness of heart and consideration for those about them. It is impossible that the charges sent out against them could be true.

The "Leader" believes that the allegations of atrocities are baseless, and are issued merely to influence American opinion against the Germans.

Before the "Leader" prints any such stories they will have to be better authenticated than at present.

"Pittsburg Leader."

September 16, 1914.

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*This article was published by "The Chicago Tribune" in its issue of September 17 headed: "German Atrocities Fiction, So Far As Tribune Men in Belgium Can Find." "War Echoes" would be sadly incomplete without Mr. Bennett's 6,000-word article. We have therefore reprinted it in full on another page, and express the hope that if a copy of "War Echoes" ever reaches Mr. Bennett, he may see herein a small expression of our deep appreciation of his moral courage for having dared to write the truth and thus "committed himself up to the neck." We most sincerely hope that Mrs. Bennett's fears will not materialize.—Editor.

LUNCH TIME OF THE GERMAN ARMY
Note the uniformly orderly and serious, yet pleasant aspect of the men
(Photograph by the International News Service)

A WEEK WITH VON KLUCK;

Or How They Brought the Good News from the Aisne to Hand.

By Siegfried Jacobsohn in "The Fatherland," New York, October 28, 1914.

Monday—from Paris.

Von Kluck's army is annihilated!!!
The victory cannot be overrated.
It was a terrible, deadly strife;
Not a single German ascaped with his life,
In one word, as already stated,
Von Kluck and his men are annihilated.

Tuesday—from London.

The victory we won was glorious!
On the whole line we were victorious.
The enemy's General Von Kluck
Had to give in to British pluck!
Therefore to us his sword he tendered
And he and all his men surrendered.

Wednesday—from Rome.

The final decision of this campaign
Was yesterday reached on the River Aisne;
A movement on the British right
Put the left wing of the foe to flight,
The Germans are beaten, pursued and hounded,
Von Kluck's army is now surrounded.

Thursday—from Copenhagen.

The British Embassy indorses
The following news: The Allied forces
Have beaten the brutal invaders back,
Pursuing the fleeing in their track.
The beaten foe—Von Kluck in the lead—
Are running away with the greatest speed.

Friday—from Paris.

We hold a fortified position,
And now expect the final decision.
Von Kluck's onslaughts on the Allies
Have cost the. Germans an awful price
But our defence is still unshaken,
Our fortified hills cannot be taken.

Saturday—from Berlin via Wireless to Sayville, L. I.

The army of General Von Kluck won a decisive victory on the Aisne over the combined French and English forces. About forty thousand prisoners and five hundred guns fell into our hands. The enemy is in full retreat and pursued by our cavalry.

VON STEIN,
General Quartermaster.

LONDON LETTER.

By Shan F. Bullock in the Friday Literary Review of "The Chicago Evening Post," October 9, 1914.

London, Sept. 29.—Were I a philosopher—not of the Bergson type, but rather of the Anatole France sort—and had the necessary time and energy, I should write a book on the Humors of Rumor. Practically, we have been living—that is, so far as mental and moral sustenance are concerned—for weeks now on many inventions. From time to time, of course, we have had doled out to us the crumbs that fell from the press bureau table, and, to give our authorities justice, they have never been slow to douche us with black, naked truth; but in the awful stress of events what we poor humans needed was food for our hungry imaginations. The old war correspondents used to supply that in liberal doses; now they are gone with the fine old times when armies, instead of fighting in absurd 250-mile line formations that retired this way for a hundred miles and then advanced the same way fifty miles; when instead of such athletic exercises they met on a decent-sized field in solid bodies

and gloriously hammered each other for as long as they had endurance. But our needs being still the same—nay, more, in those days of light and swiftness—we have had lately to keep ourselves alive by supplying our own inventions.

How the Nation Spoofed Itself.

Now that it is all over, some of our critics are talking about the great Russian movement by way of Archangel, Leith, the English North Sea coast and Ostend, as the most stupendous newspaper spoof in journalistic history. Nothing of the sort. It was a spoof invented by the nation itself, played off by the nation itself upon itself, and, official contradiction notwithstanding, still persisted in by great part of itself. Its origin is obvious. People saw the Germans avalanching down toward Paris, with those vital lines of communication through Liege and Namur continually lengthening, and they said, "My God, if only we could get at them thru Ostend in the rear with 200,000 men!" Well, the men were not in England. But we wanted them. So by way of Archangel, some 2,000 miles away, and connected with the interior of Russia, I believe by only a single line of railway, on timber ships, Atlantic liners, men of war, Russian cruisers, fishing boats, heaven knows what, we transported to eastern Scotland a Russian army complete in every detail of accoutrement and impedimenta; and we put it in trains and we conveyed it to Dover; and not a man, woman or child in England was there who did not know somebody who had seen those trains and the Russians with their beards and Astrakhan caps inside them, or had not heard about the signal men, or had not given them apples and cigarettes and got from them "Thankski" in the Russian tongue; and at Dover we transshipped them into fleets of transports that took them to Ostend between two long lines of protecting warships; and then we rubbed our hands and said quietly, so that no German spy should hear, "Wait! Lift up your hearts! Oh, soon shall we hear the news."

A Stupendous Hoax.

But news didn't come, save by way of confirmation from Rome and Amsterdam. And we grew restive. And those who knew definitely got weak-kneed. But still we believed, because we had to believe, because what true to that which should have happened . . . and then one morning from the official press bureau came a laconic message telling us that not a single Russian had journeyed to Belgium via English soil. Not one. But everyone we knew had been told definitely by some one that 250,000 Russians had gone. The correspondent of the "Daily News" had actually seen them in France . . . Enough, I doubt if ever before, even in the days of apparitions and portents, the English people have hoaxed themselves so stupendously.

A day never passes that the Servians do not annihilate another Austrian army!—From the "Public Ledger," Philadelphia, August 9, 1914.

BETWEEN THE FIRING LINES.

Editorial from "The Chicago Tribune," September 30, 1914.

One of our readers addresses us as follows:

"Now that The Tribune has gotten its German number out of its system—vide this morning's issue—it is perhaps preparing for its White Man's number, and I send the inclosed as a contribution* to the same. God! You'd think that the German circulation of our Chicago newspapers was really important. I thought The Tribune was an independent newspaper."

Another reader admonishes us as follows:

"I am a free born American citizen, loyal to my country and loyal to right and fairness. In studying the war reports in your paper I am convinced that a preponderance of your articles are chosen or worded in such a way as to shape public opinion and prejudice against the Germans."

We hear from many readers to the same effect, and the plea is usually for "fairness." Evidently we are held "unfair" when we print news or views favorable to the Germans and "unfair" when we print news or views favorable to the allies. Are we, in spite of our effort to be fair to both sides, unfair to both sides?

After publishing column after column of matter which the partisans of the allies call "pro-German," we are bitterly accused of being anti-German. In spite of this accusation, on the other hand, we are accused of being pro-German. And all this in the name of "fairness!"

Every newspaper which tries to be neutral is having the same rather amusing experience. They are being abused by parties on all sides who, with a laughable unconsciousness of their own bias, demand justice when what they wish is partisanship. Readers who believe Germany is wrong were entirely satisfied to have all the news come from London, Paris and Antwerp and all the British and French polemics published in full. Readers of contrary sympathy do not protest against any publication in favor of their own side.

The Tribune has no bias, and real neutrals, we feel confident, do not see any. But partisans will continue to accuse us from their own viewpoints; which accusations, we must remind them, cancel each other and renew our confidence in the rectitude of our own practice.*

It seems that the contribution received from the rabid sympathizer of the "All-lies" and his admonition for a "White Man's number" made "The Tribune's" editor take notice.

Result: The following two-inch headline on the first page across seven columns in the very same issue in which "Between the Firing Lines" appeared:

"REPORT BIG GERMAN ROUT."

Really thoughtful of "The Tribune's" writer of headlines to try to please sympathizers of the "All-lies" for at least a fleeting moment.

We say, for a fleeting moment, because as soon as one had read the cablegram reporting this "Big German Rout," he immediately realized that it was another of the now famous products emanating from the London-Paris Company, Unlimited. The bulletin in question said:

"LONDON, Sept. 30, 1 a. m.—A Paris dispatch to the Exchange Telegraph company says:

'It is stated here that the German right has been entirely broken and is now being pursued by the allies.

'All the automobiles in northern France have been requisitioned for the purpose of pursuit. Armored motor cars with mitrailleuses are also being used to pursue the retreating enemy.

'The official communication issued at 3 o'clock demonstrates unmistakably that the Germans have been surrounded in the Somme department, the French front extending further east.

'It is officially stated that Peronne has been recaptured.'

"This message has been referred to the British official press bureau, which, while not objecting to its publication, takes no responsibility for its correctness."

So the hopes of the "White Man" were drowned when he read that the British official press bureau, while not objecting to the publication of this bulletin, took no responsibility for its correctness.

Why should the BRITISH OFFICIAL PRESS BUREAU object?

It is saved the trouble of having to manufacture lies itself when it receives them ready made from its partner in Paris?

Incidentally such dispatches lend inspiration to the hard pressed writers of glaring head lines for the first pages of "War Extras."

We had lived under the illusion that only yellow newspapers use head lines alluding to alleged happenings as poorly substantiated as in this instance, the "Big German Rout." However, we are never too old to learn.

On October 23, when "The Tribune" desired to published Mr. James O'Donnell Bennett's new dispatch wherein he states: **"I am in a position to expose of few more of the lies which have given an unprecedented touch of horror to the hostilities now convulsing Europe,"** it did not want to offend the "White Man" again, and therefore printed Mr. Bennett's new disclosures with a small type head line on the third page, thus trying to appease the "White Man's" wrath if he ever read Mr. Bennett's dispatch at all. May be the "White Man" would not bother to read it after enjoying the two-inch head line across seven columns on the first page which said:

"CLAIMS ALLIES TAKE 70,000 GERMANS."

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*We have heard the "All-lies" repeat so frequently that the Germans are barbarians that we presume it must be so. However, that they are not even WHITE barbarians, we did not suspect until we read the above.

A RATHER DANGEROUS LOOKOUT
The Picture shows us one of the many Methods of Strategy employed by the most advanced Scouts
(By Courtesy of the "Chicago Abendpost")

The following served "The Tribune's" writer of head lines for inspiration in this instance:

Bulletin.

(By Cable to The Chicago Tribune.)

AMSTERDAM, Oct. 22.—The Amsterdam Nieuws Van den Dag reports that the burgomaster of Wenduyne has telegraphed the following:

"The victory is to the allies. They have taken 70,000 prisoners between Chalons and Longwy and have captured 300 guns and thirty-one flags."

Of course this was only a new prop to the failing courage of John Bull, and his sympathizers, including the fanatical "White Man."

"The Tribune" might even follow Willie Hearst's example, print two separate editions of its valued paper, one in English favoring the Allies and giving all rumors of pro-British victories, the other in German with a "Deutschland über Alles" sentiment. (See Herman Ridder's editorial, "The Courage of Their Convictions," which we reprint for our readers.)—Editor.

Liege has been given the Cross of the Legion of Honor; the taxpayers of that city will have to carry that cross for a long time to come.—From "The Fatherland," New York.

GERMAN ATROCITIES ARE FICTION.

At Least as Far as Tribune Men in Belgium Can Find.

The Chicago Tribune.

Letters sent from the western war zone by scholarly and honorable American newspaper reporters, Mr. James O'Donnell Bennett and Mr. Herbert Corey, who together with Mr. Thompson, the American Consul at Aachen, Germany, and Mr. Patterson, issued that remarkable "Round Robin Report," which is included with these letters.—Editor, "War Echoes."

The Tribune last evening received a six thousand word dispatch from its staff correspondent, James O'Donnell Bennett, who went from London into Belgium soon after the European war started. The dispatch is dated at Aix-la-Chapelle, Germany, and, as Mr. Bennett explains, was sent by mail from there to the Western Union Telegraph Company in New York, whence it was wired to "The Tribune" office.

Mr. Bennett at the time of sending the dispatch (September 2) was with John T. McCutcheon, also of "The Tribune" staff, and Mr. Bennett makes it clear that its statements have Mr. McCutcheon's full approval. They had been together for days before the dispatch was sent, and presumably are still together.

The dispatch deals with the charges of cruelties and atrocities lodged against the Germans in Belgium, and in specific detail disputes and denies those charges. It is an elaboration of the "round robin" signed on the same day by Mr. Bennett, Mr. McCutcheon, Irvin S. Cobb of the Saturday Evening Post, Harry Hansen of the Chicago Daily News, and Roger Lewis of the Associated Press. That "round robin" was sent from Aix-la-Chapelle to Berlin and forwarded by wireless to the Associated Press at New York on September 6.

With Mr. Bennett's dispatch, published in full herewith, there came to the editor of "The Tribune" this note:

"John McCutcheon and I regard the accompanying dispatch by me as highly important both as news and truth. We wish you would give it your best attention. We would cable the substance of it extensively if we thought there were any hopes of its getting by the London censor. We do not think so, and therefore we decide on the mails to New York and thence to you by wire."

That Mr. Bennett's fears of British censorship were well founded is made clear by the fact that the copy of the "round robin" sent by Mr. McCutcheon and himself direct to "The Tribune" has never been received in this office. The copy "wirelessed" to the Associated

Press from Berlin is the only one that got through.

The question of the truth or falsity of Belgian and English charges that atrocities against women and children and other non-combatants have been committed by German troops has vitally and profoundly stirred the American people, and "The Tribune" is glad to present the accompanying dispatch as throwing a flood of light on the matter.

(To give the widest possible publicity[3] to this dispatch, The Tribune prints on page 5 a German translation[4] of the major portion of it. The translation was done through the courtesy of the Illinois Staats-Zeitung.)

By James O'Donnell Bennett.

(War Correspondent of The Tribune.)

Hotel Kaiserhof, Aix-la-Chapelle, Germany, Sept. 2.—The solemn truth. I never sat down to write with greater conviction than I purpose writing now. I never sat down to write with a more sincere belief that I could say something that ought to be known. Today I had my share in the composition of a round robin on the so-called "German atrocities."

That round robin has been, the signers of it hope, started on its way to you by Marconi wiresless via the African coast and so over the seas of the far east into America. There is no other way by which we can be sure our communication will reach you.

"Fair Play" a Myth?

Germany's direct cable communication with the United States is cut. We also cabled our round robin to you out of Holland via London, but whether the English censors will let that communication pass we gravely doubt.

If such a thing as the vaunted "English sense of fair play" still survives in panic-stricken London the censor will allow our dispatch to go through.[5]

The Marconi via Africa is likewise uncertain, but for different reasons. In trusting ourselves to the Marconi we are contending with the baffling ebb and flow of mysterious currents in the ether; in trusting ourselves to the English military censorship we are at the mercy of radical hatreds that seem at times to mount to dementia.

Can Trust the Mails.

But the mails out of Holland to America we believe we can trust and we have some solemn truth to tell in detail now.

The round robin was a bare statement in which we expressed our earnest belief—a belief based on days of personal observations in the theater of war—that the reports of barbarities alleged to have been perpetrated by German troops on an inoffensive Belgian countryside are shocking falsehoods.

We believe this as firmly as we believe that we are now safe in the ancient city of Aix-la-Chapelle after more than a week of wandering over that very countryside, sometimes in the rear of and sometimes alongside German columns.

Right in Midst of War.

We have traveled on foot, on bicycles, by horse and cart, and by train more than 100 miles. We have passed through twenty towns and villages. We have moved from Brussels on the north to Beaumont on the south, and to Aix-la-Chapelle on the east.

We have been within 100 feet of the Belgian-French border on the south and we have crossed the Belgian-German border on the east. We have shared the food and wine and the straw beds of German soldiery. We have sung songs with them in the posts of the rear guard at night, and we have talked with scores of Belgian peasant men and women across whose fields and through whose villages the German host has passed. Of German soldiers we must have seen at least 500,000 with our own eyes.

The reliability of the now famous London War Lies News Factory was further enhanced by the opening paragraph of Mr. Joseph Medill Patterson's letter sent from The Hague to "The Chicago Tribune," which appeared in the latter's issue of September 26 and which reads as follows:

"I have just returned from Germany, and anything I may write cannot be in the least influenced by the fear of the German censorship. The British censorship, however, is to be feared. All the American correspondents in Berlin report that not only have vital facts of their dispatches been cut out by British censors, but other wholly untrue dispatches have been added."

Yes, "The truth must out," as the sanctimonious "London Times" naïvely remarked the other day.—

Although quite contrary opinions are held by the "Chicago Herald's" editorial writer. Read "The Right to Defend Your Home," editorial reprinted on another page of this book.

Saw No Atrocities.

And amid all we have heard and all that we have seen in ten tumultuous, wearing days we have neither heard of a single "atrocity" that our investigations verified nor seen a single atrocity perpetrated.

The rigors and the shocking waste of war we have seen.

We have seen burning villages and women weeping over their desolated homes.

We have seen miles of highway strewn with the caps, coats, bloody shoes, bloody bandages, smashed rifles, empty knapsacks, band instruments, field glasses, and wine bottles of the retreating French.

We have seen new made English graves in the lonely fields over which the evening mist hung like a pale shroud.

We have beheld the wreck and the grime and the squalor of war's passing, but we have been spared the sight of outraged women and tortured children.

Believe Germans Misjudged.

Why is this?

We firmly believe that it is because no such atrocities have been committed by the German soldiery.

And yet, safe in Aix-la-Chapelle, safe though still under the surveillance of German military authorities —who, like all Europe, are "spy mad"—safe and well and bathed and shaven at last, we open bundles of London newspapers in the quiet offices of the American consul, Thompson, and we read column after column of the most harrowing and dreadful accounts of most infamous barbarities inflicted upon the Belgian peasantry by German troops.

We are aghast as we read. We turn to the consul and say, "What does this mean? How is it that we have seen nothing of this?"

He looks gravely back at us and says:

"I have been reading those things for days before you came."

The American consul has lived seven years in Germany and he has carried on special studies concerning the volume, the nature, and the effect of German immigration into America from the beginnings of that immigration in colonial times to the present day.

The defining of the contributions of German blood and German culture to the life of the republic is a field of investigation in which he has made himself an authority.

Germans to Be Trusted.

Few Americans know the German people half so well as he does.

He likes them and trusts them.

His observation of the present war has not extended into the field, but he is no less baffled by the frantic reports from London than are we whose scouting has taken us to scenes of actual operations.

He is, and from the nature of his position must be, officially noncommittal. To us he only nods his head and says, "I can't understand it."

As for the Germans, both military and civilian, with whom we have talked in Aix-la-Chapelle, they are distressed and shamed by the reports that are pouring into America via London.

So were the officers with whom we talked when we were following the columns. But they hid their distress under sneers at once stoical and bitter.

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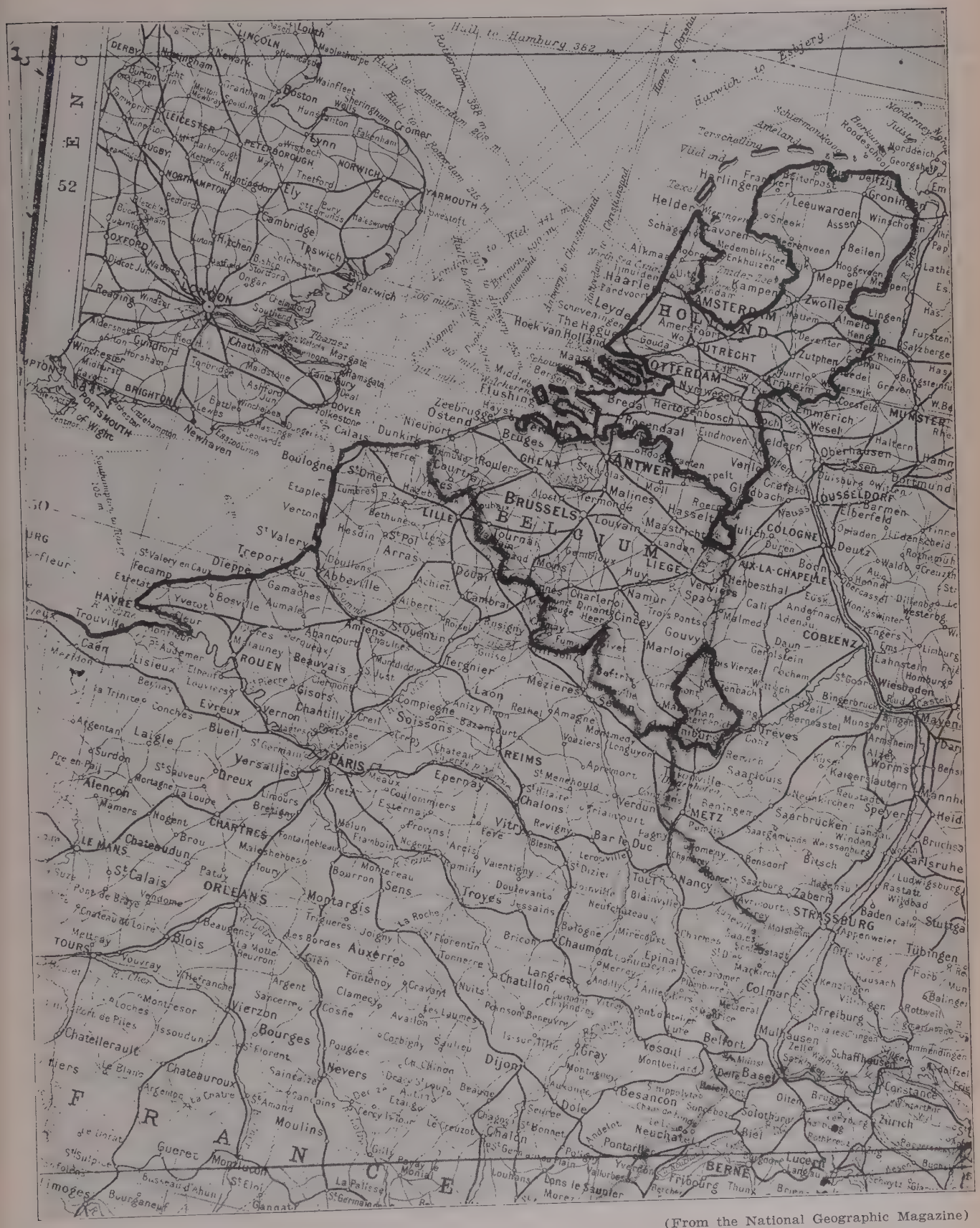
[3]In accordance with "The Tribune's" policy of giving this article all possible publicity, we are only too glad to reprint it here, where it will reach additional thousands.—The Publisher of "War Echoes."

[4]This kindness on the part of the seemingly impartial "Tribune" brought down upon its head the wrath of one of its readers, a fanatical sympathizer of the Allies. It elicited from "The Tribune" the editorial, "Between the Firing Lines," on another page.—Editor.

[5]"Mr. Bennett evidently knows by this time that the "vaunted English sense of fair play" was a myth. The London censor did not allow a syllable of the report to get through wherein Mr. Bennett and his four companions stamped the "barbarities alleged to have been perpetrated by German troops on an inoffensive Belgian countryside as shocking falsehoods."



(From the National Geographic Magazine)

THE WESTERN WAR ZONE

One of them said: "We must bear it. In two months the world will know the truth. We can wait."

Five Men Want Justice.

It was in the name not alone of justice but of common decency that the five of us signed that "round robin" this afternoon.

We five are trained newspaper men, accustomed to observing, to deducting from our observations, and to putting our deductions into reasonably lucid language.

We are John T. McCutcheon and James O'Donnell Bennett of The Chicago Tribune, Irwin S. Cobb of the Saturday Evening Post, Roger Lewis of the Associated Press, and Harry Hansen of the Chicago Daily News.

We have hardly been out of each other's sight for ten days, and not for a half a day have we been out of sight of German troops.

Kiss, Slap, Then a Smile.

The most terrific outrage any of us has seen was seen by Cobb. With his own appreciative eyes he saw a laughing German soldier who was crossing a street in Louvain lean forward and imprint a kiss on the cheek of a Belgian girl who was bantering him.

The girl promptly slapped his face. The soldier laughed the louder. The girl began to laugh, too. The incident was closed.

Cobb said it was as quaint and merry a scene in homely life as ever he saw. That was week before last.

Blames Louvain Citizens.

A few days later Louvain lost its head. It went mad. Its civilians fired from ambuscade upon German soldiers.

The deed was the supreme outrage against laws of civilized warfare.

The punishment was terrible and it has put the fear of the Prussian god into every Belgian city and hamlet from Antwerp to Beaumont, from Ostend to Liège.

Today the ancient and renowned university city of northern Europe lies in ashes.

The halls in which so many American priests of the Roman church are proud to tell you they have studied are level with the ground. It was awful, but it was war.

Unable to Verify Crimes.

Always on our march the facts relative to the German atrocities evaded us. Always it was in "the next village" that a woman had been outraged, a child butchered, or an innocent old man tortured. Arriving at that "next village," we could get no confirmation from the inhabitants.

"No," they would say, "it did not happen here; but we heard that it was in the next village, messieurs."

But the next village would develop naught authentically — only wild stories, rumors, hearsay. At Soire-sur-Sambre, all around which there had been fighting on Sunday and Monday, the 23d and the 24th of August, the burgomaster said to us in the late afternoon of Wednesday, the 26th, "as reports come in from surrounding towns I am unable to verify these rumors of cruelties, perpetrated against unarmed civilians and I give no credence to them."

Houses Fired by Shells.

Let no man suppose, however, that there has not been bitter business. The burning cottages of the peasants prove that.

But almost every time we asked the causes of that destruction we learned that the houses had been fired by the explosion of shells hurled into them by Germans to clear them of soldiers of the allies or by the allies to clear them of Germans.

Less frequently—far less frequently—the story was that from the windows of the attic in yonder unroofed and smoking ruin a party of brave but misguided civilians of the countryside had fired upon the German advance guard.

Reprisals were then instant and severe. We have been unable to learn, however, that in this meting out of punishment any woman or child was harmed.

Schooled by Editorials.

I think there is not a man in our party who did not come to the continent from London in a pro-English state of mind, if not in an anti-German state of mind.

For days before our departure we, too, had been fed on London newspapers.

We had read the famous "mad dog" editorials day by day and the tales of atrocities alleged to have been committed around Liège.

We believed that so far as Germany was concerned this was emphatically the Emperor's war and not the empire's war.

An American magazine writer named Arno Dosch, who is of German extraction, also shared our views.

Find Germans Human.

Slowly, not impetuously nor sentimentally, we found those views moderating. For four days we observed the temperance, good nature, tact, and strict discipline of the hundreds of thousands of German soldiers who were passing through Brussels.

Many detachments of them were halted there for many hours. Hundreds of soldiers moved freely about the streets.

In four days we did not hear a cross word exchanged between the inhabitants and soldiers nor did we see one boisterous or insulting act.

The fact is that within four hours after the first detachment of German troops had come swinging down the steep Boulevard Du Jardin Botanique the Brussellians were not precisely fraternizing with the Germans but were quietly and comfortably chatting with them in the streets.

Invaders Prove Quiet.

That began about 7 o'clock on Wednesday evening, Aug. 19, and we who left Brussels the following Sunday had for more than three days seen the spirit of quiet, unaffected, unforced good feeling steadily deepening. One does not imagine these things.

The German soldier who was dozing with his detail of guards on the sidewalk in front of the Gard du Nord and who good naturedly drew in his long Saxon legs in order to let a Brussels pedestrian pass comfortably was no figment of imagination, nor was his wide, sleepy smile founded on anything but fact.

The three young German officers who reined up in front of the Palace hotel in the Place Rogier, who bowed suavely to the porter and who called out to him, "Will you permit us to quarter ourselves here for the night," were too substantial to be fairy figures.

We saw scores upon scores of such incidents.

Tolerated by Germans.

Working slowly up to the German line of advance on Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of last week we entered a different and more dramatic field of observation.

We were there by suffrance merely and we knew it. No German correspondents were with these German columns, and no correspondents of any nationality were wanted.

But everywhere, though our passports were closely scrutinized and we were sharply interrogated, we met with kindness and received assistance.

I think the grim German officers felt that the five weary men—all tenderfoots—who had marched twenty miles through a hostile countryside under a hot August sun were undoubtedly crazy, but were a pretty good sporting proposition.

Make It Hard for Scribes.

Often and often we caught them grinning as they looked at our bedraggled, sweating ranks.

Slowly they would unbend. We would be taken from one lieutenant to another for examination as to our status.

In an hour we would find ourselves seated at tables in a Belgian inn parlor with two or three young German officers as our hosts. Many of these were university men who spoke charming English.

The beer and the good talk would go round for an hour, then we would separate, the officers leaping into their saddles and we resuming our weary but fascinating march.

Greeted by Boy Officers.

Two or three hours later we might meet one of those officers on his way back to the rear of the miles upon miles of wagon trains he was helping to guard. He would recognize us with the enigmatical grin that we had become accustomed to, though we could not always fathom it, and he would fling us a cheery hail, asking us if there was anything he could do for us.

Several officers said they wished they could permit us to ride in the army wagons, but that, he would add, was strictly "verboten."

Indeed, everything that is the least casual, exceptional, or irregular seems to be strictly "verboten" when this superb machine, the German army, is operating in the field.

NOTHING NEGLECTED

A German Bicycle Scout, making an Entry in his Diary, showing some more of the systematic and thoroughgoing German. It is one of the characteristic Features of the German Soldier in the Field, that he generally keeps a Record of his Experiences

(Photograph by the International News Service)

Hemmed in German Crush.

Things like this happened:

After our first half day's march from Nivelle, whither we had come from Brussels by carriage, we reached the little town of Fait-les-Ceniffe.

The village street was packed with army wagons. The whole train had been halted for food and rest.

We were in the thick of a crush and clamor that still was not confusion, and we were very weary.

After we had been passed from under lieutenants on up to the general, who passed favorably on our credentials, we met up with friendly officers at the inn.

We drank with them and they with us. With apologies to them for seeming uncouth—for they are very punctilious and ceremonious in details of conduct—we said we were very hungry and would eat the sandwiches we had brought in our packs.

Lunch with Officers.

At this one of them said: "You will, perhaps, honor us by having luncheon with us. I am in charge of the officers' mess today, and we should like to have you try some of our famous German army soups that were put up in 1911 and that will keep sound and good until 1931, unless they all are eaten in those twenty years."

With a salute, he vanished, bidding us meet him at our pleasure in the house across the way, where luncheon would be served.

That house was the principal one of the town, and in it German officers were quartered.

The parlor floor had been cleared and was strewn with mattresses. On one of them an officer lay asleep. When we were ushered into the room he opened his eyes, rose, and bowed, uttering some commonplace of greeting in German.

Scribes Go to Sleep.

That left five unoccupied mattresses on the floor. I gazed longingly at one. The room was cool and dark.

I could conceal my weariness no longer and asked an officer if I might lie down. "Certainly," he said, and offered to help me smooth out the bedding on the mattress nearest the folding doors of the room. I fell on what seemed to me the best bed I had ever occupied and in fifteen seconds was asleep. My companions followed suit. We were overtired and slept by fits and starts, with nervous jerks.

In perhaps twenty minutes I opened my eyes, and what I saw in the dim light was a middle-aged German officer tiptoeing across the room to shut one of the folding doors that had swung half way open.

The passageway or hall that ran through the house was paved with stone and constantly there was a clatter of the heavy boots of sergeants going to and fro. The noise penetrated to the dark, cool parlor where the five American correspondents were dozing.

Very softly the German officer shut the half opened flap of the folding door and then with equal solicitude turned its heavy handle so that we were quite shut away from the clatter in the paved hall.

Then he tiptoed back to his chair and resumed his intent manipulation of some bit of accoutrement that hung at his side. My own mother could not have more gently or tenderly maneuvered the act of closing the door for the comfort of the sleeping men.

Summoned to Luncheon.

In a few minutes we were summoned to luncheon. The long table was crowded. The soup, which contained savory bits of sausage, gave off a delicious odor.

Three hungry officers, who were eager to get to their horses and go to the van of the wagon trains, stood for twenty minutes in the dining room and hall while five American newspaper men, utterly unknown to them, ate and drank.

When wine was served our glasses were filled first, our healths were drunk with courteous formality and wishes for our success ran around the table.

Cigars Pay for Food.

We could only repay our hosts with cigars we had brought from Brussels and these they were loth to take, saying that it was not fair to dip into our little store. McCutcheon had fairly to force them on the officers.

I shall never forget either the food or the etiquette of the luncheon in Fait-les-Ceneppe. It was a lesson in general things.

And these are the men we are asked to believe torture people of an inoffensive countryside.

I could relate twenty such incidents out of our personal experiences during the days of our wanderings, but details which would be largely repetition would grow tedious.

Acknowledge Hospitality.

On many doorways as we passed along we saw chalked in German script the words "good people" or "very good people"—words written there by advance guards who had gone ahead of the main body to select quarters for officers, men, and horses.

The number of officers and men each house would hold and the number of horses that could be stabled in each barn also was chalked on the doors of these Belgian farm houses, villas, and cottages.

"Good people" meant that the advance guard had been received with civility. "Very good people" meant that they had met with helpfulness in making their arrangements.

On one house which stared blankly out on a village street from broken windows there was written in German script these words:

"This house has been unjustly attacked; go easy now."

Belgian Women Aid.

In the region around Fait-les-Ceneppe the invaders seemed to have been quietly received by the noncombatants, the inhabitants evidently understanding the status fixed for them by the laws of war. As a result we did not see a broken window nor a smouldering roof for a distance of perhaps ten miles.

As the afternoon wore on the German soldiers, parched with dust and heat were met at the country crossways and village street corners by Belgian women, who gave them cups of water from buckets that would be many times refilled before the column had passed.

Sometimes I saw this merciful act accompanied by cheerful smiles from the women and grateful nods from the men, who would utter hoarse words of thanks.

It is to be remembered that all this time we were drawing closer and closer to the French border and that naturally throughout this region the pro-French feeling of the Belgians would be more intense.

Saw Little Drunkenness.

In Beaumont the vast cellars of that Prince de Caraman Chimay who married Clara Ward of Detroit were liberally but not indecently drawn upon by the Germans, but during the two long days we were prisoners there we saw only two German soldiers whom you would describe as really under the influence of wine.

Both were privates. One was boisterous and friendly and a little wearing, as men in that state are apt to be. The other, who came into the inn room that served as our prison on the second night of our detention, was surly and suspicious and kept muttering that we were spies. He sobered with amazing rapidity when an officer entered the room, and his departure was as swift and quiet as it was comical.

Writers Under Guard.

As we lay down to sleep that night young Lieut. Rosenthal came in to give final instructions to our two guards. He directed one of his men to take down a big cardboard placard which hung on the wall and so to place it against the oil lamp which stood on the inn bar that the glare from the lamp would be shut off from the corner of the room in which the five of us lay on mattresses.

It was Rosenthal, too, who had ordered his men to bring to the inn the mattresses on which we lay. The soldiers helped us to adjust them in the most comfortable and convenient way.

Gets More Comfort.

The night before we had slept on a little straw in the cold schoolroom of a convent which had been turned into barracks.

Rosenthal knew that and was sorry, hence the mattresses on the second night. He regretted he could not get us blankets.

After the extemporized lamp shade had been adjusted Rosenthal sat at a table with the two sentries and spoke in a monotone to them. I lay on the pallet nearest them and could hear all that was said.

Rosenthal is not 30, but hearing his talk you would have thought he was 80. Indeed, I think both the sentries to whom he spoke are older than he is.

"Now, my children," he began, "you can have all you want to drink tonight, but God help the man who gets drunk. He will get seven years in prison and I shall have no hesitation in reporting him; do you understand that, children?"

Guards Obey Lieutenant.

The men said they did understand and that what the Herr lieutenant said was perfectly right. There was some more talk and with a final "Good night, my children," Rosenthal disappeared and I fell off to sleep.

In the early dawn I was awakened by somebody standing at my feet. It was Rosenthal, quietly arranging his mattress for an hour's repose.

The greenish light of a rainy dawn stole in at the one window. The lamp was burning low. The two sentries were sitting at the table, their rifles across their knees.

Rosenthal sighed and muttered to himself as he felt for his pillow, which was a bit of window curtain rolled up, and in ten seconds was snoring triumphantly.

I lay thinking of Clara Ward of Detroit, who had been a princess here, and one of whose husband's empty wine bottles stood on the inn bar in the low companionship of gaudily labeled bottles of cheap French brandy.

Since the divorce from Clara Ward the prince has taken a second princess. Today he is burgomaster of Beaumont.

Surly Soldier Again.

In the afternoon the soldier, who was surly and suspicious, had shown me a huge commemorative medal, evidently of gold plate, which was engraved with the words: "In memory of the happy entry into Beaumont of the Princess De Caraman Chimay." I think the date was 1911, so, of course, the bauble must have recorded the entry of the second princess.

The soldier was solicitous to know whether I thought the medal was of solid gold. I said I thought not, and thereupon my place in his regard grew visibly less.

Sword Edge Meant Silence.

He did not tell me how he had come by the medal, but in departing he invited me to run my finger lightly along the edge of his sword that I might feel how sharp it was. I complied with alacrity, and expressed admiration in sincere, though broken, German. He understood and appeared satisfied.

The man was the only rude fellow of the baser sort I have encountered in the German host.

To go back to Rosenthal, I should add that on our ride on one day and two long nights by train from Beaumont to Aix-la-Chapelle he frequently brought us loaves of black bread and shared his wine with us. Food was hard to get, but after he had obtained it for his wounded his next thought seemed to be for us.

Treat Frenchmen Well.

The treatment German officers accorded a French prisoner of rank who was brought from the common guard house at Beaumont to our more select quarters was exquisite in its punctiliousness.

The Frenchman was a sad-eyed little man with a delicate face and a manner of soft, but not excessive, courtesy. He was very weary and very melancholy, grieving, the German officers said, for his sister's husband, who had fallen in battle the day before.

We were forbidden to speak to him, formally giving, in truth, our word of honor that we would not do so.

Lieut. Mittendorfer, an over lieutenant, and Rosenthal, the under lieutenant, seemed to be the officers responsible for the French prisoner.

Salute Their Prisoner.

When they entered the room they would come to attention with a click of the heels and salute him, begging him instantly to resume his chair when he rose to return their salutes. When they talked with him it was in tones fraught with consideration and reassurance. They spoke his language and the conversation, though subdued, was fluent.

When evening drew on they came again to him and escorted him to dine at the officers' mess in the Hotel de Ville, a noble building packed with books, paintings, and trophies of the chase belonging to the present burgomaster, the Prince De Caraman Chimay.

Nothing Against Foe.

Regarding the attitude of certain German soldiers toward the people of the Belgian countryside I must quote the words of an officer whose card I have lost, hence I cannot give his name.

His experience with the Belgian peasants had evidently been altogether serene.

These were his words to me:

"They have been very, very kind. I may say nothing against them."

In Belgian villages so remote and so small that possibly reports of high handed actions would never have reached the outer world I have time and again been in tiny provision shops, linen drapers' shops, apothecary shops, and stationers' shops when German soldiers were making their purchases.

Pay for What They Buy.

They talked quietly with the shop people, handled the wares with consideration and invariably paid for all they took.

As they left they would lift or touch their caps and bid the merchant and his wife behind the counter good day. Payment was always scrupulously made. Generally the German mark was the coin. It was of course, instantly accepted.

More often than not the purchasers were private soldiers. They manifested the dignity of bearing though not the grace of their officers.

Play After Bayonet Charge.

Here is a more essential example of the conduct of the Germans. On Wednesday afternoon, Aug. 26, we reached La Buissiere, where there had been a sharp engagement the Monday before between French infantry and artillery posted on a bluff seventy feet high and German infantry and artillery in the fields and town below.

Five hundred Germans made a bayonet charge up the heights and cleared out the French. Houses, breweries, and shops in the little town suffered badly by shot and flame.

The Germans made a successful occupation and within twenty-four hours after the last shot was fired many of the townspeople were back in their homes. Forty-eight hours after the last shot we saw Belgian children playing in the street.

No Panic After Battle.

A German soldier was teaching his good natured companion how to ride the bicycle. Once the pupil fell off; he laughed. The children laughed, too. The soldier looked around at them, waved his hand, and continued to laugh.

At the upper end of the main street a group of Belgian women was washing clothes; another group was knitting. Within twenty paces of them the courtyard of a livery stable was packed with French prisoners, guarded by German sentries.

German officers and soldiers occupied houses along the main street. Devastation everywhere was apparent, but there was not a suggestion of fear or panic anywhere.

Shows German Patience.

Again—

I had occasion to enter the hallway of a Belgian villa near the frontier to meet a German officer.

The front door of the house admitted one to a wide hall at the opposite end of which was another door opening on the gardens of the villa. That back door was ajar.

It was a breezy day, and when the front door was opened a strong draft was created through the hall.

Two German soldiers were on their knees in the hall sorting big bundles of regimental mail which had just come in from Germany.

Two children pushed open the front door and many of the batches of sorted letters were blown the length of the hall. The children passed along and the soldiers did not say a word, laboriously gathered up the scattered letters.

Naughty "Liebe Kinder."

Pretty soon two more children coming in from the street opened the door and left it open as they paused to look at the soldiers. Again little piles of neatly sorted letters were scattered.

Then one of the soldiers blew up. With a gesture of desperation he cried in German words which I translate thus:

"Dear children (liebe kinder), for the love of heaven shut the door! Don't you see you are making the letters blow away? You are naughty children. Run away now like good children and don't bother us."

Germans Make Friends.

The little people hurriedly shut the door and scurried past the soldier who had spoken to them. As they did so he reached forward and gave one of them a jovial pat, laughing and uttering homely expletives in German as he did so.

The child looked frightened at first and then began to giggle. By the time he reached the garden door he was bold and turned and waved his hands at the soldier.

The soldier, still chuckling and doing a comic imitation of despair, waved back as he stooped to gather up the scattered letters again.

The children vanished into the garden.

Teuton All Politeness.

Four times I have seen German officers who had been billeted at the house of a Belgian citizen over night going after breakfast, caps in hand, to pay their respects to the mistress of the house, thanking her for the good offices of herself and her servants, apologizing for the inconvenience they had caused, and closing with wishes for another meeting "in happier times," a phrase with which everybody in northern Europe says goodby now.

On all of these occasions the response of the involuntary hostess of these wartime guests was cordial.

At Faits-les-Ceneffe three officers even paused an instant in the hall to thank and say good-by to the servant who had waited on them at table.

Kind to Their Horses.

I have seen German drivers of wagon trains and German artillerymen, weary though they were, descending from their seats during a brief halt by the roadside to run into the fields to tear up handfuls of clover blossoms for their horses. If there was time they rushed back for a second handful.

Such things I have seen for ten days. They seem to me, in view of the ghastly reports in the London papers and in view of one editorial in an important American paper we have read since arriving in Aix, to constitute important news.

The reports of German atrocities against Belgian noncombatants seem to this group of American correspondents to have reached the proportions of a hideous scandal.

Not Defending Germans.

I am not defending the Germans. I owe them nothing except what any man owes another who treats him with decency. I expect nothing from the Germans.

The truth is that all of us correspondents have a right to feel a little resentful toward the German authorities, both military and civil.

They have balked our work at every turn.

They have delayed and inconvenienced us and they have had us under guard during three days and under surveillance during four days.

Always they have been polite about it, but that has not mitigated the distracting delays we have had to endure in forwarding our news to our papers.

Truth Remains Truth.

Truth, however, remains truth, and in the matter of these alleged atrocities we feel there has been shocking falsehood.

I give my most solemn word as to the truth of what I have written.

We have seen no atrocities.

We can get proof of none.

We do know, on the contrary, that German officers have fraternized with

English officers they have taken prisoners and have parted with these words, "A dinner at the Carlton, old fellow, when we meet at London in happier times."

Once more I say, there has been the inevitable and shocking waste and misery of war in this Belgian campaign, but to find the fiendishness of it, as that fiendishness is charged against the German troops, a man will have to travel farther and observe more sharply than five intelligent, zealous American correspondents have traveled and observed.*

*The last six paragraphs are emphasized in bold type by the Editor.

LIES, LIES, LIES.

Editorial from "The Fatherland," New York, September 30, 1914.

If we are to believe the mendacity mills of St. Petersburg and London, the German army is bent on carrying out on a large scale the theory of a pessimist philosopher, Eduard von Hartmann, who advocates universal suicide. First General Emmich after "wasting" the lives of 45,000 Germans before Liège, committed "suicide." The fact that he conquered an almost impregnable fortress with small loss of life after a few days siege was never brought out in the dispatches of the Allies. Even to this day many American readers are under the impression that the gallant general is dead. This belief, needless to say, is not shared by the general. After that we were told that a troop of German soldiers shot at themselves in Louvain and that the city was destroyed to cover up this blunder. As a matter of fact the city did not meet its deserved fate, being only partially demolished, as a punishment for the "snipers" who cowardly attacked and mutilated German soldiers. We also heard that one hundred German Socialist leaders were shot by the Kaiser and that one hundred Polish leaders met a similar fate in Austria. We realize some, including the Socialist leader, Dr. Franke, were shot, but at the front, and by the enemy. The last piece of "news" made to order in St. Petersburg informs us that one portion of the German navy attacked another portion in the Baltic, and that several ships were sunk in the ensuing engagement which lasted several hours. How long will American readers permit the newspapers to feed them such pap? The capture of Maubeuge when reported by way of Sayville was denied again and again in official reports from Paris and London. It was not until the 19th of September that the German dispatch was verified by London. The Sayville station is the only source of reliable information.

He'll Get His if He Can.

When the victors sit around to divide up the map
They had better keep all of their eyes on the Jap!

—From the "Chicago Examiner," September 17, 1914.

CHEATING THE WORLD IN COLORING NEWS OF THE WAR.

Some time ago, in commenting upon the character of the censorship exercised over war news, the "Dispatch" suggested that the activities of the censors would be limited to deleting all that might be objectionable or offensive from their point of view. Unfortunately it transpires that the British censors have gone further, much further. Not only have they deleted the news reports of information they deemed inimical to their cause, but they deliberately have added words and sentences calculated to mislead the world and to keep it in ignorance of what was transpiring in the war theater.

The letter of Herbert Corey in today's "Dispatch" is a revelation. Mr. Corey has long been a member of the "Dispatch" staff of correspondents. His accuracy and ability have been proved to a demonstration long before this war broke. What he says of the British system of misleading the British people and creating false world opinion may be accepted as true.

When it is remembered that practically all of the channels of European news are controlled in England and that all information except the trifling amount that comes by wireless is sifted through the British censor sieve, the importance of the disclosures by Mr. Corey will be appreciated. All that we can receive of the news of the great war drama, except that which practically is smuggled through by mail or individual carriage and is therefore belated beyond the value point, is what the British censors will permit, after they have eliminated what is detrimental to their side and colored the residue to suit their views.

This reveals a very lamentable state of affairs. The world is practically helpless before such a situation. It explains a condition of which the "Dispatch" frequently has complained and which it has been careful to impress upon its readers. Fortunately this tyrannical and overreaching system operates only against immediate news. No censorship can long obscure facts. The truth cannot remain concealed. Rebellion has arisen already in London, where the public sense of right refuses to submit to imposition, even under the guise of the public welfare.

American newspaper enterprise—and that enterprise deals with exact truth and accurate reports—is at war with any and every news suppression system and will win out. The world wants the facts, regardless of how they may strike. It demands to be informed accurately of the daily progress of the war, and it will be informed, despite the medieval and misguided efforts of the censor system. And this applies with equal force to news suppression and discoloration, no matter where the operation is performed.—From the "St. Paul Dispatch."

Which side began it is not half so important as which side will end it.
—From the "Public Ledger," Philadelphia, August 9, 1914.

BRITISH CENSORS FORGE DISPATCHES.

Remarkable Statement by Mr. Corey. St. Paul Dispatch.

One Extreme Case Shows Words and Sentences Were Added to "Copy" of Correspondent—Deliberate Attempts Made to Delude People of the United States.

Asserts Many London Messages Have Been Totally Suppressed.

(Herbert Corey, who makes the charge that news dispatches of American correspondents to newspapers in this country not only are censored, but also have words and sentences added, is an American writer absolutely without bias toward any of the belligerents. He is the special representative of the "Dispatch" and "Pioneer Press" in London, and these papers put absolute reliance on his articles.[1])

By Herbert Corey.

London, Oct. 5.—Lord Kitchener and Hilaire Belloc came into collision the other day. Kitchener won.

Kitchener is the military gentleman who is running this empire, the peanut stand on the corner, and that bulwark of a free people, an enlightened press. Belloc is a well known journalist, who is obsessed by a liking for facts. French by blood, English by birth, soldier by education, and a publicist by profession, his weekly letter on the war lifted a dying magazine out of the ditch. People began to read it.

"Ah," his readers would say to themselves, "now I begin to understand."

Pretty Close to High Treason.

People in America cannot comprehend how nearly that approaches to high treason. Kitchener not only has the contempt of the military man for civilians who do not clank and rattle, but he fears war correspondents. They criticize, damn 'em! They jab holes in reputations with their filthy pencils. Years before his name had ever been heard in England Kitchener said:

"If ever I have the power, I will forbid the publication of any news whatever about a war which is being fought."

Kitchener Believes His Course Is Right.

Bear in mind that Kitchener sincerely believes that this course is best for the country. It is the country's duty to raise money, send fighting men, donate blankets and let Kitchener do the thinking. This may seem a long way around Hilaire Belloc's barn, but wait. We're coming to it. People began to read the official communiqués issued by the war office in the light furnished by Hilaire Belloc's letters.

"So," said they. "So."

Belloc is as patriotic as Kitchener. But he thinks this British nation is big enough and brave enough to face

[1]We reprint below the editorial which was published in the same issue of the "St. Paul Dispatch."—Editor.

a fact without screaming. He didn't put his facts in blunt, cold, shocking language. He sugar-coated 'em. But they were there. He intimated that the German army is not composed exclusively of child-killers and cowards. He said that, as a matter of fact, they are fighting quite as well as the English and French. Belloc's position was that this war is not to be decided by popular vote. It didn't do any good to mislead people.

Trouble for Other Patriots.

There isn't a more acidulously loyal paper in London than the Globe. Its military correspondent is Major Redway, a retired officer of the army. Redway has carefully avoided printing anything in his column which might give aid or comfort to the enemy. He lived up to the war office theory that the reason for a censorship is to keep information out of German brains and hands.

But he couldn't help seeing that the battle of the Aisne was not the sort of an affair that the Kitchenered communiqués indicated. It took an acute mind to burrow this conviction out of the mass of words with which Redway surrounded it. The censor came down on Redway. The latter indicated that "an attempt to voice professional opinion is resented by those in authority. We must learn to look upon the manufacture of mendacities during the war as a heroic attempt to keep us going in the absence of truth."

What Happened to Patterson.

Joseph Medill Patterson[2] was one of the American correspondents who had been with the German army and later with the Belgians. Patterson didn't believe the reiterated talk of German atrocities. He didn't say they were not possible. He only said that patient investigation, personally conducted, had failed to discover them. He had traced yarn after yarn only to find them wholly untrue, or the quite natural exaggeration of war time incidents. Some of Patterson's stuff got back to Antwerp. The Belgians—who are pretty good sports—didn't care. Then the English reached Antwerp.

"Did you write this?" Patterson was asked.

He said he did—and he was frog-marched across the frontier. The London correspondent of the Associated Press has had frequent reason to complain of the manner in which his dispatches have been altered or suppressed. There was a typical case in which the present pope had issued a note to his cardinals—I am not clear as to the precise form of this papal communication, for reasons that will appear—in which he urged upon them that their duty is to pray for peace. The English censors, through their control of the only European cable, except the French cable, which is similarly under the control of the French censors, assume to feed the American people upon what news they will. Pope Benedict's note was "killed."

[2]Mr. Joseph Medill Patterson is "The Chicago Tribune's" special representative in the war zone.—Editor.

One Correspondent Beat Censor.

"Why?" asked Frederick Roy Martin, assistant general manager of the Associated Press, now in charge of the situation here. The chief censor tried to sidetrack Mr. Martin's question by asking him to lunch. Lunch has been a complete answer to all protests voiced heretofore by English journalists. Martin would not be shifted. The chief censor, in honeyed tones and rose-petaled words, explained:

"No doubt the censors thought it inadvisable that the millions of Catholics in the world should learn that the pope desired peace. It might interfere with the proper conduct of the war—"

"But they have learned," said Martin.

The chief censor was bland and incredulous until he learned that Martin sent on every America bound steamer a complete file of all dispatches cabled from London. In New York the originals of the cables are compared with the mutilated remains received there. Then the words and sentences eliminated by the censors are replaced in red ink capitals in a newly typed file. That file is tremendously illuminating.

"You mail these files to New York?" asked the chief censor, kindly.

"I do not," said Martin. "I send them by my trusted friends to be delivered by hand."

Sharp Surprise for Censor.

The chief censor's face fell. He began to be alarmed by the situation. Obviously, a rigid censoring of the mail was not to be resorted to. But Mr. Martin left with the impression that the censorship would be quite as severe in the future as in the past. So far as the war office can prevent, the world is to be kept in ignorance of what is going on in France. It may be that the arms of the allies are being crowned with success. They may be on the verge of defeat. No one can certainly say.

Jimmy Hare is easily the dean of war photographers. He has smelled powder in every war for twenty years. He ventured over into France in the very week that the British had succeeded in rounding up the last seven war correspondents still at large. These men had all been put under a pledge not to write any more war news until the war office gave its assent, on pain of being held prisoners until the end of the war.

"But I'm not going to write," said Hare. "I only want to take a few pictures."

"We'll have no pictures of this hell going to our folks at home," said an officer. "What effect, do you think, they would have on recruiting?"

No Chance for Jimmy Hare.

"But I'll not take that sort of pictures," pleaded Hare. "I only want news pictures—not horrors."

"We want no news pictures printed," said the officer.

So Hare came back and started for Belgium. The very day he started, the newspaper offices and correspondents here got this word:

"Nothing is to be printed of the arrival of British troops in Belgium or the bombardment of Antwerp."

The first part of that order must be taken as quite a legitimate exercise of the censor's functions. Perhaps the Germans may not have known that the English were going into Belgium. One is permitted to doubt this, but the criticism may be made of the order. The second part was obviously designed to conceal from the world the fact that Antwerp was beleaguered. English military authorities always have assumed in print that Antwerp is impregnable. In private they always have doubted it. This order was a part of the plan to keep truth from the people. There are hard times ahead for Jimmy Hare.

Tried to Suppress Antwerp Story.

Of course, the bombardment was so huge a story that the military authorities could not suppress it long. The net result of the suppression plus revelation was to render the thinking portion of the public that buys newspapers most uneasy. For three weeks, as Major Redway said in the "Globe," the public "has been persuaded that we are engaged in a battle" in the territory of the Aisne. The day that Antwerp's bombardment began a note appeared in the paper that General von Kluck's army is "being pushed north."

Maybe he was marching north. No one knows. But he certainly could not be "pushed" north. If he moved north it was in the effort to outflank the French army opposing him. So persistently has the British public been fed on military half-truths and no-truths that such a statement becomes at once alarming. Before this letter appears in print something may be known of the situation. Today London is beginning to get frightened. The city has been so persistently misled by the war office that it is beginning to dread the unknown.

London Papers Begin Rebelling.

The London newspapers, patient, as they have been under this military despotism, are beginning to rebel in a mild, tea-and-milk sort of way. Almost without exception they are referring to the military censorship as stupid. But their criticism does not extend to what may be considered the legitimate operations of the censorship. They are genuinely proud of the fact that the expeditionary force of 150,000 was landed in France before a word had appeared in the papers. Every editor knew—but not one broke faith.

The 70,000 Indian troops were landed at Marseilles four days before the fact was printed. That was quite all right, too. But it happened that the day the Indians were landed Prime Minister Asquith delivered a speech at Dublin. He told his audience that the Indians had been landed that day. The news came to London in the report of his speech. It was printed in Ireland. Here it was submitted to the censors.

"That must not be printed," said the censors.

Suppressing the Prime Minister.

And so it wasn't. There is a certain quality of mirth in the thought that the utterances of Prime Minister Asquith are suppressed as dangerous by some pig-headed retired colonel. The qualifying adjective is not mine. It was first used by Prime Minister Asquith when for seven days the censors would not permit a report of Asquith's speech, delivered in the House of Commons, to be cabled to America.

Nothing will be printed that has not the approval of the war office. The editors know perfectly well what would happen to them if they offended. Being a citizen of a more or less free land I have been incredulous. So I have asked editors.

What Kitchener Would Do.

"Kitchener would suppress a paper that defied him and put the editors in jail," they say.

Lately the gossip of Fleet Street is that Lord Kitchener is seriously displeased with the manner in which some of the London papers have been conducted. It is not that they are not fully patriotic. It is not that they have printed anything which is not perfectly well known to the enemy. But they have permitted certain doubts to find their way into the tone, rather than into the words, of editorials. They have not dreamed—any more than I have—that the allies will not be successful in the end. But it would seem that they are not quite satisfied that the success of the allies has been absolutely overwhelming in the first sixty days of the war.

"Mark my words," said an editor who is suspected of being well liked at the war office, "if this keeps on Kitchener will take the papers over and run them himself."

Couldn't Bluff Jack Spurgeon.

But this may not be. There is a certain amount of bluff discoverable at every military headquarters. Some weeks ago the New York "World," "Tribune" and "Times" in order to reduce cable costs "Siamesed" their services. One day an item which displeased the censors was stopped in their report. Jack Spurgeon of the "World." who had been in charge on the night in question, was called up. He explained that the error had been a perfectly innocent one, as shown by the form in which it reached the cable censors.

"We will do this and that," said the three censors who acted as a trial board. They were very severe and unkind to him. By and by Mr. Spurgeon's nimble American goat began to parade.

"You will?" he asked, in low, gentle tones. "I am representing three great American papers, and what will you three gentlemen do to them?"

Well, on second thought it appeared the censors wouldn't do anything to the three papers. There is a rumor that Mr. Spurgeon was asked to lunch. But that isn't the worst charge that American correspondents have brought against the censors. Some of the censors seem to have felt from time to time that America was not being properly informed as to the conduct of the war. So they have not merely struck words out of dispatches, but have struck words in.

"This isn't your stuff," the editor of a great American daily wrote its correspondent. "I know your style. Some one has been tampering with your message."

The correspondent referred to his file and found that some one in the censor's office had inserted words and sentences in his "copy" which had completely changed the tenor of the dispatch. As it appeared in the home office it was of a character highly pleasing to the war office. As it left the correspondent's hands it had been a dispassionate review of the situation and a forecast of certain future happenings which has since been shown to have been singularly accurate.

"Surely you are wrong," said a chief censor when the case was put before him.

"Refer to the files in the cable office," said the correspondent. "That will show you that I am telling the truth and will give you the name of the man who monkeyed with my dispatch."

"Oh," said the censor, "we couldn't do that." And they didn't do that.

Holding Up Mail to Read It.

Of course, that is an extreme case. But there is no doubt in my mind that the war office made up its mind at the beginning that the world should have such facts as it chose to give—and only such. Because it has been in complete control of all the cables it has partly succeeded.

Press matter coming here via Holland is not only censored at the point of origin, but is censored again here before it is delivered to the newspapers and correspondents—and even then it is held up. All Holland mail is held up five days, in order that the letters may be read. One news association got a letter from its correspondent in Amsterdam. That letter originally contained 1,500 words. This was what reached the association:

"Telephone to my wife that I am quite well."

Stanley Washburne of Minneapolis wanted to go to Russia to write the story of the war in the East for a New York paper and the London "Times." Lord Northcliffe, editor of the "Times," interested himself personally in the project. Through the co-operation of the Russian ambassador in London he secured the permission of the Russian government. Washburne started for Russia. It seemed that he was to be enthusiastically welcomed. The Russians actually wanted correspondents with their armies. Then General Kitchener heard of it.

But Kitchener Steps In.

"No American newspaper man can go with the Russian army," said he.

He communicated with the Russian government, and Washburne was headed off. It is quite likely that if Washburne had been permitted to get through he would have written some of the real news, as it seemed desirable that whatever is happening in the East should be written by British hands, this morning's papers contain this statement:

"Mr. Bernard Pares, professor of Russian at the Liverpool university, has been appointed official correspondent with the Russian armies. But one British and one French correspondent have been authorized."

* * *

Atrocity Reports are Libelous
Crime of Political World Machinations and Intrigue!

A SUPREME TASK.

Mr. Asquith's Stirring Lead.

SPEECHES IN THE FOUR CAPITALS.

The Prime Minister has issued a stirring call to the whole United Kingdom that the justice of our cause may be made plain and the duty of every man to do his duty may be enforced. It is contained in the following letter which he has addressed to the Lord Mayor of London, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and the Lord Mayor of Cardiff:—

My Lords:

The time has come for combined effort to stimulate and organize public opinion and public effort in the greatest conflict in which our people has ever been engaged.

No one who can contribute anything to the accomplishment of this supremely urgent task is justified in standing aside.

I propose, as a first step, that meetings should be held without delay, not only in our great centers of population and industry, but in every district, urban and rural, throughout the United Kingdom, at which the justice of our cause should be made plain, and the duty of every man to do his part should be enforced.

I venture to suggest to your lordships that the four principal cities, over which you respectively preside, should lead the way.

I am ready myself, so far as the exigencies of public duty permit, to render such help as I can, and I should be glad, with that object, to address my fellow-subjects in your cities.

I have reason to know that I can count upon the co-operation of the leaders of every section of organized political opinion.

Your faithful servant,
H. H. ASQUITH.

THE RIGHT TO DEFEND YOUR HOME.

Editorial from the "Chicago Herald," September 12, 1914.

The German Emperor has sent a personal protest to President Wilson against the alleged use of "dumdum" bullets by the allies, and accusing the Belgians of conduct which is held to justify the destruction of Louvain and other German severities. France retorts that the Germans have been using the "dumdum" bullets quite extensively.

The use of "dumdums," so named from an Indian town where these cartridges are made, is forbidden by the Hague declaration of 1899. The French and English governments deny making or using them. That such bullets may have been found on captured French or English soldiers proves nothing against their governments.

Anybody can make a "dumdum" from the steel-jacketed military bullet in a moment with a common file. They were first so made by British soldiers in India, who found that the new small caliber bullet would not "stop" fanatical Mohammedan tribesmen, bent on dying in battle, as the old large bullet did.

The German Emperor's charge that "the Belgian government has openly incited the civil population to participate in the fighting" will not arouse much sympathy for Germany in this country. To the average American the Belgians seem altogether justified in defending their homes against the invaders. Our theory of the rights of an invaded people is quite different from the German notion.

In Europe the notion is that fighting should be confined to the "regular" armies, and that "the people" should merely look on. We don't look at it that way. We cannot. To do so would brand as criminals the farmers who drove the British "regulars" from Lexington and Concord.

Americans honor those farmers as patriots, and the Belgians who defended their homes as best they could, without waiting for red-tape formalities, seem to us worthy of the same honor.*

*Emphasized in bold type by the publisher of "War Echoes" in order to call the reader's attention to "The Chicago Tribune's" editorial: "Cruelty and Inhumanity," reprinted in full on this page. "The Tribune" takes the opposite view from the "Chicago Herald." Unbiased Americans will know how to judge for themselves as to which of the two powerful dailies is right.—Editor.

It may be all right for "The World's Greatest Newspapers" to write sanctimonious editorials and then print without comment cablegrams such as the one printed on September 14. We are told in that that "a British officer had caught a German Uhlan officer in the act of cutting off both breasts of a poor Belgian girl." The cablegram is reprinted in full on another page under the heading." In the words of "The Tribune," we presume that if Great Britain "has gone to war cold," it can be aroused to what is regarded as a fighting spirit by tales of cruelties inflicted upon its innocent countrymen, in the present war, its allies. But inasmuch as the United States is at peace with Germany, and its citizens do not have to be "aroused to what is regarded as a fighting spirit by tales of cruelties" in order to help take the chestnuts out of the fire for Great Britain, we believe, it is not out of place to call "The Tribune's" attention to part of a letter it received from one of its readers and which it printed in its "Voice of the People" column on August 24. The letter, which we reprint in full in this book, says in part:

"* * * But I am convinced that every true American, regardless of the land of his birth, would condemn any sneaky reports or lies which are submitted from unscrupulous sources across the ocean and reprinted by some of our papers without any comment or even manufactured by them. That is not true American spirit, nor does it conform with the ideas of our illustrious President, who warns his officials to strictest neutrality in word and deed, and who, I am sure, gladly would muzzle some of the papers if it could be done.

Hermann von Eichhorn,
Generalinspekteur der VII. Armeeinspektion.

HERMANN VON EICHHORN
General Inspector of the Seventh Army
(By Courtesy of the "Illinois Staats-Zeitung")

On the face of it, that cablegram shows its origin. It spells "London War Lies News Factory." If "The Tribune" really was hoodwinked into believing it was gospel truth because the British officer had told the nauseating cruelty of the German cavalry officer to a London preacher in a letter, as the cable to "The Tribune" states, then we really pity the million daily readers who were served that abominable cablegram at their breakfast table, without one word of comment by "The Tribune" as to the advisability of taking the cablegram with an extra grain of salt. There was no "kind" editorial, commenting on the fact, because the space occupied by the cablegram had to be filled and nothing else was handy to fill it, in the rush of "making up," the nauseating cablegram, itself, had been inserted, merely to show to what degree of perfection the fanatical hatred of Germany could make the "London War Lies Factory" work overtime concocting lies.

Of course, "The Tribune" could have added a postscript so as not to offend such of its readers who sympathized with the cause of the Allies to such an extent that they believed the German barbarians capable of the most fiendish outrages imaginable or

unimaginable. The postscript could have said that "The Tribune" really did believe that the outrage had been committed, and, to make the pleasure of those who sympathized with the Allies still more complete, it could have suggested to them to imagine that the fiendish cavalry officer had been—a Prussian. In that way, the editorial comment would have been complete and would have pleased even Messrs. H. G. Wells, A. Conan Doyle, Rudyard Kipling, Jerome K. Jerome and the other thirty famous writers who, on September 17, signed the statement which we took the liberty of reprinting from "The Tribune" on another page of this book. —Editor.

CRUELTY AND INHUMANITY.

Editorial.

The Chicago Tribune.

By the representations and pleadings of belligerent nations the United States is being set up in a judicial position to hear accusation and defense. Germany, France, and Belgium are making official presentation of their cases, the Belgians by the submission of evidence and the Germans and French by definite protest.

Charges that humanity has been ignored may be divided into two classes, one having to do with severe measure taken upon authority and the other with the acts of individuals or groups of individuals unauthorized.

The burning of Louvain was an authorized act. Attack by civilians upon troops probably is unauthorized.† The revenge taken by the troops might be by order or upon individual initiative.

American opinion is being appealed to by the nations at war, and if they recognize that it has a value we ought to recognize the importance of forming it fairly.

The first thing that will be considered is that such destruction as Belgium has seen is apt to craze a population. Men and women are in danger of becoming lunatic in such circumstances, of losing all restraints and forgetting all humanity.

Germany charges that some Belgian peasant women were converted into fiends and went out like Afghan women to mutilate the dead and kill the wounded. This seems incredible here, but we have no conception of the terrors of the invasion of Belgium and scarcely any of their effect upon the mind.

Germany also charges that civilians have taken opportunity to shoot soldiers. This is entirely credible and understandable—and unforgivable. The civilian is not treated as an enemy; soldiers are not on their guard against civilians; and an attack by civilians is not an act of war, but one of murder. If an army knew that resistance would be offered by every person in the country invaded, the objection to civilian attack would not be made, but every civilian would be shot as soon as he showed himself.*

The explanation, if not defense, in the case of Belgium, is that citizens, finding themselves over night subjected to the destruction of a war in which they had no concern, behaved much as they would if a band of robbers had set upon them. In doing so they made themselves liable to punishment.*

The whole question between Germany and Belgium concerns the nature of the provocation and the severity of the punishment. Germany may find it expedient to deny that any German troops were guilty of inhuman practices upon Belgians. That individual Germans, demented or intoxicated, escaped from discipline, crazed by the sight of the slaughter of comrades or infuriated by battle, would mistreat Belgians is just as probable of occurrence as the outrages said to have been committed by the Belgians upon Germans.

Nations cannot be convicted upon evidence of brutal acts by individuals. If they could, then any Mississippi town would have the character of the whole United States in its keeping. The burning of one negro, in such a case, would be sufficient excuse for a world combination in the name of civilization against such a country.

It is the policy of nations at war to hurt their enemies in the opinion of neutrals. For that reason the individual cases are seized upon as bases for generalizations which are not justified and cannot stand.

We do not believe that the Belgians are a barbarous people; we do not believe that the Germans have an army of brutes. There are then to be considered the admitted acts of repression which the German army authorized against the Belgians. It is upon these that judgment finally will be given.

Was the punishment of the innocent demanded by the offenses of the guilty? Was the destruction of a town like Louvain demanded by the military exigencies of the army? Did the punishment fit or exceed the crime? Was there a crime which demanded punishment? Have hasty acts of great severity been such as will make Germans themselves apologetic?

As to dumdum bullets, rational opinion wanders hopelessly afield. The accusations that these hideous bullets are being used is the first to get circulation in any war.

The United States does not ask to be set up in a judicial character in these disputes, but if its opinion can have weight for the good of humanity it is willing to exert it.

And if the belligerents want our opinion of the whole business, they may have it. It is that a wasteful, unnecessary, wicked war is in progress; that it never will have a result which will justify it, and that the only good thing it can come to is its end.

†There are strong reasons for believing that the Belgian authorities incited the civilian population to fire from ambuscade upon German soldiers.

Also note that Mr. James O'Donnell Bennett, "The Chicago Tribune's" war correspondent, says: "A few days later Louvain lost its head. It went mad. Its civilians fired from ambuscade upon German soldiers.

"The deed was the supreme outrage against laws of civilized warfare * * *." This entire article to "The Chicago Tribune," entitled "German Atrocities Fiction, So Far As Tribune Men in Belgium Can Find," is reprinted elsewhere in this book.

We will not comment on the fact that the strong pro-British "Chicago Herald," in an editorial entitled, "The Right to Defend Your Home" (also reprinted in full on this page) should defend the act of Belgian civilians firing from ambuscade upon German barbarians. We prefer to leave the "Herald's" editorial to the careful consideration and judgment of our readers.—Editor.

*Emphasized in bold type by the publisher of "War Echoes," in order to call the reader's attention to the "Chicago Herald's" editorial entitled, "The Right to Defend Your Home," reprinted in full on this page. The "Chicago Herald" takes the opposite view from "The Chicago Tribune." Unbiased Americans will know how to judge for themselves as to which of the two powerful dailies is right." —Editor.

LEST WE FORGET.

Extracts from Editorial. New Yorker Staatz-Zeitung, New York, Herman Ridder.

It serves no purpose to exaggerate the stories of German brutality. Neither is it worth while to minimize the horrors of war. It will in all probability be found on investigation that the cathedral of Rheims has suffered no worse fate than the cathedral of Strassburg during the Franco-Prussian war. It is incredible that the Germans wantonly and deliberately destroyed that magnificent landmark of mediaeval art. I, for one, do not believe it. Military necessity knows no law, and that is as true of French necessity as of German.

I do not wish to draw odious comparisons, but it does seem to me that the British people forget a great deal of their own history when they raise the cry of Louvain and Rheims. It was only fourteen years ago that General Wilson, U. S. A., brought the blush to the cheeks of a British General on the outskirts of Peking, when he asked permission to withdraw his troops from the punitive expedition sent against the Western Hills, before the threat of the British to blow up the White Pagoda of Pa-ta-chu's was carried out. Europe has other cathedrals, but China had only one White Pagoda, and the destruction of that priceless piece of religious architecture was carried out by a British commander not during the bombardment of a city held by the enemy, but as an act of cold-blooded retaliation. The British have painted on their legation walls in Peking the motto: "Lest we forget." It would seem as if the time had come when those same words might well be painted on the British conscience at home.

WHO MAIMS THE DEAD?

Editorial, the Fatherland, New York. Evidences that the Victims of Belgian Mobs are Passed Off as Those of German Barbarians—Asquith Has Heard of No German Atrocities.

Ordinarily the New York daily papers would rather miss the greatest news item of the hour than copy it out of the columns of a rival with full credit. But since they have become allies of Russia and Japan as well as Servia, Montenegro, England and France, they are the best of bed-fellows.

If the "World" has a particular gruesome story of German barbarity which the "Times" has missed, it is promptly copied by that paper and displayed under a pyramid of startling headlines. Even Premier Asquith on September 14 told the House of Commons that "no official information had reached the Ministry of War concerning the reported stories that German soldiers had abused the Red Cross flag, killed and maimed the wounded, and killed women and children as had been alleged so often in stories of the battlefields" (Associated Press cable), and a group of American correspondents recently denied similar stories of atrocity credited to the German troops. In spite of which the organized press campaign in the New York editions of the London dailies goes merrily on.

Who Maimed the Body?

The "World" on September 13 published an alleged interview between General von Boehn of the German army and E. Alexander Powell, commissioned by the Belgian Government to familiarize American readers with the tales of cruelty attributed to the Germans. General Boehn denied these accounts and told Powell to look at his officers and note that they were gentlemen, and the German troops marching by, most of them fathers of families. But Powell retorted promptly, "How about a woman's body I saw with hands and feet cut off?"

The inference, of course, is that this mutilated body was that of a Belgian woman, and that the mutilation was the work of the German troops.

Since this war, as reflected in the American press, is the first war in which German troops have been accused of positive savagery—even De Maupassant, going to the last extreme of vindictive spite in "Mlle. Fifé," never went farther than to coin a licentious story of a carousal of young lieutenants with a bevy of French demi-monde in the war of 1870-71—is it not far more probable **that the body of the woman observed by Mr. Powell was that of a German woman killed and mutilated by the Belgians?**

When the truth about this campaign of lies comes out we shall learn the other side. We have before us now a pitiful picture of two men and a woman who are shown with their hands completely severed by the Belgians.

Belgians on Record.

This picture is from authentic sources, photographed for the British investigating committee, which unearthed the Belgian atrocities committed against the natives of the rubber districts in the Congo and South America, and is but one of a large manifest of proof which shocked the civilized world a few years ago.

As to the character of these frightful cruelties, and incidentally what a high literary authority deposes as to German civilization, let us quote Sir Conan Doyle's "The Crime of the Congo" (1909).

"Sir Edward Gray has told us in his speech of July 22nd, 1909, the danger of European peace lies in this matter. Let us look this danger squarely in the face. Whence does it come? Is it from Germany, with her traditions of kindly home life—is this the power which raised a hand to help the butchers of the Mongolia and of the Domaine de la Courenne? **Is it likely that those who so justly admire the splendid private and public example of William II would draw the sword for Belgium?** Both in the name of trade-rights and of Humanity Germany has a long score to settle on the Congo.

"The witnesses of the crime are of all nations, and there is no possibility of error concerning the facts. There is finally the incorruptible evidence of the kodak. The terrible facts set out here, and which we know are only the mere margin of that welter of violence and injustice which the Jesuit Father Verreersch has summed up in the two words: 'Immeasurable Misery.'

"Often the white man acted himself as torturer and executioner.

"They talk of philanthropy and civilization. Where it is, I do not see. In one instance Captain Lethaire had put sixty women in irons and allowed nearly all of them to die of hunger, because one village had not brought in enough rubber. One Lacroix writes a letter to the "Niew Gazet," of Antwerp, that he had murdered one hundred and fifty men, **and crucified women and children and had mutilated many men.**

"Sums aggregating at least 7,000,000 pounds of money have been traced to the King, and this money has been spent in buildings in Belgium, in buildings on the Riviera, in **corruption of public men, and of the European and American press, the English not excepted,** and finally in such a private life as has made the king's name notorious throughout Europe."

In August, 1909, a year after Belgium had annexed the Congo Free-State, Prince Albert, the heir to the Belgian throne, returning from the Congo, said: "What we must do is to work for the moral regeneration of the natives," etc. On that occasion Sir Doyle has this to say: "Moral regeneration of the natives! **Moral Regeneration of his own family and of his country**—that is what the situation demands." **"The honesty of German colonial policy is a proof of the fitness of Germany to be a great land-owning power."** "Reform is an absolute impossibility as long as Belgium holds the Congo." "Surely, there should be some punishment for those who by their injustice and violence have dragged Christianity and civilization in the dirt. The wretched agents on the spot will be offered up as victims, whereas the real criminals will escape; but the curse of blood and the scorn of every honest man rest upon them already. They have been guilty of the greatest crime in all history, the greater for having been carried out under the odious pretence of philanthropy. **Surely, somehow, somewhere, they will have their reward."**

Belgian Atrocities Ignored.

The German press has been glutted with accounts of Belgian atrocities committed upon defenseless Germans at Louvain and Antwerp. But of these the New York editions of the London papers take no notice. A gentleman acting for a large German firm in Antwerp makes affidavit that he saw the German barmaids in Antwerp stripped by the mob and dragged through the streets by their hair. He also testifies that in making his escape from the city he saw the body of a German woman in a public place. She had been hacked to death, and Belgian viragoes were kicking her lifeless form and spitting in her face. German laborers escaping from Antwerp were found crucified by the wayside. In many places German soldier boys were found with their arms tied and their eyes cut out of their sockets. But why dwell on these horrors!

The Belgians have been equalling the Cossacks in inhuman cruelty. It will stagger humanity to know the truth. But the truth must be offset. So the Germans must be made to appear equally barbarous. To this end the testimony of milk maids and strumpets, hoboes and irresponsible vagrants are quoted as authorities. Premier Asquith hasn't heard of any such outrages. American newspaper men deny charges over their signatures. Authoritative French sources say they are ignorant of them. Let the reader draw his own conclusion.

But the "Times" reprints the "World's" story, and then adds in a cable dispatch of its own from London that the correspondent of the "Standard" has it from a resident of Aershot "that the chief of staff of General von Boehn at night while drunk entered the sleeping room of the daughter of the burgomaster and that the burgomaster's son thereupon shot and killed the invader."

No responsibility attaches to this informant; anyone inspired with malice can twist the truth to make out a justifiable case under such circumstances. But the assumption that the chief of staff of a commanding general who was enjoying the hospitality of a private home, that of a man of the indispensable education and dignity of character presupposed in a man of such age and rank, should get drunk, and assault the defenseless daughter of the house is so preposterous that none but a

thoroughly vitrified. brain would credit the story. On the face of it, the account is a mere variation on the fiction of De Maupassant.

ALLEGED CRUELTY OF GERMANS UNTRUE.

Statement of Tribune War Correspondent. The Chicago Tribune.

New York, Sept. 6.—The Associated Press has received by wireless from Berlin a message which was sent from Aix-la-Chapelle to Berlin for transmission. The authors, all of whom are well known American newspaper men, were originally assigned to Brussels, and when that city was taken they were returned to Aix-la-Chapelle, from which city they have been endeavoring to reach London, but without success.

The telegram was partly mutilated by interference and certain words are missing, but the text here given is clearly that intended* by the authors:

In spirit we are a unit in rendering German atrocities groundless, as far as we are able to. After spending two weeks with and accompanying the troops upward of one hundred miles, we are unable to report a single instance unprovoked.

We are also unable to confirm rumors of mistreatment of prisoners or of noncombatants with the German columns. This is true of Louvain, Brussels, Lunéville, and Nancy, while in Prussian hands.

We visited Chateau Soldre, Sambre, and Beaumont without substantiating a single wanton brutality. Numerous investigating rumors proved groundless. Everywhere we have seen Germans paying for purchases and respecting property rights as well as according civilians every consideration.

After the battle of Biass (probably Barse, a suburb of Namur) we found Belgian women and children moving comfortably about. The day after the Germans had captured the town in Merbes Chateau we found one citizen killed, but were unable to confirm lack of provocation. Refugees with stories of atrocities were unable to supply direct evidence. Belgians in the Sambre valley discounted reports of cruelty in the surrounding country. The discipline of the German soldiers is excellent, as we observed.

To the truth of these statements we pledge our professional and personal word.

JAMES O'DONNELL BENNETT,
Chicago Tribune.
JOHN T. McCUTCHEON,
Chicago Tribune.
ROGER LEWIS,
The Associated Press.
IRVIN S. COBB,
Saturday Evening Post.
HARRY HANSEN,
Chicago Daily News.

*We reprint elsewhere in this book the confirmation of this telegram under the heading: "German Atrocities Fiction."—Editor.

WAR OR VANDALISM.

Editorial.

Illinois Staats-Zeitung, Chicago.

Under this heading, "The Chicago Tribune" writes editorially, in its issue of September 21st, 1914, partly as follows:

"Military necessity pleaded by the German government in defense of the violation of Belgium's neutrality will doubtless be advanced to cover the destruction of Rheims cathedral by cannon fire. The statement of the general staff as to Louvain is not satisfying and the destruction of the Rheims cathedral following it quickly will encourage the charge by Germany's enemies and the suspicion among neutrals that the German general staff is willing to punish her enemies at the cost of all civilization . . ." "No time should be lost in making the fullest and most satisfactory statement as to both incidents if a most unfavorable impression upon intelligent American opinion is to be avoided . . ."

We are not authorized by the German government to explain why Louvain was partially destroyed, nor why Rheims was bombarded. Therefore our remarks are expressions of our opinions and as such are entitled to the same careful consideration as are the opinions of "The Tribune."

Our opinion is, that the present German general staff is as loath to destroy property in Belgium and in France as it was loath to do so in 1870. We firmly believe that Americans will bring proof of this contention in the future notwithstanding the highly colored reports now coming to us from London, Paris, Bordeaux and Antwerp. The Belgian charges of German atrocities, now disproved by American war correspondents, have been shifted to charges against Germany of vandalism and unnecessary destruction of Belgian and French cathedrals and art treasures. Truthful accounts from Americans will reach us later, entirely disproving these latter charges.

The first line in "The Tribune's" editorial proves that the writer of that editorial does not remember that which he surely must have read many times, viz: Belgium's neutrality was violated by the French long before a German soldier set foot upon Belgian soil:

1. By French troops assembled "en masse" at the railway station at Exquellines on August 1st, 1914. (See reports of hundreds of eyewitnesses as printed in Belgian and German newspapers.)

2. By French troops massed on the Belgian border prior to August 1st, 1914. (See official report of German government.)

3. By French aviators flying from Belgian soil over the German boundary, into German jurisdiction, reconnoitering German military maneuvers and then returning to Belgian soil. (See statement by German government, never denied by Belgium nor by France)

4. By French military aviators over Nuernberg, a German city, and dropping bombs upon it before war was declared between France and Germany. (See official statement of German government never denied by the French)

France did not first request Germany to permit its aviators to drop bombs upon Nuernberg, nor was Nuernberg in a state of siege, nor had the city first been asked to surrender, nor were the inhabitants warned that French bombs would drop out of the clouds . . . Germany and France were at peace with each other . . . but the French bombs were dropped upon Nuernberg and France does not deny it.

France did not request Belgium's permission to send French troops to Exquellines (in Belgium) although Prussia (before the German Empire existed) together with France and England did guarantee to respect the neutrality of Belgium, and France does not deny that French troops were at Exquellines "en masse" before England declared war upon Germany and consequently before a single German soldier had set foot upon Belgian soil.

Let the really neutral American citizen weigh above facts and THEN endeavor to convince the biased American that Belgium's neutrality was first violated by France without official England making it a cause for declaring war upon France.

The "Tribune" (in its editorial) sneers that "military necessity" will be advanced to excuse the burning of Louvain and Rheims. We have seen that "military necessity" was NOT the reason for breach of Belgian neutrality—for Belgian neutrality no longer existed when German troops entered Belgium, but "military necessity" is the reason given for entering France via Belgium, instead of Alsace, Switzerland or Luxemburg.

Nor will "military necessity" be given as the reason for burning part of Louvain. The citizens of Louvain, in great numbers, fired from the windows of houses and of churches upon the German soldiers as they marched through the streets of Louvain after its capitulation. In retaliation the German army attacked those civilian belligerents as a military force and in doing so destroyed many of the houses and churches in which they were concealed.

The case is not parallel with our occupation of Vera Cruz, Mexico, where a few Mexican soldiers concealed in houses, fired upon and killed a few American marines. Vera Cruz had not capitulated to the Americans, the soldiers had a right to fire from houses and we had a right to fire at them—but not at peaceful civilians—nor burn houses in which citizens had concealed themselves. We had a right to riddle those few houses from which Mexican soldiers fired upon our marines and in fact those houses were attacked, searched and cleared of our enemy. In Louvain, the citizens in very large numbers attacked an unsuspecting, victorious army and

killed a great many of its soldiers; in Vera Cruz, a few Mexican soldiers attacked an invading army and killed a few marines.

Nothing very authentic is known about the attack upon the Rheims cathedral. No German report has affirmed the French version of the burning of the Rheims cathedral. Therefore, in the words of President Wilson: "We will NOT condemn any one of the warring nations at present, because to do so would be to pass judgment prematurely. To condemn Germany because the French reports depict the bombardment of Rheims and the burning of its cathedral even before word of confirmation has come from German or American sources would indeed be passing judgment prematurely."

Nor is the judgment of the "Tribune" correct, that "military necessity" will be pleaded by the Germans in defense of the violation of Belgium's neutrality, (nor the excuse for burning part of Louvain), nor will it "doubtless be advanced for the destruction (if this be true) of the Rheims cathedral by cannon fire."

If the "statement is not satisfying" as to Louvain, then the statement of any man, who is attacked from behind "is not satisfying," when that man says he struck his assailant down, where he found him, because he had been first attacked.

If there is a vestige of an opinion left in the mind of an American that Louvain was partly destroyed because the "German general staff is willing to punish her enemies at the cost of all civilization" then that American is NOT neutral, but like the Tribune's editorial writer, does NOT want to accept any reason whatever for changing his biased view concerning the fact that part of Louvain was destroyed by Germans.

Denial of the Atrocity Charges.

(Editorial from "The Chicago Tribune," September 8, 1914.)

It is hardly necessary to direct special attention to the importance of the message of the five war correspondents—two of whom are representatives of The Tribune and known throughout the country—with reference to the charges of atrocity and savage cruelty that have been made against the German troops in Belgium.

The correspondents refute the charges, naturally only "so far as they are able to," but their testimony, as far as it goes, is direct and significant, as well as highly gratifying. They speak of the excellent discipline of the German soldiers; they investigated various reports and rumors only to find them untrue. They had ample opportunities for observation and have not one single case of unprovoked cruelty to record. They say that the Belgians themselves discount rumors of this kind, and that refugees who circulated them were unable to furnish evidence.

If the Belgian commissioners now on the way to this country have facts and evidence to present, they will be heard and their case will be considered. Meantime to repeat the denial is grateful and reassuring. The charges of atrocity against the army of a great and civilized people have had a depressing and profoundly disquieting effect. One London weekly of weight and character has appealed to President Wilson, as head of the greatest neutral nation, to address Emperor William openly and ask him what "his intentions are" with regard to respect for the laws of humanity and the prohibitions by solemn treaties of savage and barbarous forms of warfare. If the charges were well grounded in most cases one would despair of civilization and culture.

The message should at least cause everybody to suspend judgment and demand convincing testimony.

AN AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENT ON GERMAN "ATROCITIES."

Editorial.

The Springfield Union.

The Union has repeatedly admonished its readers to take with a grain of salt the stories of German atrocities emanating very largely from sources hostile to the German cause, and now comes a statement signed by American correspondents of the highest repute that most of these reported atrocities are utterly without foundation. That there have been certain outrageous and uncivilized acts committed by German soldiers probably is true, just as it is equally true that individual soldiers among the Allies have not been without fault in these respects. War is not a lovely thing whether engaged in by so-called civilized peoples or by savages. It arouses passion and impulses sure to find expression in deeds that seem to offer no excuse. It has been so with every war, and so it will be so long as war endures. But to charge the German troops, as they have been charged, with unspeakable cruelties, such as might be expected from barbarians, is as unfair as it is senseless.

Roger Lewis, of the Associated Press; Irvin S. Cobb, of the Philadelphia Public Ledger; Harry Hansen, of the Chicago Daily News, and James O'Donnell Bennett and John T. McCutcheon, of the Chicago Tribune, after spending two weeks with, and accompanying the German troops upwards of 100 miles, assert that they are unable to find a single instance in which unprovoked atrocities have been committed. "Everywhere," they say, "we have seen Germans paying for purchases and respecting property rights as well as according civilians every consideration." To this they add: "The discipline of the German soldiers is excellent," and to the proof of their statements they pledge their "professional and personal word."

These correspondents are wholly disinterested. They are concerned merely with reporting the facts as they find them, and until there is overwhelming evidence to the contrary, their findings in this matter should be accepted by the American public. The Germans apparently have much to answer for in the destruction of Louvain, but already accounts of their operations there are being somewhat toned down by later versions. It is just as well not to convict the Germans on testimony emanating from Paris and London, neither should the allied forces be convicted of anything on the strength of reports sent out from Berlin. So long as the present indefensible censorship continues, accounts are bound to be colored according to the sources from which they originate. If the respective nations are really desirous of setting themselves right in the eyes of the people of the United States, they cannot go about it better than by giving the correspondents of the press associations and individual newspapers a full opportunity to record and transmit their observations.

THE FALL OF ANTWERP.

Editorial.

The New York Evening Post.

(Reprinted from the "Milwaukee Free Press," Otcober 16, 1914.)

Despite the efforts in dispatches from Paris to minimize the fall of Antwerp, there can be no doubt that German elation over its capture is justified. It is not only that they have smashed to pieces in ten days what was considered to be an impregnable stronghold, and thereby consummated a feat of arms which is only partially paralled even in the fall of Liège and Namur; they have achieved a success which cannot but have a profound moral effect upon their enemies.

A week ago the value of Antwerp was admitted in dispatches which represented the allies as racing to the rescue of the city; the hasty dispatch of the British naval guns that were so effective in South Africa is further proof that the allies recognized the enormous value of a German check or of a long-delayed siege. French newspapers freely stated that Antwerp was sure to hold out for weeks or months; but just as the expert of the London times declared the day before the fall of Namur that that city would block the Germans for four weeks, so the experts again went astray. The German attack was beyond anything ever seen in modern warfare, and the Krupp artillery can now boast of unsurpassed victories.

The military value to the Germans of the capture of Antwerp is best measured if we think what would have happened if the allies had succeeded in preventing its capture, or raised the siege. Then they would have been in a position gravely to menace Brussels and the German communications in Belgium. It would have been hailed as necessitating the retirement of the kaiser's forces from France, as well it might have, and the allies would have cheered it as indicating the beginning of the end of the struggle on anything except German territory.

Now conditions are reversed; the Belgian army has again received a stunning blow, and may have lost as high as 40,000 more men by casualties and internments in Holland, the latter are said to total 26,000, all in addition to the British loss of 2,300 from similar causes. That the British marines' support was so futile and that they were bundled out so unceremoniously in forty-eight hours will cause more rejoicing in Berlin than anything else, since the feeling against England is so intensely bitter.

As to the direct military advantages to the Germans, that, as we have already pointed out, lies chiefly in the fact that the attacking army is now free to move on Ostend and Calais, and that the last menace to the German communications in Belgium itself is at an end. It is the great battle line in France and the extreme northwest corner of Belgium which is now protecting the transportation lines to Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle. Everything but a skeleton force of railroad guards may now be thrown towards Lille or towards Ostend, to meet the allied troops. With them must now be fought out the question whether the Germans can cut off and hold the channel ports as far as Calais, or whether they must content themselves by building the last link in the 300-mile line of breastworks from Switzerland to the sea, and waiting until the German artillery can crack the hardest nuts of all, Toul and Verdun, or until they are compelled to fall back toward the Rhine.

Whatever the outcome of the next moves, the allies fight with a heavier burden than before. In England fresh anxiety and a recognition of the heartening effect upon the Germans must bring about considerable depression, not because of any real danger of the enemy's using Antwerp for naval or aërial attacks—we cannot believe that they will seek to violate Dutch neutrality—but because of the plain fact that every such German success means the stiffening of the backbone of the empire. In Austria, as in Italy and Turkey, the moral results will be far-reaching as well. To the hard-pressed Austrians this fresh proof of the power of the German arms comes in the nick of time. In France, too, with her large reliance upon those eastern fortresses which have fought so manfully, the collapse of Antwerp must have a chilling effect. Indeed, the whole world outside of the sympathizers with Germany must grieve at this fresh evidence that we are in for a long-drawn-out brutalizing struggle, in which the poor Belgians are apparently to be ground to pieces, since there is every prospect for further terrible fighting upon their soil.

There is but one satisfaction for the humanitarian and anti-militarist in it all—the universal admission that fortresses have been vanquished by ordnance, unless supported by great mobile forces, in which case hasty earthworks seem to serve about as well. As the honors at sea are for the moment, at least, with the submarine, so on land the prestige belongs to the guns, not the forts. Antwerp's defences were planned by the ablest French and Belgian engineers, only to go down like paper before what was probably chiefly an army of reserves and of the Landsturm.

It will be difficult, hereafter, for war ministers to demand millions for structures that are certain to prove merely the tombs of their defenders. In addition to this the question must also be asked whether the money which may be lost by the shelling of so great and rich a city as Antwerp does not now exert a powerful if unconscious influence against the defenders and in favor of an early surrender. In the future it should be a powerful argument against fortifying any great urban marts of trade.

ANTWERP AND AFTER.

Editorial.

The Chicago Tribune.

The fall of Antwerp adds another sanguinary act to that tragic drama whose denouement waits behind the impenetrable curtain of the future. In all that drama the most heroic figure is little Belgium, little in physical power, great in high-hearted courage and patriotic sacrifice; little in physical power and yet history may record how that little turned the scale of battle and gave victory to the allied arms.[1] Indeed, we know now that Liège saved Paris; that the stubborn resistance of the small Belgian army, which will go down in history as one of the most heroic feats in the records of war, parried the deadly lunge that German warcraft had leveled at the French capital.

And now Belgium has lost all the great citadels the genius of her great military engineer, Brialmont, had designed for such an extremity as this. She has paid in blood and sorrow, but not a drop in shame. Whatever her fortune may be from now on she has this to sustain her.

As to the military consequences of the capture of Antwerp, it is foolish to prophesy. The talk of Antwerp as a base against England is exaggerated. Napoleon is quoted as calling Antwerp a pistol at the head of England. But it was a pistol that he could not discharge. Germany had a base for operations against England, but she will not be able to use it until the British fleet is beaten.[2] Zeppelin raids will count for little except to rouse British war feeling still more and increase the rate of enlistment.

The main strategic motives for the determined attack upon Antwerp were based upon the fact that it was a danger to the German communications and the fact that its existence on the flank or rear of the German advance necessitated withholding a large force from the main battle line.

What will be the result of the release of the large body of troops and heavy guns assigned to the taking of Antwerp? The Belgian defending force was not captured and will join the allies. What will be the effect of the reinforcement of Von Kluck's army? Will it be as serious to the army of the allies as the reinforcement of the Japanese at Mukden by Nogi after the fall of Port Arthur and the release of Nogi's army from that task? A few days must tell decisively.

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[1]It is heart-rending to watch the crocodile tears which "The Tribune" sheds, editorially, for poor "little heroic Belgium" at every available opportunity. It is interesting to note at the same time how this friend of the Allies is hoping against hope that the allied arms may yet lick the "German barbarians."—Editor.

[2]From "The Chicago Daily News" of October 16:

"London, England, Oct. 16, 1:42 p. m.—Another thrust from the German submarine service has robbed the British navy of the cruiser Hawke and has raised the tally of the list of warships sunk by the Germans to seven. To this must be added the virtual destruction of the cruiser Pegasus by a German warship at Zanzibar.

"The Hawke, a cruiser of 7,350 tons, under command of Capt. Hugh Williams, was sunk yesterday in the North sea, the graveyard of six other warships, which were the victims of German torpedoes. * * *

"* * * According to one report, she had only 400 aboard. Whatever the number, only fifty-two men were saved, and there was not a single commissioned officer among them.

List of British Naval Losses.

"The Cruisers Amphion, Pathfinder, Aboukir, Cressy, Hogue, Pegasus and Hawke, and the torpedo gunboat Speedy make up the British formidable list of losses in warships in the first ten weeks of the war. Against this the British admiralty claims four German cruisers, two torpedo boat destroyers, one torpedo boat, three submarines and eight torpedo commerce destroyers.

"Omitting the armed merchantmen, the aggregate warship tonnage loss to England is, of course, much greater than that to Germany."

Slowly, but surely the German beavers are doing their work, Mr. Editorial Writer of "The Tribune." Contrary to English reports, the submarine U9 was unaccompanied when it sank the British cruisers Aboukir, Cressy and Hogue in September. It was again the same submarine U9, with Captain Otto Weddingen, Lieutenant Spiess and twenty-four men on board, that also sank the cruiser Hawke. Winston Churchill has not been making any more "Dig German warships out like rats from holes" speeches of late. If the British warships at the bottom of the North Sea have failed "to rouse British war feeling" we cannot believe the prophesy of this champion of England that Zeppelin raids will rouse it still more "and increase the rate of enlistment."

An article entitled "For King and Country" in "The Outlook" (New York) for October 14, says:

"You pass through Tottenham Court Road into Oxford Street and

Regent Street (London). In many of the shop windows are such printed appeals as these, in large letters:

TO ARMS FOR KING AND COUNTRY!

YOUR COUNTRY NEEDS YOU!

LORD KITCHENER WANTS 100,000 MORE VOLUNTEERS.

JOIN THE ARMY TILL THE WAR IS OVER.

"And then, more rarely, such a pithy, appealing notice as this to any Britisher of backbone:

UP TILL NOW YOU HAVE LOOKED ON AT THE GAME. WE CALL UPON YOU TO PLAY IT NOW. FORWARDS WANTED! NO BACKS! PLAY UP!

"And then, above all, this one:

COME NOW, DON'T HAVE TO BE FETCHED! THE PEOPLE WILL LOOK AFTER YOUR HOMES.

"Just how any Englishman who believes in his country's cause can withstand this last appeal is beyond me.

"Then there are other and rather more commercial appeals in the shop windows. In a Piccadilly cigar emporium there is this:

ALL TOBACCO AND CIGARS FOR THE CONTINENT ARE NOW DUTY FREE. REMEMBER OUR MEN AT THE FRONT.

"And then there is still another kind of appeal:

YOU DON'T WANT US TO CLOSE UP BECAUSE OF THE WAR, DO YOU? TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY EMPLOYEES ARE DEPENDENT FOR THEIR DAILY BREAD ON THIS ESTABLISHMENT. PATRONIZE US INSTEAD OF BUYING GOODS "MADE IN GERMANY."

"But the recruiting's the thing. It is going bravely forward, and an additional fillip is given wherever a band is present outside the recruiting office playing patriotic airs. Several orchestras make a point of accompanying, without charge, the various contingents from the London Central Recruiting Depot in Great Scotland Yard to the railway station.

"Yet with all the recruiting there comes to us who have been in Germany two pathetic convictions. The first is that these preparations are being made much too long after the war has begun. The second is that the preparations are meeting with inadequate response. Day before yesterday was London's largest recruiting day; four thousand men joined the ranks. But the total of recruits is small as compared with the TWO MILLION VOLUNTEERS IN GERMANY." (The last five words are emphasized by capitals by the Editor.

In Germany there were two million volunteers, besides the million and more men that were compelled by law to join the standards at the mobilization of the German army, in spite of the fact that the Anti-German press says it is the "Kaiser's war" and the Germans are but "his pawns." However, if that is the case, and many Anglomaniacs still assert it, Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, the Imperial Chancellor, did not have to go on the stump and make speeches to arouse the furor teutonicus. But he accompanied the "War Lord" to the front. * * *

The Position of France

How France has Behaved for a Century among her Neighbors!

WILL HISTORY REPEAT ITSELF?

The Fatherland, New York.

EXTRA! EXTRA! EXTRA!

SIX GERMAN BATTLESHIPS SUNK.

FRANCE WHIPS THE KAISER'S ARMY.

Entire Corps of Uhlans Mowed Down By French Machine Guns.

Paris Delirious With Joy Over First Victory.

In the above manner the first events (or suppositions, rather) of the gigantic struggle are being displayed to New York. The people show a feverish interest, and "extras" are sold, aggregating a tremendous total. Today, the newsboy is the only business man downtown doing a real business.

The sentimental effect of these glaring headlines on the masses vary: Delight—disbelief—and a little depression. To those who are taking the present "war news" with a good grain of salt, and those who feel uneasy over the members of their families and friends who may be fighting for the "Vaterland" or are within the danger zone, a reproduction of the "New York World" exactly 44 years ago will be of interest.

To explain the actual situation, it should be stated that the serious fighting had started with the engagement at Saarbrucken on August 2, the French occupying the city, Paris at once heard of the "grande victoire." With his breakfast on August 4, 1870, the New Yorker was served the following "extras" from the war:

The Fight at Saarbrucken.

Napoleon's Account of the Storming of the Heights.

His Despatch to Eugenie.

Half of the Town Destroyed.

The Mitrailleurs at Work.

Moral Effect of the First French Victory.

More Fighting.

Reported Storming of Weissenberg by the French.

Bazaine's Corps Engaged.

King William Assumes Command of His Army.

Position of the Prussians.

The Whole of Europe a Vast Camp.

England Distrusted Everywhere.

Negotiations to Keep Open the Ports of Hamburg and Bremen, etc., etc., etc.

Three Thousand Prisoners Captured.

Paris, Aug. 3.—The division of the French army under General Bataille, captured the town of Saarbrucken and took **3,000 Prussian prisoners.**

The Battle of Saarbrucken.

London, Aug. 3. (Noon)—The following details of the affair at Saarbrucken have been received here:

The fight began at 11 o'clock yesterday forenoon. The French passed the frontier in force. The Prussians were driven from their strong position by the sharp artillery fire of the French. The latter remained masters of the position, which they won without serious loss. The Emperor and Prince Imperial witnessed the conflict, and returned to Metz to dinner.

London, Aug. 3.—Saarbrucken was taken by the French this morning. The loss was slight on both sides.

Half of the Town Destroyed.

Paris, Aug. 3.—The French journals this morning publish the following account of the Saarbrucken affair:

Metz, Aug. 2.—The French troops passed the frontier at 11 o'clock. They instantly encountered the Prussians, strongly posted on the heights commanding Saarbrucken, which were carried by a few battalions. The capture of the town instantly followed, the artillery compelling the Prussians to evacuate it in great haste. General Frossard with one division defeated three divisions of the enemy. Buildings in Saarbrucken caught fire from the French artillery, and **half of the town was destroyed.** The mitrailleurs were used for the first time, and are reported to have worked wonders.

Napoleon's Despatch to Eugenie.

The Emperor, on his return to Metz, after the battle, sent the following telegraphic despatch to the Empress:

"Louis has received his baptism of fire. He was admirably cool, and little impressed. A division of Frossard's command carried the heights overlooking the Saar. The Prussians made a brief resistance. Louis and I were in front where the bullets fell about us. Louis keeps a ball he picked up. The soldiers wept at his tranquillity. We lost an officer and 10 men. Napoleon."

The City of Metz was illuminated last night in honor of the victory. After the retreat of the Prussians the French did not occupy the place.

The Empress with her nieces went this morning to the Chapel of Notre Dames des Victoires to offer prayers of thanksgiving for the safety and success of the Emperor and Prince Imperial.

The Victory Important.

Paris, Aug. 3.—The Figaro claims that the victory at Saarbrucken was one of great importance. The Emperor wished to gain possession of Saarbrucken because it commands the valley of the Saar and the railway to Treves. The latter cannot now be of any service to the enemy.

A comparison of the above with the actual facts is interesting and instructive. It supplies a good parallel of what we see today in the Anglo-American press.

The garrison of Saarbrucken consisted of two battalions of the Infantry Reg. No. 40 and one escadron of 7th Uhlans. "Sniping" had been going on at the border for more than a week. An effort was made to conceal the weakness of the garrison. They turned out in various combinations of uniforms, and in order to increase the variety they borrowed the outfit of the local fire department.

They succeeded very well. The French wasted many a valuable day before they marched on to Saarbrucken. The garrison withdrew after stubborn resistance. In the meantime, the concentration of the First German army had been completed. The French withdrew to Spichern Heights on the fifth of August—their position had become dangerous.

The telegram Napoleon sent to Paris about the "elan" of troops and the rejoicing in Paris was more than premature. In fact, it was a "joke." Later, news from Amsterdam spoke of it as a "coup de theatre."

It will be noted that General Bataille reports the capture of 2,000 Prussians. Probably an error in transmitting the telegram, unless he estimated the population of Saarbrucken at 2,000 and considered them prisoners of war.

Frossard's army was severely beaten four days later on the Spichern Heights.

Very interesting, indeed, is the report that the French had stormed Weissenberg. The report was only partly correct, There was some "storming," but Bavarians and Prussians did it, and a part of the French army under McMahon received its first blow, which was followed by a severe defeat at Worth on the sixth of August.

A study of the subsequent issues of the daily papers at that time discloses that the news became more unreliable as the war progressed. For instance, on September 3, 1870, New York papers report from Paris:

Great French Victory Near Sedan!

McMahon Effects Juncture With Bazaine!

Although the German troops had succeeded in closing the ring around Sedan on September 1, and Napoleon, McMahon and their entire army had become prisoners of war on September 2.

PARIS NOW AND IN 1870.

Editorial.

Boston Evening Transcript.

Forty-four years ago today, on September 15, 1870, the siege of Paris began. The first fighting of any moment did not occur until the 19th, but the 15th is commonly reckoned as marking the beginning of the investment. Ingress and egress were prohibited without the permit of the military authorities of Paris from the 15th, and the city settled down to endure a long, formal investment, with the imminent probability of bombardment. We know how well Paris held out, the capitulation not coming until the 28th of January, 1871, more than four months after the German advance guard began the operations preliminary to the siege.[1]

A fortnight back Paris was preparing to sustain a second siege. The German army rolled on with a force which compelled the Allies to fall back until they should gather up reenforcements and come in touch with the great garrison of Paris. The French Government took refuge at Bordeaux. Paris was cleared for action. The people who would eat and could not be expected to fight were urgently invited to leave the city. Today Paris is resuming something of its old ante-bellum aspect. **The enemy is retreating;[2] he is rapidly approaching the bases from which that great raid started that was to carry the Kaiser to Paris by Sept. 15.*** Sept. 15 has come and the German army has gone out of the region in which it was operating within ten days.

The contrast between the situation today and that in which Paris found itself in 1870 is a contrast between the vigorous France of the Republic, and the debilitated France of the Empire. Today from a military standpoint France is four or five times as strong as she was when the great Moltke sat down to besiege Paris. **The contrast on the German side is found apparently in the mediocrity of the present German leaders.*** Those who headed the German hosts of 1870 were men of more than ordinary ability. Indeed, Bismarck[3] and Moltke come in the category of genius. The military subordinates of Moltke were all men who added to special training special fitness. Today, if there is among the German generals one who rises above the level of a good routine officer[4] he has yet to make his presence and his influence manifested. The German army of invasion is far larger than any Moltke ever handled,[5] but it lacks a real Moltke to handle it to the utmost advantage. **It is on the defensive now and when it assumes that position the power of the initiative passes from it and goes over to the Allies.***[6]

*Emphasized in bold type by the Editor.

[1]The "Transcript's" editorial writer forgets that in 1870 "Tante Bertha from Essen" had not yet made her appearance. "Tante Bertha from Essen" is the nickname the German soldiers have given to the 42 centimeter Krupp siege guns that reduced the powerful fortress Namur in two days, while Antwerp, one of the strongest fortresses in the world, could withstand their fire for only ten days. What these monsters have done at Liège, Namur, Maubeuge and Antwerp, they will do again at Paris, when they get there. The "Transcript's" enthusiastic prophet therefore should not crow too early about the "mediocrity of the present German leaders." He will find out yet that "the great Moltke was not an accident."—Editor.

[2]A perusal of the article "Retrospective," reprinted on another page, will help the "Transcript's" military expert to grasp at least in part the reasons for the German army's retreat, a retreat which the jingo press of London, Paris and this side of the water gleefully termed a hopeless rout.—Editor.

[3]Does the "Transcript's" editorial writer wish to have his readers believe that Bismarck "headed the German hosts of 1870"?—Editor.

[4]It would be really interesting to know whether this miltiary critic considers the elusive von Kluck as at least deserving to be counted as "one who rises above the level of a good routine officer." He certainly seems to be a general "of more than ordinary ability." After the Allies have repeatedly reported his army retreating, annihilated and captured, he is still successfully forging ahead. "Verschiedene Anzeichen sprechen dafür, dass auf dem Kluck schen Flügel das Ei bald gelegt wird," says the "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung" in a recent issue, which translated means: "Several symptoms indicate that the egg will soon be laid in Kluck's nest."—Editor.

[5]Precisely. But does the "Transcript's" editorial writer realize what science is required to handle successfully a "far larger" number of men? He does not or he would not infer that the successors of the great Moltke in the present German General Staff who are battling successfully against tremendous odds in a war at two frontiers, do not add "to special training special fitness" and that the German army "lacks a real Moltke to handle it to the utmost advantage."

What can be said of the extraordinary ability of the German General Staff is also true of the generals who are carrying out its orders, and therefore it would seem that generals must be endowed with "more than ordinary ability" and besides must possess the power of the initiative to perform feats such as von Hindenburg at Tannenberg and elsewhere in the eastern theater of war, and such as have been performed on the western by von Kluck.

Of the latter general the "Milwaukee Free Press" in its issue of October 24 says editorially:

Gen. Von Kluck.

Among all the names that will go down to history from the great European war, none will shine with greater luster on the military roll than that of **Gen. von Kluck.**

Of all the problems offered by the conflict in the eastern field, his has been the most difficult, and he has met it, and, up to this time, solved it, with a display of soldierly skill, energy and daring, as well as consummate strategy, that has won for him the praise of the enemy's generals.

The operations of the German right wing have been so generally mispointed in America, that the achievement of von Kluck has won scant measure of appreciation outside of military circles. Yet ever since he accomplished his remarkable covering movement that led him almost to the gates of Paris and thereupon began his masterly withdrawal, the fortunes of the German cause in France have largely rested upon the ability of this general.

It is true that his operations have been directed by the general staff of the German army, but it is von Kluck and not the staff who with greatly inferior numbers has met and checked every attempt of the Franco-British flanking movement, drawn their left wing away from its base and isolated this new battle front from that which runs east and west.

In other words, he has created and maintained a situation against tremendous odds, which, because of its peculiar triangular form, permits the Germans to resist successfully a numerically superior force, and in case they reduce the fortifications opposing their center, to roll back each wing of the allies with little hope of future juncture.

Since the reports from Paris and London have been almost exclusively concerned with the fighting against von Kluck, the impression has gained currency here that the German right wing was the offensive force. This is not the case. Von Kluck's problem has been to resist, weaken, and if possible overcome the offensive of the allies, at least to hold the situation until the German center could break through the French fortifications that block their way.

His accomplishment of this feat thus far is, as we have said, the most remarkable that the European war has had to offer, and it enrolls Gen. von Kluck among the really great military leaders of his time.—From the "Milwaukee Free Press."—Editor.

"It seems that no statement is too idiotic for a certain class of newspapers to make, as long as it discredits or ridicules German institutions, the "War Lord" and his army. —A Friend.

No, no, Brother! you are on the wrong track; it's the *Pennies* they need!—Editor.

Mr. Editorial Writer of the "Boston Evening Transcript," what say you when even "The World," yes, the New York "World," tries to immortalize the military abilities of this "mediocre leader" by the following near-verses in a recent issue?

Von Kluck.

It was three weeks ago today
That first we heard the allies say
"Tomorrow morning you'll have learned
How von Kluck's right flank has been turned."
Somehow the turning movement stuck;
He didn't budge, did Herr von Kluck!

A few days later word from Paris
Announced that two new corps would harass
Von Kluck's right wing, and rank by rank,
Maneuver round and turn his flank.
But these new corps had rotten luck;
It's no dead cinch to turn von Kluck.

A week went by when we were glad
To get a cable from Petrograd.
It said von Kluck's communication
Was threatened with annihilation.
But he stood pat and passed the buck;
He's got some flank, has Herr von Kluck!

And all last week our headlines whirled
With the various ways von Kluck was "hurled";
Von Kluck's right flank was being pounded;
Von Kluck's whole army'd been surrounded;
The hour for turning that flank had struck!
But the flank's still there, and so's von Kluck.

So take your kaisers and princes and Grafs,
Your iron crosses and general staffs,
Your Gen. Joffre's and Sir John Frenches,
With all their men in the shelter trenches;
I'll take for mine that game old buck
Who won't be turned—ja. Herr von Kluck!

—From the New York "World."—Editor.

RETROSPECTIVE.

Editorial from the "Chicagoer Presse," October 9, 1914.

The rapid victorious advances of the Germans apparently came to a sudden stop. The advance guards of the armies, that had reached Meaux, Sezanne, and even Vitry le Francois and Troyes fell back as rapidly as they had advanced, followed by the exultant French and English, while our hearts began to feel the sting of doubt.

What had happened?

The western seat of war is divided into three sections. In the southern section extending from Basel to the heights at Strassburg everything is quiet. The French are guarding the defiles of the Vosges, the dangerous line of attack on Belfort. German skirmishes incessantly harass the enemy, thereby forcing the enemy to keep a large force in this region.

In the center the struggle for the possession of Verdun and Nancy is continuing. The French armies of the field operating in Louvain, are supported by the strongest line of fortifications ever known to the world and their obstinate resistance shows the effectiveness fortified towns still possess. When isolated and defended only by their garrison, fortifications that formerly held out for months, now fall quickly as did the strongly fortified Maubeuge with its garrison of 40,000 men. A force of this size is needed to defend a post of moderate dimensions. When however a fortress is supported by an army they work together like a center rush and goalkeeper at a football-game: If the attacking party is successful on the field, the fortifications deprive them of the fruits of the victory.

The great victory of the Bavarian Crown Prince between Strassbourg and Metz could not be fully utilized owing to the proximity of Épinal and Toul.

But how different, the advance in the North, where the French circle of fortifications was entered into: Maubeuge could not check the victorious advance of the Germans, its fall was only a question of a few days. After the battle of St. Quentin the French-British had entirely disappeared. La Fere, Laon and the Rheims forts that obstructed the road to Paris—were deserted. With fabulous rapidity German cavalry swarmed forth as far as Compiègne. Paris seemed to be the goal of the German army. Onward they rushed at an incomprehensible mad pace. The report that German soldiers had taken Troyes, which lies on the road from Belfort to Paris and to the rear of Toul and Épinal seemed like a fairy tale.

And now for the second time the question arises: What has happened?

Joffre, whom the impatient French had already began to call Cunctator, knew full well that his army could no longer withstand the onslaught of the Germans in the open. Only when supported by strong forts and where, after giving way it could seek cover, it was still strong. The psychology of the French soldier, who, whenever there is a chance, fires from houses, is the psychology of the French army.

Why lose from 40,000 to 60,000 men at Loan, La Fere and Rheims, which would only share the fate of Maubeuge and Namur? The commander needs them. To make a stand at Paris would be fruitless. The defeated armies needed time to recover. More English should be brought on. In Paris and the South there were new fresh troops. The army with whom the fate of France rests, should retire to the west of Paris. Then the Germans might come and settle down before the capital. Woe to the Germans, if they attempted to foil this plan and attempt to force a battle in the rear of Paris. Being far away from their own country and depending on an endless line of supply that could be interfered with by every French native—man, woman or child, with all the means at their command, the slightest set back would mean catastrophy for them. Joffre would have retired as far as Langres and Dijon to prepare this catastrophe for the enemy. * * *

Ideals, Customs, Laws, Progress, and the Laws of War
The First Law of Nature

IN THE GERMAN TRENCHES AGAINST RUSSIA
This picture, taken at Darkehmen in East Prussia, gives an excellent idea of the plans and nature of German Trenches. It has been a hard and wearisome conflict

MODERN WARFARE AND THE PRESENT WAR.

This is the ninth article of a series on THE EUROPEAN WAR, which appeared in the October Number of THE OPEN COURT, under the title "Modern Warfare," written by the Editor, Dr. Paul Carus.

Consult the INDEX for the complete series, and, in order to see where, in the various Chapters of the book, the different articles of this treatise may be found, look for EUROPEAN WAR (THE). In this way the reader may read the entire series of articles in their original order, if he chooses to do so, while the present arrangement still gives him the advantage of bringing the various articles under their proper, respective Chapter-headings of the book.

This is a series of exceptionally fine articles on the subject in question, and they bear a unique and important relation to each other. Be sure to read them also in their original order.—Editor, "War Echoes."

Modern Warfare.

What wrong notions prevail about warfare can be seen in almost every American newspaper. In the opinion of many people, including reporters in America as well as abroad, the purpose of war seems to be to kill as many of the enemy as possible, and the losses of the victor are sometimes described and emphasized as if the vanquished army had got the best of the battle. This might be compared to a game of chess in which he would be the victor who loses the fewest pieces. It is true that every party laments the loss of men for humanitarian reasons and also on account of weakening its forces, but for the significance of the war the purpose of a battle is to gain a position which dominates the roads and places the enemy's country at the invader's mercy.

For this reason the Germans have introduced the use of bullets making clean wounds from which a healthy man may easily recover. There is no advantage in massacring the enemy, but it is very desirable to put great numbers of them *hors de combat.* The humanitarian motive of sparing the lives of the enemy is not uppermost in this idea, but the practical advantage of burdening the enemy with the care of their wounded men.

For the same reason, the principle has been adopted in the international agreements as to the rules of warfare that all expanding rifle bullets shall be strictly barred. It is sufficient to hit an enemy and wound him; it is unnecessary to cause him to die in agony, or to inflict upon him wounds that are incurable. Dumdum bullets are no factor in the decision of victory in battle and are barbarous and inhuman.

A French report informs the French public that only two per cent of their wounded soldiers die, which means that 98 per cent, i. e., almost all of them, survive; and the writer of that note adds that the Germans are poor riflemen; they cannot shoot, and when they hit they do not kill.

Victories may be gained without a battle, by forced marches; for a victory consists in gaining a dominant position. How little the British generals know of warfare appears from the report of General French who finds himself in an untenable position and is proud of having escaped annihilation. Tommy Atkins is brave in battle, but he must be placed in the right position or his courage will manifest itself in his "brilliant retreat." Courage is an essential element in the winning of a victory, but leadership cannot be dispensed with. A general should at least be familiar with the fundamentals of warfare.

There is another superstition prevalent which is that the results of war may be calculated by seeing troops on paper. England will find out that material consisting of raw recruits is not dangerous to her enemies. A new army of one or several hundred thousand may be raised to serve as food for cannons, not to turn the tide of German triumph. In war, as everywhere, it is quality that counts and not quantity; efficiency, not numbers.

Still another error is repeated *ad nauseam* in Britsh and French papers. Whenever the Germans are to be recognized for advantages gained, they are accused of unintelligent energy, slavish obedience, or the display of brutal force with their superiority of numbers. As to numbers, there is no question that the Germans are by far inferior in this respect to their enemies, the allied troops; but it is an important principle in warfare that at the critical point there must be a display of superior strength, and it is the part of strategy to recognize the decisive point and concentrate there a superior number of men. This is not brute force but superior intelligence. By and by the English will learn more of warfare and will gradually appreciate the part which intelligence plays in battle.

Modern warfare is based upon the principle that the armies should fight, not the citizens. When the citizens of a village or a city attack soldiers from their windows, thus taking part in battle, they forfeit the right to have their lives and their property respected, and the enemy punishes them by burning their houses. Strict neutrality on the part of civilians is universally considered an indispensable rule because only in this way can an invading army be expected to confine its attack to the hostile soldiers. If invading troops were obliged to regard every inhabitant as an enemy who may shoot from an ambush, they would have to massacre every one in sight in self-defense. The participation of civilians in the fight is of no assistance to their country, for they are necessarily unorganized bodies of fighters; though they inflict damage, they suffer more in return. Thus they would renew the savage condition in which hostility between two nations becomes a struggle for mutual extermination. For this reason a civilized army can not allow civilians to take up arms and participate in the war; nor can any government let such occurrences go unpunished, first because it must protect its own men, and then because a combat of civilians leads back to a most terrible barbarism.

Now the Germans claim that while the Belgians made a sortie from Ant-

werp, some patriotic Belgians distributed rifles among the citizens of Louvain, who thereupon suddenly attacked the small force of Germans in their midst. After a battle in the streets they were overpowered and for punishment the city or part of the city was doomed to destruction. It is stated, however, that the quaint old City Hall was spared. The incident of Louvain, having occurred simultaneously with an Antwerp sortie, seems to have been inspired by Belgian government officials acting in concert with military authorities at Antwerp. Similar outbreaks of the same kind have happened before and the King of the Belgians officially expressed his thanks for the brave resistance not only of the army but also of the people against the invader.

King Albert, of Belgium, has given the military golden cross to Private J. J. Rousseau of the Fourth Belgian Chasseurs for killing Major General von Buelow after the battle of Haelen. It must have been a lonely spot on the battlefield where the German general appeared unfolding a map and studying the geography of the place. Rousseau was lying on the ground among the wounded; he fired and mortally wounded the general. The newspaper account adds: "On the general's person the Belgians found besides a number of dispatches $33,000 in currency which money was turned over to the Red Cross." Disguised with the helmet of a Prussian cuirassier, Rousseau escaped. The deed was confessedly done from ambush, not in open battle, so it is difficult to appreciate its heroism; and the appropriation of the dead man's property is scarcely defensible.

The government of France has been guilty of similar offenses. The French have preached revenge in their schools and have praised the brave *francs-tireurs*, thus encouraging a repetition of civilian hostility against the Germans by sowing hatred against them in the minds of the children and fostering the barbarous habit of allowing the participation of the populace in war. To reproach the Germans for burning Louvain is the more unfair, as under the same circumstances every other army would have done the same. Think of the treatment which the English accorded to their Hindu prisoners as presented in a most horrifying picture by Verestchagin!

The Belgian explanation of the occurrence in Louvain, to the effect that the Germans had shot upon their own men by mistake and had then attempted to cover up their error by accusing the inhabitants of Louvain, is strangely improbable and lacks verification as much as the accusations of other alleged "atrocities."*

There are vulgar men in every army, but any one who is really acquainted with armies of different nationalities will grant that the German men are more cultured and of a higher moral standing than any other private soldiers the world over; and the reason is that they are not soldiers proper, but sons of honest citizens, children of home folks who perform their military duties while being themselves traders or craftsmen or laborers, who before and after military service earn their honest and peaceable living in some regular calling in the community. There are no soldiers of fortune among them, no adventurers, no warriors by profession.

Americans have heard only one side of the situation. The cable being cut, uncensored news begins to reach us very slowly, so the sympathy with Belgium has developed among us an unfair hostility towards Germany. Not only was it known to the Germans that the French would break Belgium's neutrality with the consent of the Belgian government, but hatred against the Germans was spread among the population, afterwards causing many civilians to take part in the fighting. Shortly before the actual beginning of the war the Germans were treated most barbarously in Antwerp. The Chicago Herald of September 15 contains a letter, written August 7, which Mrs. O. C. Buss, of 6104 Kenwood Avenue, received from her sister:

"In Belgium they are murdering Germans everywhere. They dragged German women out of their beds and through the streets by the hair. Threw little children out of windows while their mothers begged for them."

About happenings which took place during the war the same lady writes: "They fired on and killed Red Cross nurses and murdered the wounded. They went into a house where three wounded German soldiers were and murdered them. At the railroad station when Germans and Austrians were leaving, they tore children from their mothers' arms, and the mothers have never seen them again. . . . One poor fellow was wandering about with his hands tied behind his back, and his eyes gouged out. Others were found dead from the same treatment. . . . All war news is given to the people through the police. Every policeman stands at the corner and cries out the news like a 'barker.'"

The French did not remain behind the Belgians in maltreatment of inoffensive Germans. We will quote only one statement of an American eyewitness, dated New York, August 24, and published in the Chicago Examiner, August 25:

"'It will never be known how many Germans were killed in Paris during the riots July 30 and 31 and August 1. The crimes of that period, could they become known, would shame the civilized world.'

"This statement was made today by Henry M. Ziegler, a Cincinnati millionaire who has made his home in Paris for five years, but fled with the American refugees on the steamship La France. Describing the scenes in Paris during these three days, before martial law was declared, Mr. Ziegler said:

"'It was unsafe for any foreigner, particularly one who could not speak French, to go on the streets. For a German it was little short of suicidal. I saw one German driving down a boulevard with a woman in a cab. The mob upset the cab. The woman fainted and was trampled on, but some one finally dragged her away.

"The man made a gallant fight for his life. With his back to the overturned cab he fought desperately for several minutes. He was a big fellow, too. He struck out right and left with his fists and bowled over his assailants as fast as they got within reach, but he was finally overpowered, trampled and stabbed to death.

"I know a family that had a German cook who had been with them many years. The sons went off to war, but that was no guarantee of protection for the woman. Some one told the mob, and my friends had to hide the old woman in the cellar to save her life.

"One evening a friend and I saw the mob chasing a German. He almost got away, but was caught in an alley. My friend recognized one of his employes in the mob. The next day his employe boasted that they not only got the German we saw them after, but three others. All were stabbed to death after being beaten into insensibility.

"One of the most noticeable things in Paris are the electric signs of a big milk distributor. He has upwards of 100 milk depots in Paris, and is worth more than $5,000,000. He is a German who has lived in Paris for twenty years. The mob wrecked his electric signs and milk depots, and then some one started the report that he had poisoned the milk and was going to kill all his customers. The mob went hunting for him, but he escaped."

According to German testimony recorded in German papers, the cruelty of civilians towards helpless wounded German soldiers on the battlefield has become quite common in Belgium, and gouging out the eyes seems to have developed into a sport among a certain class of patriots who, when caught, are not treated very tenderly. It is the punishment of these offenders which has given rise to the stories of German atrocities, so far as they are based on facts.

Five American reporters, three of whom are residents of Chicago and all well known throughout the United States, write thus in a round robin about the alleged German atrocities:*

"After spending two weeks with and accompanying the troops upward of one hundred miles, we are unable to report a single instance unprovoked.

"We are also unable to confirm rumors of mistreatment of prisoners or of non-combatants with the German columns. This is true of Louvain, Brussels and Lunéville while in Prussian hands.

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*The reader will find this awful picture in "War Echoes," which I reproduce with a great reluctance, personally, but as they have set the example they should at least be willing to accept some of their own medicine. This no German will give even to the worst of them.—Editor.

*An extensive report of these men and detailed circumstances preceding and attending the Round Robin referred to, is given elsewhere in "War Echoes." (See Atrocities.)—Editor.

GERMAN ORDNANCE OFFICERS IN POLAND

Receiving a Telephone Message at their Field Telephone Station in a Polish Village. Note the heavy, white Sheepskin Coat; also the seriousness of the Situation

(Photograph by the International News Service)

"We visited Chateau Soldre, Sambre, and Beaumont without substantiating a single wanton brutality. Numerous investigated rumors proved groundless. Everywhere we have seen Germans paying for purchases and respecting property rights as well as according civilians every consideration.

"After the battle of Biass (probably Barse, a suburb of Namur) we found Belgian women and children moving comfortably about. The day after the Germans had captured the town of Merbes Chateau we found one citizen killed, but were unable to confirm lack of provocation. Refugees with stories of atrocities were unable to supply direct evidence. Belgians in the Sambre valley discounted reports of cruelty in the surrounding country. The discipline of the German soldiers is excellent, as we observed.

"To the truth of these statements we pledge our professional and personal word.

James O'Donnell Bennett,
Chicago Tribune.

John T. McCutcheon,
Chicago Tribune.

Roger Lewis,
The Associated Press.

Irvin S. Cobb,
Saturday Evening Post.

Harry Hansen,
Chicago Daily News."

Some of these American reporters had been arrested for some time in the German lines. The subject is resumed in the Tribune of September 17 where we read on the first page in big print:

"That Mr. Bennett's fears of British censorship were well founded is made clear by the fact that the copy of the round robin sent by Mr. McCutcheon and himself direct to The Tribune has never been received in this office. The copy 'wirelessed' to the Associated Press from Berlin is the only one that got through."

Mr. James O'Donnell Bennett is very serious in his insistence that the truth shall come out because the untruth is spread with the obvious intent to injure the German cause. He speaks of the "round robin" as "a bare statement in which we expressed our earnest belief—a belief based on days of personal observations in the theater of war—that the reports of barbarities alleged to have been perpetrated by German troops on an inoffensive Belgian countryside are shocking falsehoods."

Referring to English censorship he speaks of that "thing as the vaunted English sense of fair play"; he mentions the "bundles of London newspapers" containing "column after column of the most harrowing and dreadful accounts of most infamous barbarities inflicted upon the Belgian peasantry by German troops." Trying to verify one case Mr. Bennett says: "Always on our march the facts relative to the German atrocities evaded us. Always it was in 'the next village' that a woman had been outraged, a child butchered, or an innocent old man tortured. Arriving at that 'next village,' we could get no confirmation from the inhabitants. 'No,' they would say, 'it did not happen here; but we heard that it was in the next village, messieurs.' But the next village would develop naught authentically — only wild stories, rumors, hearsay. At Soire-sur-Sambre, all around which there had been fighting on Sunday and Monday, the 23d and 24th of August, the burgomaster said to us in the late afternoon of Wednesday, the 26th: 'As reports come in from surrounding towns I am unable to verify these rumors of cruelties perpetrated against unarmed civilians, and I give no credence to them.' "

Much has been said also of the maltreatment of women, and this subject, too, is mentioned by Mr. Bennett, who says:

"The most terrific outrage any of us has seen was seen by Cobb. With his own appreciative eyes he saw a laughing German soldier, who was crossing a street in Louvain, lean forward and imprint a kiss on the cheek of a Belgian girl who was bantering him. The girl promptly slapped his face. The soldier laughed the louder. The girl began to laugh, too. The incident was closed. Cobb said it was as quaint and merry a scene in homely life as ever he saw. That was week before last."

Mr. Bennett in speaking of the falsehoods of the English reports of German atrocities blames the Louvain citizens themselves for the destruction of their city. Having mentioned another item he says: "A few days later Louvain lost its head. It went mad. Its civilians fired from ambuscade upon German soldiers. The deed was the supreme outrage against laws of civilized warfare. The punishment was terrible and it has put the fear of the Prussian god into every Belgian city and hamlet from Antwerp to Beaumont, from Ostend to Liège. Today the ancient and renowned university city of northern Europe lies in ashes."

Louvain is not a "university city" in the usual sense of the word. Its great educational institution is called "the Catholic University," in contrast to modern scientific universities, and some young priests there appear to have taken a prominent part in the fight against the heretical Germans.

While I write, the German official report of the destruction of Louvain reaches me. It was published in Berlin, August 30, and disposes of all the Belgian fables:

"The city of Louvain surrendered and was given over to us by the Belgian authorities. On Monday, August 24, some of our troops were shipped there, and intercourse with the inhabitants was developing quite friendly.

"On Tuesday afternoon, August 25, our troops, hearing about an imminent Belgian sortie from Antwerp, left in that direction, the commanding general ahead in a motor car, leaving behind only a colonel with soldiers to protect the railroad (*Landsturm Bataillon* 'Neuss').

"As the rest of the commanding general's staff, with the horses, was going to follow, and had gathered on the market place, rifle fire suddenly opened from all the surrounding houses, all the horses being killed and five officers wounded, one of them seriously.

"Simultaneously fire opened at about ten different places in town, also on some of our troops just arrived and waiting on the square in front of the station, and on incoming military trains. That it was a designed co-operation with the Belgian sortie from Antwerp was established beyond a doubt.

"Two priests who were caught handing out ammunition to the people were shot at once in front of the station.

"The street fight lasted till Wednesday, the 26th, in the afternoon (twenty-four hours), when stronger forces, which arrived in the meantime, succeeded in getting the upper hand. The town and northern suburb were burning at different places, and by this time probably have burned down altogether.

"On the part of the Belgian government a general rising of the populace against the enemy had been organized for a long time; depots of arms were found, where to each gun was attached the name of the citizen to be armed.

"A spontaneous rising of the people has been recognized at the request of the smaller states at The Hague conference, as being within the law of nations, in so far as weapons are carried openly and the laws of civilized warfare are observed; but such rising was only admitted in order to fight the attacking enemy.

"In the case of Louvain the town had already surrendered and the populace submitted without resistance, the town being occupied by our troops.

"Nevertheless the populace attacked us on all sides and discharged murderous fire on the occupying forces and newly-arriving troops, which came in trains and automobiles.

"Therefore it is not a question of the means of defense allowed by the law of nations, nor of a warlike ambush, but only of a treacherous attack by the civilian population all along the line. This attack is all the more to be condemned as it was apparently planned long beforehand to take place simultaneously with an attack from Antwerp; for arms were not carried openly, and women and young girls took part in the fight, blinding our wounded and gouging their eyes out.

"The barbarous attitude of the Belgian population in all parts occupied by our troops has not only justified our severest measures, but forced them upon us for the sake of self-preservation.

"The violence of the resistance of the populace is shown by the fact that in Louvain twenty-four hours were necessary to break down their attack.

"We ourselves regret deeply that during these fights the town of Louvain has to a large extent been destroyed. Needless to say, these consequences were not intentional on our part, and could not be avoided."

The truth leaks out more and more. Mr. Joseph Medill Patterson, editor of the "Chicago Tribune," now on the theater of war, writes an explicit account of the alleged atrocities and says: "I firmly believe that all the stories put out by the British and French of torture, mutilation, assaults, etc., by Germans are utter rubbish."

George F. Porter of Chicago, now in London, writes in the same spirit. Here is an account of one of his many personal investigations and the inkling of truth it contained:

"They did tell me, however, of a Belgian nurse at the St. Thomas Hospital here (London) with the tendons of her wrist cut. I went there immediately, saw the secretary of the hospital and found there was a nurse there, but that instead of the tendons of her wrists being cut she had burned her wrists badly by the explosion of a spirit lamp on which she was making tea. Here was a typical example of the way stories are fabricated out of nothing."

We learn from German papers that only about one-sixth of Louvain has been burned down. The rest has been preserved. Some churches and other valuable buildings were destroyed during the fight, but were not set on fire by the Germans. Some German officers did their best to save valuable pictures.

The lies of German atrocities are strangely offset by the great wrongs committed by the Belgians, not only in taking an active part in the war but also in the most heinous crimes of battle-hyenas. Many persons have been captured who found a pastime in torturing wounded German soldiers and indulged mainly in gouging out the eyes of their helpless victims.*

The Belgians complain of German atrocities, but they seem to think that private citizens are not bound to respect the rules of warfare. They deemed it right to drive German inhabitants out of Antwerp in a most cruel feud; and the French and English make use of dumdum bullets. The Kaiser made the following statement to President Wilson, to whom complaints had been submitted by the Belgians:

"I consider it my duty, sir, to inform you as the most notable representative of the principles of humanity—that after the capture of the French Fort of Longwy my troops found in that place thousands of dumdum bullets which had been manufactured in special works by the French government. Such bullets were found not only on French killed and wounded soldiers and on French prisoners, but also on English troops. You know what terrible wounds and awful suffering are caused by these bullets, and that their use is strictly forbidden by the generally recognized rules of international warfare.

"I solemnly protest to you against the way in which this war is being waged by our opponents, whose methods are making it one of the most barbarous in history.

"Besides the use of these awful weapons, the Belgian government has openly incited the civil population to participate in the fighting, and has for a long time carefully organized their resistance. The cruelties practiced in this guerrilla warfare, even by women and priests, toward wounded soldiers and doctors and hospital nurses — physicians were killed and hospitals fired on—were such that eventually my generals were compelled to adopt the strongest measures to punish the guilty and frighten the bloodthirsty population

* The Chicago Herald of September 22, page 1, contains an extract from W. Scheuermann's report of the cruelty of Belgian civilians, among them young girls.

from continuing their shameful deeds.

"Some villages, and even the old town of Louvain, with the exception of its beautiful town hall (Hotel de Ville), had to be destroyed for the protection of my troops.

"My heart bleeds when I see such measures inevitable and when I think of the many innocent people who have lost their houses and property as a result of the misdeeds of the guilty."

The worst feature of the citizens' fight in Louvain is the attitude of the Belgian government in sending out official orders in writing to the leaders of the patriotic party. These misguided fanatics had hoped to exterminate the entire little garrison. That the Belgian government had taken an important part in this murderous work, may serve as an excuse to the citizens who ventured into the fight, but we can not blame the Germans for insisting on severe punishment. Apparently in the opinion of the King of Belgium there is no difference between war and assassination. He may be well-intentioned, but appears to lack judgment.

MODERN WARFARE AND THE WAR.

(Continued.)

Modern Warfare.

And here is Mr. Jourdain's reply to the Editor's discussion of this subject.—Editor, *War Echoes.*

This section attempts the defense of the German army by stating: (1) that German "atrocities" in Belgium did not take place; (2) that the Belgians committed atrocities against Germans. With regard to the first contention it may be pointed out that the only official inquiry, the Belgian, produces a vast mass of evidence from sufferers and eye-witnesses; while the round robin of the five American reporters[7] only comes to this, that these five gentlemen, after spending two weeks with, and accompanying the troops upward of one hundred miles, were "unable to report a single instance unprovoked." This is quite possible with regard to the districts seen by them, but obviously does not cover the whole country of Belgium. The German official statement that "the only means of preventing surprise attacks from the civil population has been to interfere with unrelenting severity, and to create examples which by their frightfulness would be a warning to the whole country" seems by its wording to allow for atrocious treatment of the civil population.

The destruction of Louvain, whether the civil population fired upon the Germans or no, has shocked all neutral countries. The Editor gives the German official report[8] (published in Berlin, August 20), as disposing of "all the Belgian fables," while he describes the Belgian account as improbable and lacking verification.[9] The utmost that could be said is that the two accounts are inconsistent; and neither side gives "verification." It cannot be said that the German version disposes of the Belgian, any more than that the Belgian disposes of the German, as far as evidence is concerned, though one may have a clear idea as to which story is the more probable. It is not correct to say that "to reproach the Germans for burning Louvain is the more unfair as under the same circumstances every other army would have done the same;"[10] as the English, French and Italian presses have repudiated such measures. The execution of a certain number of Indian rebels as a definite punishment of the guilty cannot be compared with the German treatment of Louvain, Termonde and Aerschot, in which many innocent civilians, women and children, perished. In the suggestion that Belgians have been guilty of "the most heinous crimes of battle-hyenas," and that many people have been captured who found a pastime in torturing German soldiers,[1] no proof is adduced; and as far as the evidence of hospitals is available the "Vorwärts," investigating this question, found there was absolutely no foundation for these imaginary "atrocities."

The final "atrocity" charge made by the German emperor[2] to President Wilson, is that French and English troops make use of dumdum bullets. Such accusations are easy to make, and no verification is attempted on the German side; that is, the German emperor merely states that "after the capture of the French fort of Longwy my troops found in that place thousands of dumdum bullets which had been manufactured in special works by the French government. Such bullets were found not only on French killed and wounded soldiers but also on English troops." The German case was that the Government supplied large quantities of these bullets, and the German legation in Berne invited all and sundry to go and see the dumdum bullets in their possession which had, it was said, been taken from French and British soldiers. The "Journal de Genève" sent Herr Meyer von Stadelhofen, the well-known Swiss rifle champion, who also carefully scrutinized these bullets in the German legation. He reported:

"I noticed first that the transformation had been effected with the help of rudimentary tools. such as a file, a saw, or a puncheon; secondly, that of these five bullets no two were cut in the same place, the mark of the instrument having been sometimes made nearer and sometimes farther from the nose of the bullet; thirdly, that the scooping-out was not done in the middle of the bullet; fourthly, that the metal had been recently worked, for the lead was still very bright."

His conclusions, therefore, are that obviously these bullets were not altered by mechanical means, and that they were not altered at the time or under the conditions referred to in the German note handed to him. To put it plainly, the statements of this note are not borne out by the examination of the bullets with which it was accompanied, while, to put it still more plainly, the famous dumdum bullets were made in Germany, or, at any rate turned into dumdum bullets there. Herr Meyer von Stadelhofen then asked whether the secretary of the Berlin foreign office had sent the German legation in Berne any medical evidence testifying to the use of dumdum ammunition, to which the answer was "No," an explanation being added, about which an army surgeon's opinion would be highly interesting, that "German doctors consider that it is virtually almost impossible to know whether a wound is or is not due to a dumdum bullet, owing to the fact that modern bullets have such a rotary movement that they often cause wounds similar to those produced by dumdum bullets, especially when they do not strike quite direct, as is frequently the case." [3] *

Corroborative testimony directly controverting the use of dumdum bullets by the allies is that of Dr. Häberlin, a member of the Zürich medical association, who acted as a volunteer surgeon in various military hospitals in Arlen (Grand Duchy of Baden) and Ludwigsburg, and reported he never heard anything of a dumdum bullet wound. I have given prominence to these reports of neutrals, but the memorandum issued from the War Office, dated October 7, denies the use of dumdum bullets by English troops. There is, the report runs, clear evidence that Germany has not confined herself solely to the use of unobjectionable ammunition. Her troops both in Togoland and in France have been proved to have used bullets with a soft core and hard thin envelope, not entirely covering the core, which type of bullet is expanding and therefore expressly prohibited by The Hague Convention. Such bullets of no less than three types were found on the bodies of dead native soldiers serving with the German armed forces against British troops in Togoland in August, and on the persons of German European and native armed troops captured by us in that colony. All the British wounded treated in the British hospitals during the operations in Togoland were wounded by soft-nosed bullets of large calibre, and the injuries which these projectiles inflicted, in marked contrast to those treated by the British medical staff amongst the German wounded, were extremely severe, bones being shattered and the tissue so extensively damaged that amputation had to be performed. The use of those bullets was the object of a written protest by the general officer commanding the British troops in Nigeria to the German acting governor of Togoland. Again, at Gundelu, in France, on September 19, 1914, soft-nosed bullets (i. e., those in which the lead core is exposed and protrudes at the nose) were found on the dead bodies of German soldiers of the *Landwehr*, and on the persons of soldiers of the *Landwehr* made prisoners of war by the British troops.

One of these bullets has reached the War Office. It is undoubtedly expand-

[7] Quoted in "O. C.," p. 620. *

[8] "Ibid.," pp. 632-633.

[9] "Ibid.," p. 628. The Belgian account was issued to the British press on September 15 by the Press Bureau.

*The Reader may find the complete reference by consulting the Index, for Jourdain.—Editor.

[10] "Ibid.," p. 628.

[1] "Ibid.," p. 634.

[2] "Ibid.," p. 634.

*But how about the packages found with the French manufacturing stamp on them, Mr. Jourdain?—Editor, *War Echoes.*

[3] Quoted in the "Morning Post," October 30, 1914.

ing, and directly prohibited by the Hague Convention.*

*To say "it is reported," or "undoubtedly," is not "proof," Mr. Jourdain, and furthermore, if Germans should have used such bullets in Togoland as are prohibited by law, it was the British who first taught this trick by the making and introducing them in Dum-Dum, India, against their "Dear Allies."—Editor, *War Echoes.*

THE MOBILIZATION OF GERMAN WOMEN.

The war has swept away the chief argument against the admission of women to political and industrial equality in Germany. The opponents of women's rights have been willing to admit that the bearing of children demanded as much courage as military service and even that it was as useful to the nation, but since it was an individual act it could not—in German estimation—rank with the organized activities of men. So long as women showed themselves deficient in the ability to organize and co-operate they could not claim membership in the supreme organization, the state.

But now the women have demonstrated that they can equal the other sex in what the Germans regard as the highest attainment of *Kultur.* Their success in forming and managing an association of varied activities and national scope is in some respects a more remarkable feat than the mobilization of the German army, for it was effected without compulsion or previous training. On the morning of the day when Germany declared war against Russia Dr. Gertrud Bäumer, president of the Federation of Women's Clubs, issued a call for the mobilization of German women for social service. The Federation itself includes half a million members and with it are associated all the philanthropic and relief organizations of the country as well as an army of other women all working under the general direction of the "*Nationale Frauendienst.*" It corresponds somewhat to the Ladies' Aid Society of our Civil War, but has a wider range. While one branch is working with the Red Cross and another caring for the comfort of the soldiers in the field, the chief duty assumed is looking after the homes deprived—perhaps forever—of the breadwinner. Here are women and children, sometimes sick and often helpless, thrown suddenly upon their own resources when industry is paralyzed and times are hardest. Self-supporting women were deprived of employment and the singers and actresses were harder to place than the discharged factory girls and housemaids. During the first months the volunteer visitors in Berlin made personal investigations of 255,000 cases and in October the twenty-three relief committees distributed 100,000 bread tickets, 56,000 milk tickets and 300,000 meal tickets to the needy of the capital.

One of the most valuable forms of social service has been the establishment of cooking schools in various quarters of the cities, where free instruction has been given to housewives in the preparation of cheap and nutritious foods, in the use of the fireless cooker and in making bread twenty per cent potatoes and cooking according to the Government War Cook Book. In the National Women's Service the same spirit of unity has been displayed as elsewhere in Germany, and for the first time in the history of the country rich and poor, bourgeois and socialist, churchly and worldly, worked together in a common cause. Let us hope that when peace comes the German women will not forget what they have learned to do and that the German men will remember it, too.—The Independent.

TO GERMAN WOMEN.

An Appeal from the Kaiserin.

On the summons of the Emperor our people are preparing for an unprecedented struggle, which it did not invoke and which it is only carrying on in its defense. Whoever can bear arms will joyfully hasten to the colors to defend the Fatherland with his blood. The struggle will be gigantic and the wounds to be healed innumerable, therefore I call upon you women and girls of Germany, and all to whom it is not given to fight for our beloved home, for help. Let every one now do what lies in her power to lighten the struggle for our husbands, sons and brothers. I know that in all ranks of our people, without exception, the will exists to fulfill this high ideal, but may the Lord God strengthen us in our holy work of love, which summons us women to devote all our strength to the Fatherland in its decisive struggle.

The organizations primarily concerned who should be supported first have already sent out notices regarding the mustering of volunteers and the collection of gifts of all kinds.

AUGUSTE VICTORIA.

Berlin, Aug. 6.

18,000,000 MEN UNDER ARMS; 2,000,000 LOST.

From the New York Evening Sun.

Even the most exaggerated predictions, made sixty-six days ago when the European war began, regarding the number of men that would be called into the conflict and the tremendous losses that would accompany it have been borne out.

Events now show that the nations at war have men under arms or at the battle fronts as follows:

Russia	6,000,000
Germany	4,300,000
France	4,000,000
Austria	2,500,000
England	250,000
Servia	300,000
Japan	230,000
Belgium	200,000
Montenegro	80,000
Total	17,860,000

A New York physician has received a letter from a reputable source in France, saying that more than 300,000 Frenchmen were killed, wounded or taken prisoners in the battle of the Marne and the battle of the Aisne so far as it has gone. A fair estimate places the German losses in the battles at 500,000 men. The British loss is proportionate to the French, and a conservative estimate places their casualty list at 30,000.

The German loss in the eastern theater of war is largely a matter of guesswork. Colonel R. N. Maude, author of "The Evolution of Strategy," estimates the total German loss along all the battle fronts at 1,000,000.

The Austrian loss in the Galician campaign in killed, wounded and prisoners has been estimated at more than 500,000. In inflicting this damage it is believed that the Russians lost at least 250,000. Then there are the losses to the Belgians and the casualties of the fighting in the far East.

Thus the estimates of the killed, wounded and missing in the war so far place them in the neighborhood of 2,000,000 men.—Reprinted from "The Chicago Evening Post," October 9, 1914.

THE EASTERN CAMPAIGN
SECOND GREAT MOVE AGAINST THE ENEMY

According to the Strategic Plans of the German Military Staff
The Russian Mobilization "Trick"—Mobilizing long before a Declaration of War

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THIS FORCES THE WAR ON AUSTRIA AND GERMANY
MAKES POSSIBLE THE RUSSIAN BARBARITIES IN EAST PRUSSIA

Accounts for the sporadic Russian Successes during the First Stages of the War
France and Great Britain in this "Game" with Russia
The "Bear" Must Save Us

What will the Coming Century bring Germany from Russia?
We Dread to Think of it!

VON HINDENBURG IS HERO OF EVERY GERMAN TOWN.

General Who Drove Russians Out Revels in Adulation; Saved Mazurian Lakes by Appeal to Kaiser.

From the "Chicago Examiner," Feb. 28, 1915.

BERLIN, Feb. 27.—There is no parallel to the enthusiasm Von Hindenburg's name has invoked. If he had descended like an archangel from the skies and rushed the Russian armies into the Black Sea there could have been no more extravagant acclamation.

Towns and villages have been renamed after him; Hindenburgstrasse has become as common as Friederichstrasse; universities have showered their dignities upon him; Hindenburg marches by the score have come for his acceptance; hundreds of cigar merchants have implored him to permit them to associate his name with their products; honors and gifts, telegrams and decorations have inundated him beyond precedent.

Victory Truly Notable.

Undoubtedly the achievement which gave rise to this extravagant adulation of Hindenburg was a very notable thing. The victory of the Mazurian Lakes, which resulted in the destruction of three Russian army corps and the suicide of General Samsonoff, is an indisputable triumph.

Measured by the standards of past wars, it was one of the greatest and most complete disasters in history, and in the horror of its circumstances—the shrieks of hosts of men and horses sucked into those terrible swamps are said to have driven even some of the German officers insane—it has rarely been paralleled.

GENERAL VON HINDENBURG
(Photograph by the International News Service)

Saved Mazurian Lakes.

That it discovered a man of bold, original powers among the "card-index" minds of the Prussian hierarchy is clear. "Old Hindenburg," as they call him affectionately—he is not old as generalship in this war goes, being sixty-seven—belongs to that type which in normal times is dismissed by conventional official minds as a crank, and in times of stress is found to be a genius. The special subject of his supposed crankiness was the Mazurian Lakes.

About the military meaning of this marshy region there were two views in Germany. The popular view was that in the event of war the Russians must not be permitted to reach this region. The heterodox view was that of Hindenburg, who maintained that the Russians must be forced into the Mazurian Lakes.

To this view he clung with an obstinacy that made him something of a jest, and when he heard that the Reichstag was about to consider a scheme for draining his beloved marshes and bringing the land under cultivation he descended like a whirlwind on deputies, party leaders and committees. When all this failed he carried his cause to the Kaiser himself. There he prevailed. The marshes were saved, and "Old Hindenburg" went on with his study of the region, and every year at maneuvers punctually drove the "Russian" enemy into the swamps.

"Today we shall have a bath," was the proverbial saying of the soldiers when "Old Hindenburg" was against them in the maneuvers.

But when the war came Hindenburg was in retirement at Hanover and forgotten. Weeks passed and his offer of service was ignored. Meanwhile the Russians were overrunning East Prussia. Then the boycott collapsed.

"Suddenly," to use his own words, "there came a telegram informing me that the Emperor commissioned me to command the Eastern army. I really only had time to buy some woolen underclothing and make my old uniform presentable again. Then came sleeping cars, saloon cars, locomotives—and so I journeyed to East Prussia like a prince. And so far everything has gone jolly well."

Gefechtsbereite Maschinengewehrabtheilung in Russisch Polen.

MACHINE-GUN DIVISION IN RUSSIAN POLAND READY FOR ACTION

(By Courtesy of the "Illinois Staats-Zeitung")

Delights in Hero Worship.

For he is a garrulous old boy. Perhaps it was that quality that made him distrusted, for there is a prejudice in favor of the silent man, who after all, may only be silent because he is dull.

Hindenburg is neither silent nor dull. He has torrential gayety and physical enjoyment of his job and he accepts the hero-worship of Germany with unconcealed delight.

WHAT BISMARCK SAID.

"If the French are willing to keep peace with us until we attack them," he said, "then peace is assured forever."

"If Germany became involved in war with France, it would not be necessary to expect Russia to strike Germany, but if Russia should strike first, France would be sure to join her in attacking Germany"—a most remarkable forecast of what has now actually taken place.

As early as 1887 he said: "Russia and France will sooner or later attack Germany."

"The English are full of anger and jealousy because we fought great battles—and won them. They do not like to see us prosper. We only exist in order to fight their battles for pay. That is the opinion of the entire English gentry. They have never wished us well, but have done all they could to injure us. This is also the position of the crown princess (the Empress Frederick, mother of Kaiser Wilhelm II.). She always thought wonder how she had humiliated herself by marrying into this country. I remember how she remarked at one time that two or three Liverpool merchants possessed as much silver as the entire Prussian nobility. 'That may be true, your royal highness,' I answered, 'but we value other things much higher than we do silver,'"

"German rulers," he said, "are in the habit of leading their armies in war so that they may realize its horrors, which would haunt them if they should be able to say to themselves, this war I could have avoided with honor. Germany would never begin aggressive wars or wars of conquest, as France so often had done, nor would she bleed a conquered nation as Napoleon had bled Prussia in 1807.

"The Germans are like bears in this respect; they do not attack of their own accord, but they fight like mad when they are attacked in their own lairs. An appeal to fear will never find an echo in the German's heart. The German is easily betrayed by love and sympathy, but never by fear. The Germans will not start the fire. Some other nation may, but let any nation that provokes Germany beware of 'the furor teutonicus.'"

"We Germans fear God, but nothing else in the world; and the fear of God induces us to love and seek peace. Whoever breaks the peace will soon realize that the same patriotism which called weak and downtrodden little Prussia to the standards in 1813 has today become the common property of united Germany, and that whoever attacks the German nation will find her presenting a united front, every soldier having in his heart the firm faith: God will be with us."

SAYS GERMANY IS BEATEN.

Russians Take Optimistic View of War, John Bass Cables.

From "Chicago Daily News," Thursday, March 18, 1915.

By John F. Bass.

Special Cable to "The Daily News."

Petrograd, Russia, March 18.—I am back in Petrograd, where I find that the political and intellectual center of Russia has laid aside its workaday garments of pessimism and assumed the bright attire of self confident hope. In well informed circles there is a firm conviction, which has not hitherto prevailed, that Germany is beaten. In spite of the ultra and at times exaggerated optimism of the local press, the prevailing feeling in Petrograd heretofore has been one of grave doubt as to the issue. But all that is changed and from mouth to mouth goes the word that Germany has beaten her army to pieces in fruitless batterings, without a decisive strategic success.

Russia Ready for Emergency.

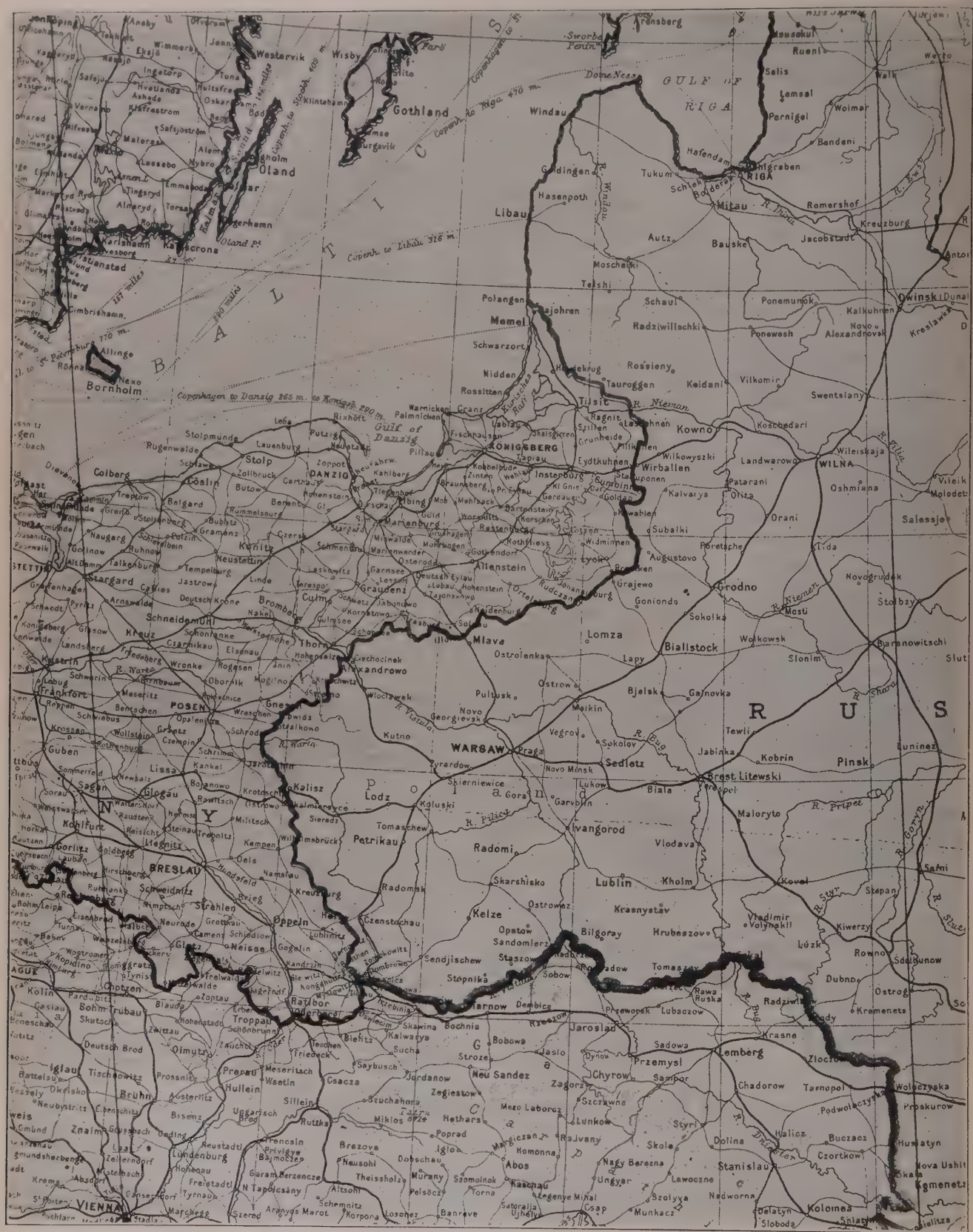
Considering the war as a whole, it is true that Germany has won tactical successes, as for instance, in Poland, but no one of the allied armies has been materially weakened. This optimism finds its origin in the check of the great Austro-German movement of the last two or three weeks in East Prussia and Galicia. The information given out is that Russia finally has met the situation and is ready for every emergency.

At Przasnysz the Russian lines are lengthening and pushing around the flanks of the German advance here. The Russians have taken the villages of Jednowjes and Stegna, northwest of Przasnysz and have driven the Germans beyond the bridge over the Orzyc river. An attempt by the Germans to cross the river on the ice is said to have been frustrated by Russian cavalry. In this region the fighting is gradually edging toward the frontier.

Ossowetz is not actually besieged, the causeway connection being still intact on the south. The Germans are reported to be using larger guns than formerly, or guns similar to those employed at Antwerp. They were able to put these into position on account of the recent heavy freezing. This fort and that at Przemysl are now the important storm centers. At the latter fortress a relief party of Austrians with a strong force of Germans is now in the neighborhood of the Dukla pass, while the Russians have closed in on the fortress in hopes of capturing it.

Conditions Reversed at Ossowetz.

At Ossowetz the conditions are reversed, as the German forces in front of Grodno have been driven back into the forest of Augustowo. News from the Bzura front indicating renewed activity on the part of the Germans shows that the forces, which have retired from the east of the Prussian front are now being switched rapidly to the Warsaw front in the hope that the Russian line there is being weakened by the concentration on the East Prussian battle line so much that it might prove too weak to resist. Indeed, this may have been one reason for the recent German advance from East Prussia.


GULF OF RIGA
Gothland
Oland
Bornholm
Copenhagen to Danzig 265 m.
Copenhagen to Libau 318 m.
Copenhagen to Riga 470 m.
Gulf of Danzig
KONIGSBERG
DANZIG
Memel
Libau
RIGA
Mitau
Windau
Tilsit
Kowno
WILNA
Wirballen
Eydtkuhnen
Insterburg
Allenstein
Marienburg
Graudenz
Thorn
Mlava
Lomza
Bialystock
Grodno
Brest Litewski
Pinsk
WARSAW
Lodz
Kalisz
Petrikau
Radomsk
Lublin
Kholm
Kelze
Oppeln
BRESLAU
Ratibor
Cracow
Lemberg
Przemysl
Stanislau
Kolomea
Czernowitz
VIENNA
POSEN
Stettin
Colberg
Stolp
Danzig
Frankfort
Guben
Sagan
Glogau
Kohlfurt
Gorlitz
Liegnitz
Schweidnitz
Neisse
Glatz
Kolin
Olmutz
Iglau
Znaim
Brunn
Hullein
Troppau
Teschen
Bielitz
Sillein
Ungarisch Brod
Neusohl
Theissholz
Murany
Szomolnok
Kaschau
Munkacz
Stryj
Halicz
Buczacz
Czortkow
Husiatyn
Nova Ushitsa
Kamenetz
Sloboda
Delatyn
Kolomea
Snjatin
Sialitza
Dolina
Skole
Lawoczne
Nadworna
Szolyxa
Ungvar
Nagy Berezna
Homonna
Abos
Rajvany
Lunkow
Chyrow
Sambor
Chadorow
Tarnopol
Podwolczyska
Proskurow
Wolczynska
Krasne
Zloczow
Jaroslau
Jasio
Bobowa
Stroze
Neu Sandez
Zagorz
Szczawne
Mezo Laborcz
Hethars
Poprad
Iglo
Csacza
Prerau
Meseritsch
Wsetin
Hullein
Olmutz
Troppau
Teschen
Bielitz
Kalwarya
Bochnia
Skawina
Dembica
Tarnow
Przeworsk
Lubaczow
Rawa Ruska
Radziwilow
Krzesz
Sandomierz
Opatow
Ostrowez
Skarshisko
Kielce
Radomsk
Petrikau
Tomaschew
Radomi
Ivangorod
Vlodava
Lublin
Kholm
Krasnystav
Vladimir Volynskii
Krubeszowo
Bilgoray
Lúzk
Rowno
Dubno
Ostrog
Kremenets
Sarni
Kovel
Stepan
Kiwerzy
Pinsk
Luninez
Brest Litewski
Biala
Sedlotz
Jabinka
Kobrin
Maloryto
Pultusk
Ostrolenka
Ostrow
Bjelsk
Gajnovka
Sokolka
Wolkowsk
Slonim
Baranowitschi
Lapy
Mosti
Goniondz
Grajewo
Augustovo
Poretsche
Orani
Salessjet
Oshmiana
Vileik
Molodet
Landwarowo
Wilkowyszki
Kalvarya
Patarani
Ponemunok
Kalkuhnen
Alexandrovsk
Ponewesh
Dwinsk
Kreuzburg
Jacobstadt
Romershof
Bauske
Autz
Schaul
Radziwillschki
Telshi
Moschelki
Tauroggen
Keidani
Vilkomir
Swentsiany
Rossieny
Nidden
Schwarzort
Polangen
Rossitten
Pillau
Rixhöft
Stolpmünde
Rügenwalde
Lauenburg
Lebs
Colberg
Cöslin
Belgard
Stargard
Stettin
Neustettin
Kreuz
Schneidemühl
Bromberg
Culm
Kosterin
Frankfort
Meseritz
Bentschen
Krossen
Wollstein
Grätz
Czempin
Schrimm
Kankel
Lissa
Bojanowo
Rawitsch
Krotoschin
Militsch
Steinau
Tremonitz
Kempen
Wilhelmsbrücke
Dels
Namslau
Brieg
Kreuzburg
Strehlen
Grottkau
Neurode
Glatz
Neisse
Gogolin
Lublinitz
Kandrzin
Freiwaldau
Zoptau
Troppau
Schönbrunn
Blaudz
Mohrstadt
Zwittau
Deutsch Brod
Olmutz
Prerau
Meseritsch
Wsetin
Hullein
Tischnowitz
Brünn
Austerlitz
Bisenz
Znaim
Gmünd
Mödling
Neustadtl
Lundenburg
Hohenau
Freistadtl
Tyrnau
Marchegg
Stadlau
Szered
Aranyos Marot
Korpona
Losonez
Banreve
Saturalja
Ujhely
Csap
Legenye Mihal
Torna
Polsócz
Murany
Dobschau
Iglo
Poprad
Rutka
Trencsin
Privigye
Bajmocze
Garam Berzencze
N Tapolcsany
Altsohl
Schemnitz
Korpona
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Poprad
Rutka
Trencsin
Privigye
Bajmocze
Garam Berzencze
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Altsohl
Schemnitz
Korpona

PEOPLE WAITING IN THE STREETS OF LODZ FOR FOOD FROM THE GERMAN ARMY
(Photograph by the International News Service)

The Deadly Parallel

From "The Fatherland," New York

The Duchess of Marlborough.

From New York papers:—Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont has received a letter from her daughter, the Duchess of Marlborough, who is engaged as a Red Cross nurse in a London hospital, charging that German soldiers cut off the hands and arms of English surgeons and hospital nurses in order to disable them from performing their duties.

Joseph Medill Patterson.

The Hague, September 11.—To "The Chicago Tribune":—I firmly believe that all stories put out by the British and French of tortures, mutilations, assaults, etc., by Germans are utterly rubbish.

In casting off German influence will the Russians spurn the useful Vienna roll, the succulent Hamburg.

Premier Asquith.

London, September 14, 3:23 P. M. —Premier Asquith told the House of Commons today that no official information had reached the Ministry of War concerning the repeated stories that German soldiers had abused the Red Cross flag, killed and maimed the wounded, and killed women and children as had been alleged so often in stories of the battlefields.

MEMEL REGAINED.

On March 18, Memel, the most northern of Prussian seaports, was captured by a force of 6,000 to 10,000 Russians. The town was defended by a small force of the Landsturm or militia, with the assistance, according to the Russian account, of civilians. Four days later, on the approach of a land force of German troops from the south and the arrival of German warships in the harbor, the Russians retired, taking with them the mayor of Memel and three other prominent citizens whom they had seized as hostages. But the car carrying the hostages broke down, their escort fled and the prisoners escaped. The raid on Memel was, according to the Russian version, for the purpose of breaking up the contraband trade which has been passing through that place. The Russians seized large quantities of goods stored here and burned what they could not carry away.

The Germans accuse them of burning fifteen villages in the vicinity, and wilful destruction of private property. As reprisals for the sacking of Memel the Germans have imposed an indemnity of $250,000 on the city of Lodz, Poland, and $25,000 on the town of Suwalki.

A similar raid was attempted on Tilsit, but was not successful. Along the Niemen, in the forest of Augustowo and on the eastern frontier of East Prussia there are rumors of fighting, but their significance is obscure.

The German bombardment of the Polish fortress of Osowiec (Ossowetz) seems to make little progress. Their big siege guns were brought up to within three miles of the fortifications, but were obliged to withdraw. The new 42-centimeter howitzers were used at long range, but according to the Russian account, did not make a single hit, and the 28-centimeter howitzers did little damage to the concrete casements when they struck.

The correspondents manage to get past the censors with stories of their personal hardships and insuperable difficulties.—From the "St. Louis Globe-Democrat," August 18, 1914.

The Central Empires—Germany and Austria Past, Present and Future

AUSTRIA AND THE NATIONAL LIBERTIES OF HER PEOPLE.

The Vital Issue.

Dr. Irwin Klein.

From many quarters attacks have been made upon Austria's ruler as the oppressor of Servia's freedom. However, these attacks have not taken into consideration the fact that Austria is the only land enjoying perfect national freedom and equality, and that Emperor Francis Joseph is as a matter of fact the founder and protector of this national freedom, and that his policy of protecting the various races combined in the Austrian Empire against agitation has hitherto been a guarantee for the interior peace and for the freedom of his people.

To be sure, the United States is a country guaranteeing the freedom and equality of all races and yet any one asking for the establishment of government schools in which the language of the teacher shall be that of the majority of the foreign-born population settled in any particular locality, would be ridiculed. In Austria now there are government schools conducted in the German, Czech, Italian, Ruthenian, Polish, Roumanian, Croatian, Turkish, etc., languages, and these are not elementary schools, but most of the nationalities represented have institutions of learning corresponding to our American colleges.

Franz Joseph—Austria-Hungary

The population of any town has the right to demand that court proceedings be carried on in their own language provided that the number of people speaking this language amounts to 25 per cent of the whole population. Almost all the above-named languages are admitted to parliament as a vehicle of communication. This is indeed an absolute national equality.

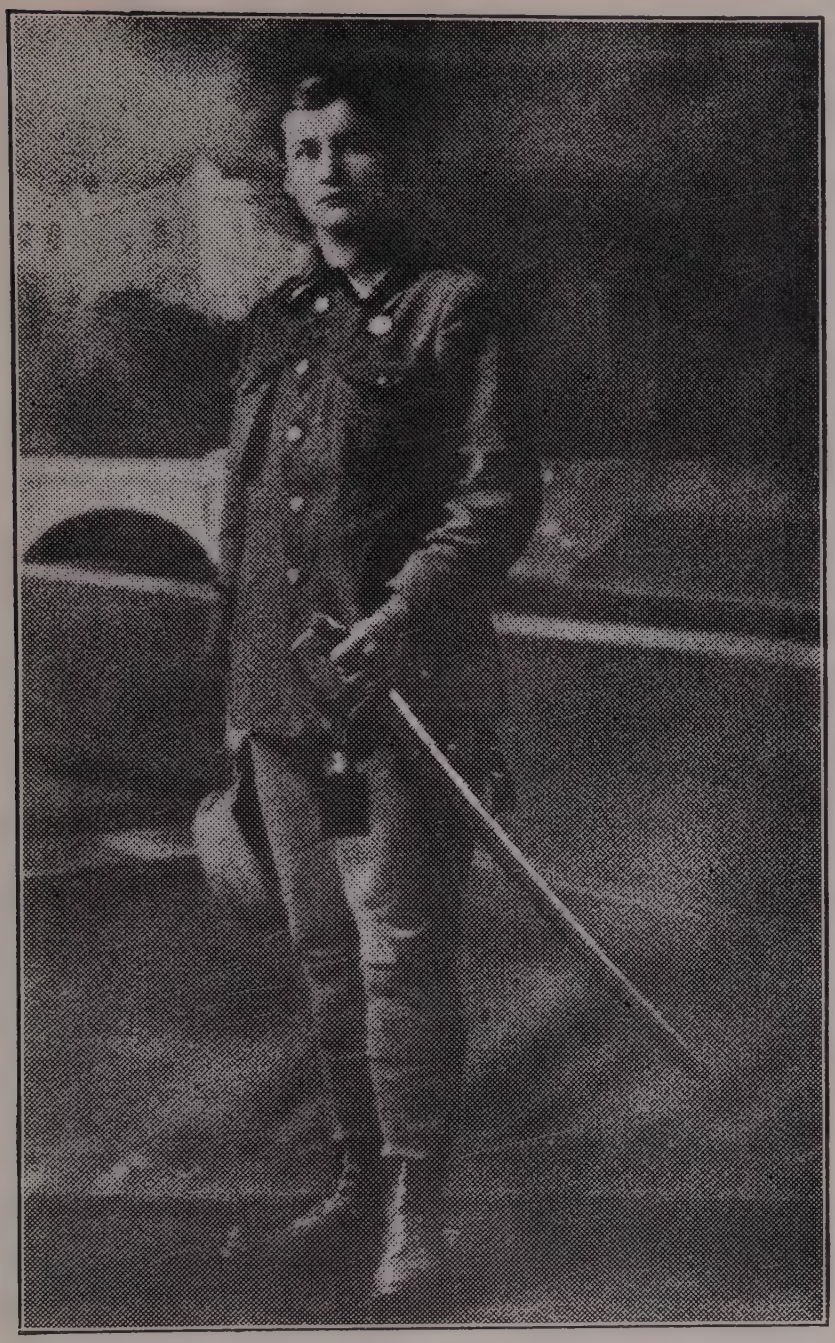
In Switzerland there are similar conditions, but there the situation is far more simple since only three languages (German, French and Italian) come into consideration and moreover since these three nationalities are settled in locally separated districts.

Austria (with the exception of four wholly German provinces) has not one province of the size of even the smallest American state where three-fourths of the population are members of the same nationality. If we now suppose that any one of these Austrian provinces were to be freed from the Austrian "yoke," for exam-

LOYAL COMRADES IN ARMS

300,000 Germans are said to have gone to the Assistance of the Austrians in Galicia

(By Courtesy of the "Chicago Abendpost")



AN AMAZONE

Olma Stepanio of the UKAINIC LEGION received the Silver Medal for Bravery in the Field

(By Courtesy of the "Chicago Abendpost")

ple "Bucowina," we will find that at least one-half of the population is not composed of Ruthenians (Slavs), but of Germans, Roumanians and Poles. All of these would then lose their freedom if the province were to be turned over to the Slavs. In Galicia the majority of the population is composed of Poles, but this constituent does not quite amount to two-thirds of the entire population, the balance being Germans and Ruthenians. In Bohemia the Czechs are in the majority, but they do not total more than 75 per cent of the entire population.

If we except the southern provinces we find everywhere from 15 to 30 per cent Germans; the balance is composed of Italians, Croats and other South-Slavs such as Serbs, etc. It would be impossible to say, therefore, that the Italians or Slavs anywhere amount to three-fourths of the population. In Bosnia and Herzegowina we have not only to reckon with Slavs, Germans and Italians, but there is also a large percentage of Turks.

So long as they remain under Austria's rule all these nationalities enjoy equal rights. But if any one portion were to be severed from Austria at least one-third of the population of this portion would lose their rights in favor of the so-called "liberators."

Whosoever—no matter to which of the nationalities represented in Austria he may belong—says that he desires to be separated from that country for the purpose of obtaining national liberty is either insincere or else his wish is an attempt to deprive those of his neighbors who speak a different language of their rights and privileges.

The promotion of this absolute national equality has been one of the **chief objects under the sixty-six years' rule of Emperor Francis Joseph, and to say that he intends to deprive any race of its rights, is either a sign of gross ignorance, or an act of malice.** Any **TRUE LOVER OF FREEDOM** will earnestly hope that the Austrian emperor will continue to regard as his sacred duty the preservation of the rights of the many different races embodied in the Austrian Empire.

If the **Servian Agitation in Austria were to be successful,** all other races residing in those districts would immediately suffer by the loss of all their rights.

AUSTRIA'S PART IN THE WAR.

The Crucible.

Reports that Austria has made overtures for peace with Russia through a neutral party are to be taken with reserve. The report comes from Italy and Russia, which in itself throws doubt upon its authenticity. Part of the Italian public seems to have convinced itself that Austria is on the verge of disruption, and that this is an opportune time for beginning a war for the acquisition of Adriatic territory. The government of Italy, however, is considering long and seriously the consequences that might follow a plunge into war. And well it might.

The fighting in the Carpathians is of the bloodiest and most desperate character. It could not be so if Austria were decadent and disheartened. The truth is that Austrian troops have displayed remarkable bravery and effectiveness throughout the war. They have practically disposed of Serbia and are holding back the Russian masses, while other forces are disposed along the Italian border ready to make serious work for any Italian offensive movement.

There have been many reports of conflicting sentiment in Austria and frequent statements that the Empire was divided within itself. But the government keeps at work, the troops are effectively used, the navy is shrewdly placed and the wise old man at the head of affairs is apparently as strong and capable as he was in his prime.

Germany and Austria keep their own counsel as to the nature of their alliance. That it is a compact which holds together in life-and-death bonds is conceded. This fact alone makes it certain that Austria will not make separate peace, and it also serves as a warning to Italy that its hopes of

Oesterreichische Motorbatterie in voller Fahrt.

AUSTRIAN MOTOR-BATTERY ON THE WAY

(By Courtesy of the "Illinois Staats-Zeitung")

an easy acquisition of Austrian territory are vain. Not a foot of Austrian or German territory is occupied by any enemy, although the foes contending against them are immensely stronger than Italy.

The report that Austria is willing to make peace is echoed in Russia—an indication that the wish is father to the thought. It is far more likely that Russia desires to make peace than that her enemies are seeking it. Russia has nothing to gain from trying to penetrate Germany and Austria. The prize she really seeks is Constantinople—a vain and empty ambition so long as Great Britain stands in her path. Unquestionably if Constantinople were handed over to Russia she would quit fighting at once. Should the fortunes of war go against the Teutonic allies, they may take steps to placate Russia by facilitating her ambitions at Constantinople. But the time has not arrived when either Germany or Austria must sue for peace. The havoc wrought by German submarines, the deadlock at Constantinople and the stout opposition to Russian advance by Austria are sufficient indications that the war will go on indefinitely—Washington "Post," April 3.

"What right had Servia to call Austria to account in 1908 and since then, when the latter, after thirty years of faithful administration, acquired the rights of a lawful owner from Turkey, the former owner, with a regular deed of transfer by paying the price in a regular bargain with the rightful owner?

"Servia had no claim whatever on Bosnia. She had never ruled Bosnia, but rather has she been under the rule of Hungary for many years in the past. Austria-Hungary, on the strength of these historical rights, has never laid claim to her territory. Yet has Servia been using and is still using the devious means of a would-be pretender."

Nothing could exceed the bravery with which the Allies have stormed the German breastworks, and it is not at all remarkable that this has resulted in the capture of so many cannon and complete batteries. The total number is so great that those already reported cover the entire surface of France about three layers deep—more or less. Those that will be captured tomorrow will be stored in Spain, and the following day in Portugal, but after that they will have to be dumped into the Mediterranean Sea when captured, as it is impracticable to hire storage space in Italy, a neutral country.

The uniform success of the Allies and the constant disaster which has met the attempt of the Germans to fight against them shows what patriotism will do for a country. It is believed that the Germans are fighting unwillingly, while the French and English are so crazy to fight that they eat bullets to load themselves down and prevent themselves from simply galloping over the untrained Uhlans, etc. Training is a great thing.

The German line of communication to the base of supplies has been cut repeatedly, and repeated cuttingly. The consequence is that the Germans have not had clean laundry for several days, and a number of letters have gone astray.

In short, Messrs. Editors, you have performed a great service to mankind in keeping it so well posted with such accurate information and using your very best English on the Germans. The historical value of your reports cannot be estimated, but probably will be some day. A grateful public will be only too glad to award you the highest praise for this great public service.

The writer trusts that you will continue the good work, as thereby you are saving the populace a great deal of money. People don't need to buy today's paper to get the news. They can guess it.

George Edward Moray.
524 West 162d St., New York City.

Aliens are returning to fight for their countries in such numbers that soon we won't have anybody left but the I. W. W.'s, the Anarchists and the Black Handers.—From the "Boston Evening Transcript," September 8, 1914.

On account of the war the rule of the Red Cross Society of Russia refusing admittance to Jewish doctors and nurses has been indefinitely suspended.—From "The Outlook," New York, September 9, 1914.

ITALY IN THE WORLD WAR
BONE OF CONTENTION—ADRIATIC PROVINCES

Fact and Comment on Italy's Position in the World War

ITALY AS AN ALLY, A NEUTRAL, A BELLIGERENT

Let Italy ponder well the Text: As ye sow, so shall ye also reap!
What is Italy's Harvest going to be?

Italy in the World Conflict
Who Will Venture a Guess as to the Wishes of the Gods in Her Case!

ITALY'S ENTRY INTO THE WAR.

By the Military Expert of The Fatherland.

(Nothing is quite so amusing as the forecasts of the American military experts. Invariably these "experts," writing in our greatest journals, have been grotesquely wrong not only in their speculations of what is probably to happen, but also in their analysis of battles and campaigns which have already taken place. With the use of a few technical words and phrases and an attitude of certainty, these pen warriors have fooled the patient public ever since the war began. To read, for instance, the reports of the military expert of the N. Y. "Times" is like perusing the wildest burlesque by Mark Twain. With pardonable pride we point to the work of THE FATHERLAND'S *military expert. We challenge anyone to point out in his admirable articles any exaggeration, misstatements, jingoistic folly or ignorance. He writes with the lucidity of one who knows and the vision of one who sees. He really is an "expert."*)

On August 3, 1914, Sir Edward Grey justified England's declaration of war by saying that "the good reputation of England would be lost forever" if, after having signed and guaranteed Belgium's neutrality, she would not take up arms for the protection of that country—notwithstanding the repeated assurances of Germany that she would not—in case of victory—cause any territorial changes in Belgium or France nor attack these countries from the sea.

This certainly is a lofty conception of a country's obligations as a party to a treaty, especially if, as in the case with England and Belgium, the treaty is not one of alliance!

Evidently Baron Sonnino, the offspring of a North African Jew and an English mother, was not troubled by such scruples with regard to the national honor of his country. Otherwise he would not have been capable of notifying Austria—in the midst of peaceful negotiations—of the termination of an alliance which for many years brought advantages, prosperity and prestige to Italy, and of completing the breach of faith on May 23.

The Green Book, published by the Italian Government, is a most ridiculous document. Therein the world is told that Austria had disregarded her treaty obligations by declaring war on Servia without simultaneously offering Italy territorial compensation—since, according to the treaty of alliance, an extension of Austro-Hungarian territory in the Balkans was only to take place after consultation with Italy.

Baron Sonnino forgot entirely to mention in the Green Book that Austria, on July 26, 1914, firmly and solemnly declared that she would not keep an inch of Servian territory, and that on the day of the Italian declaration of war, Austria was not in possession of an inch of that country's soil.

The man in the street has won! English and French money have won, and have dragged into the dust the honor of a nation which will be stained forever. History will judge! It does not forget.

The military situation of Germany, regarded generally, is better to-day than it was since the first days of September, 1914.

The Russian lines were pierced at several points between the Vistula and the Carpathian Mountains, and the remains of the Third and Tenth armies were driven back across the San. This great military success, which was achieved under the leadership of General von Mackensen, caused a general wavering of the entire Russian front in the Carpathians, and its panicky retreat through Northern Galicia. Partial Russian successes in Poland, near Opatov and in the Bukovina, will not have the least influence upon the success of this gigantic battle unless the Russians should be in position to throw vast reinforcements to the San.

More than 200,000 prisoners, hundreds of cannon, machine guns, great stores of war material and ammunition, bear witness to this momentous victory, the meaning of which the American press, because of their biased and irreconcilable attitude towards the Teutonic Allies, have discredited to the best of their ability or passed over in silence.

The question which commands the greatest interest at present is whether Italy's entry into the war will have an immediate influence upon the situation in the East. We do not think so.

What are the objectives of the Italian war policy? First of all, probably, the "lost Provinces"; then the consolidation of her position in the Adriatic through the occupation of Albania, including Valona;—and finally the "neutralization" of the Dardanelles.

The first of her designs will necessitate an advance through Trent in a northerly direction and from the district of Udine across the lower Isonzo in the direction of Laibach. An Italian offensive movement across the mountain passes would offer immense difficulties and can hardly be expected since Austria for years has used all available means towards the strengthening of her Alpine boundary fortifications.

Much more likely will be an attack across the flat and open country at the southern Isonzo with the strongly fortified camp at Udine as a basis.

Since the Italian fleet is superior to the Austrian it is furthermore to be expected that an army will be sent across the Adriatic—perhaps to Ra-

gusa—in order to launch an offensive movement from Dalmatia towards the San. When considering the merits of such an undertaking it must, however, not be forgotten that there is no railway connection whatsoever from the coast of Dalmatia to the north or northeast, since the various authorities in Austria have never come to an understanding about the project of a railroad through the Una and Lika valley, a fact which now must be regarded as offering a fortunate advantage to Austria.

The only connection existing from the coast is that with Sarajevo, and even from here the narrow-gauge railway to Vienna and Budapest does not go through, since the track between Banjaluka and Jajce has not yet been laid.

He who knows Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina can well imagine the difficulties which an army will have to overcome there.

It is not likely that the further occupation of Albania will cause great difficulties, although Greece, with her interests in Epirus, will hardly remain an onlooker. It is very doubtful, however, whether the pacification of Albania will be more successful than that of Tripoli, where the Italian army up to the present time has hardly dared to proceed beyond the reach of her ship's guns. My friend, Prince v. Wied, the retired ruler of turbulent Albania, would undoubtedly answer this question in the negative.

A more difficult problem is awaiting Italy at the Dardanelles. Italy cannot wish for a Russian Constantinople, which would be a permanent danger to her influence in the Eastern Mediterranean and which would mean a constant strengthening of pan-Slavic interests in the Balkans with Servian harbors on the Adriatic Sea.

It is also impossible that Italian forces will be employed at the right French wing near Belfort, since France also must be rewarded for her millions.

Poor Italian people! For things which they might have obtained without a single blow they now have to make heavy sacrifices, simply to help corrupt statesmen, hired agents and morally corrupt poets to gain millions.

One cannot help recalling that memorable answer which Bismarck gave to Benedetti on July 4, 1866, when France tried to despoil Prussia of the fruits of the victory of Sadowa.

Let us hope that in Germany, which as during the time of Frederick the Great is opposed by the whole world, a man may arise whose masterful diplomacy will aid the glorious work of the invincible and victorious German and Austrian Armies!

GERMANS DISDAIN ITALY.

She Deserves Punishment, and Will Get it Anyhow, Without Mercy.

Amsterdam. — (Dispatch to the London Daily Chronicle)—The latest impression brought by a responsible Dutch business man from Germany indicates that a new, and if possible, stronger wave of absolute confidence in Germany's final and complete victory is passing through Germany. German officials point with pride to the entire nation working harmoniously to keep the war machine running smoothly and also to forces amounting to twelve million.

Victor Emmanuel—King of Italy

The view is expressed there that it matters little whether Italy joins the entente powers or not. It is asserted that if she declares war Germans will be in Italy in a very few days. Orders have been sent out to every newspaper office in Germany to refrain from all hostile criticisms of Italy, whatever nation she hates. The opinion is held in Germany that Italy has already deserved punishment from Germany and that within a few years this will be administered without mercy.

ITALY'S CAUSES FOR WAR.

TRANSLATION OF EDITORIAL WHICH APPEARED IN "ILLINOIS STAATS-ZEITUNG" IN GERMAN:

It was a just condemnation of Italy which the old emperor on the Austrian throne rightfully expressed in his appeal to his people.

"The king of Italy has declared war on me. Perfidy, the like of which history does not know was committed by the kingdom of Italy against both allies. After an alliance of more than thirty years' duration, during which it was able to increase its territorial possessions and develop itself to an unthought-of-flourishing condition, Italy abandoned us in our hour of danger and went over with flying colors into the camp of our enemies.

"We did not menace Italy; did not curtail her authority; did not attack her honor or interests. We always responded loyally to the duties of our alliance and afforded her our protection when she took the field. We have done more.

"When Italy directed covetous glances across our frontier, we, in order to maintain peace and our alliance relation, were resolved on great and painful sacrifices which particularly grieved our paternal heart.

"But the covetousness of Italy, which believed the moment should be used, was not to be appeased, so fate must take its course."

By these words of the aged ruler of the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy, the veil was removed which the Italian government in the form of a Green book had woven to cover and justify a faithlessness such as, fortunately, has never before been known in the history of the world.

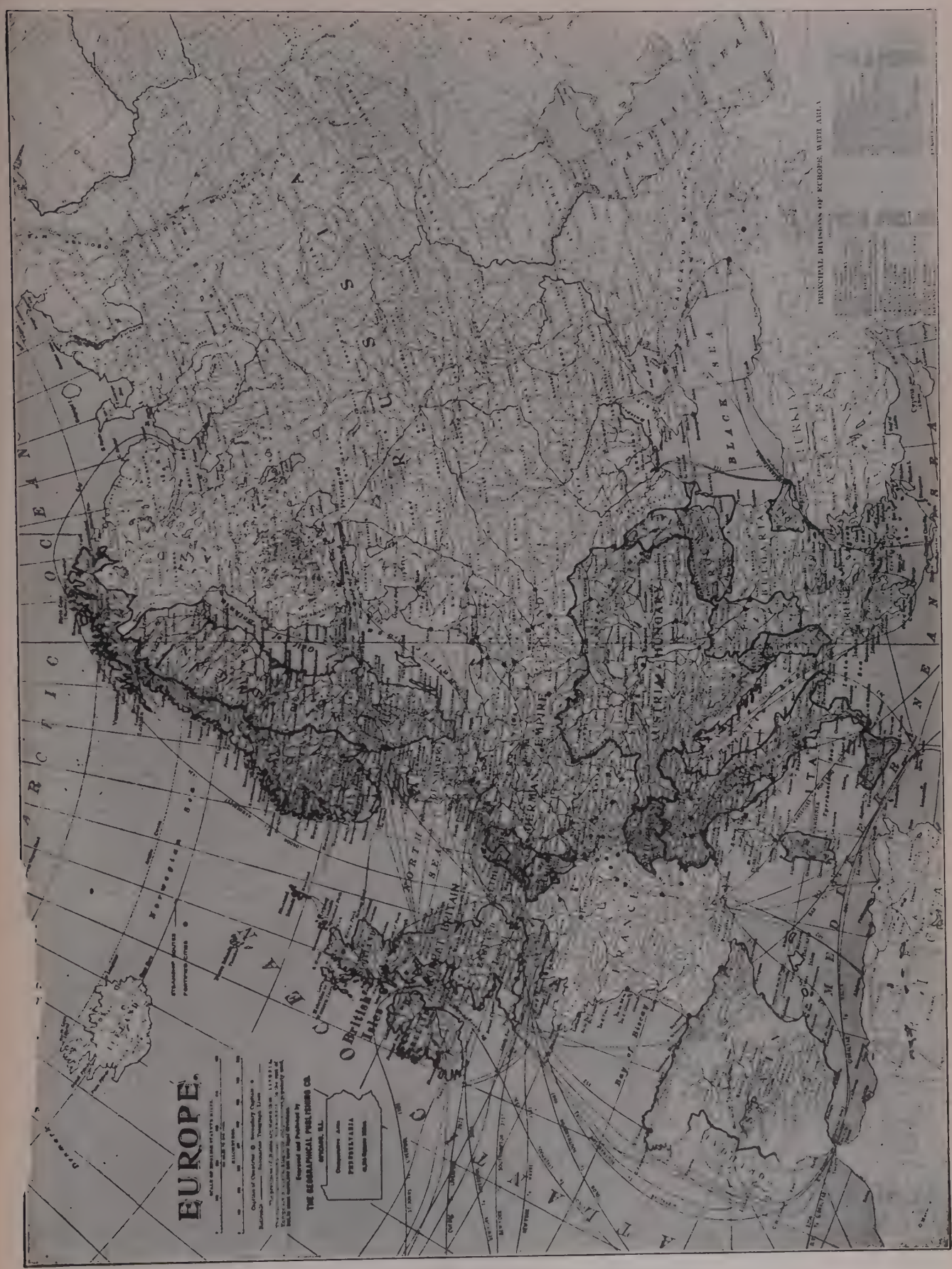
In this Green book the Italian government boldly presents two causes for its entrance into the war against its former allies. These causes will form the block on which the present political leaders of Italy will be morally decapitated by universal history. These causes will destroy all confidence in a faithful compliance by any nation with her treaty obligations, for they show that Italy in 1882 with her dagger hidden, entered into an alliance to which she owes her development, her present power.

It is stated among other things in this Green book, which will go down in Italy's history, as a Black book, that her national aspirations imperatively demand, that all Austrian provinces inhabited by Italians be freed and annexed to Italy.

This assertion alone proves that Italy, treacherous at heart and with hostile intention, for thirty years was a party to a compact which afforded her advantages only. The provinces in question were in Austria's possession prior to 1882, and if Italy had had any national honor whatever, she would have made the ceding of these provinces conditional to her becoming a member of the Triple Alliance, or otherwise refrain from joining it at all. But that the government of Italy, not until now when Austria, being surrounded by enemies, could justly call on her ally Italy for aid, remembers these provinces, that Italy now tries to put her foot upon the breast of distressed Austria and after numerous attempts at extortion tears into shreds the agreement of thirty years and joins the enemies of her ally, it to properly describe such action words fail.

The Italian government asserts however, that the principal cause of her betrayal of Austria, and consequently of Germany also, was the sending of an ultimatum by Austria to Servia, by which the balance of power in the Balkans had been disturbed and Italy's dignity impaired and her interests damaged.

It is still fresh in the minds of all that when Austria-Hungary found it necessary to send an ultimatum to Servia and as a result of its rejection was forced to declare war, she publicly obligated herself to maintain the status quo in the Balkans, and declared that the punitive expedition against Servia would not be used for the purpose of acquiring territory.



EUROPE

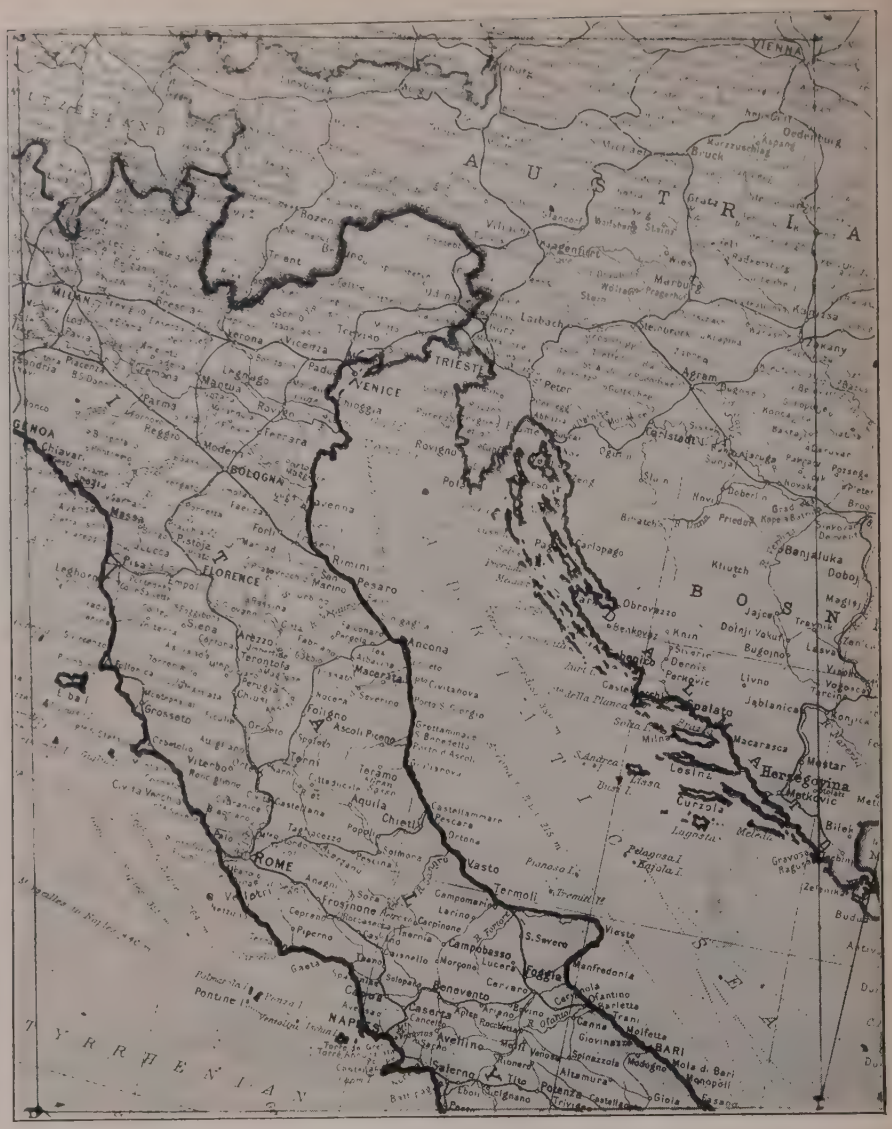
(From the Geographic Publishing Company)

As Austria's ally Italy, it is only reasonable to assume, ought to have accepted Austria's declaration seriously and placed absolute faith in it. But for the sake of argument let us grant that Austria was not deserving confidence, and that Italy's dignity had really been impaired and her interests damaged. This being the case no alternative presented itself, if Italy had been honest, than to cancel the treaty and forsake her allies.

But Italy preferred to complete her preparations for war under the protection of the Triple Alliance, and when ready to place the dagger at Austria's breast, despite the fact that only two years ago she signed a written agreement whereby a twelve months notice of withdrawal from the treaty must be given.

Sir Grey is rejoicing. He takes pride in his pupils at the Tiber who have accomplished an act of diplomatic brigandage which disturbs the rest of real statesmen such as Cavour, Minghetti and Crispi, and dishonors the Italian people.

War has been declared and has already begun. The Italian army and the Italian navy entering this war will find little encouragement in the memory of Kustozza and Lissa. The Austrian army and the Austrian navy, however, strengthened by the spirit of Radetzky and Tegethoff, which still lives in them, will succeed in administering a defeat to the traitors which, to be sure, will destroy the fruits of thirty years of honest labor of honest Italian statesmen, but will, nevertheless, teach Italy that treachery is not the seed which gives birth to the greatness of a nation.—Illinois Staats Zeitung, Chicago.



(From the National Geographic Magazine)

ITALY AND THE ADRIATIC

ITALY'S ACTION TO PROLONG WAR; PEACE FAR OFF.

Germans in Washington Hold Victory is Bound to Materialize, Despite Heavy Odds.

Chicago Tribune.

[By a Staff Correspondent.]

Washington, D. C., May 23.—[Special.]—So far there are no signs that the entrance of Italy into the war has produced the ardently hoped for psychological moment for bringing the war to an end.

The peace advocates expected that if Italy decided to remain neutral the allies would regard the prolongation of the contest futile; that if Italy joined the allies Germany would throw up the sponge. Now that Italy has cast its lot with the allies Germany seems as far as ever from conceding eventual defeat.

"The action of Italy will only prolong the war and postpone German victory," said one of the most prominent officials of the German embassy today. "Germany, is fighting a war of defense and will be successful in keeping her territory free of invaders, no matter how many enemies combine against it.

"The question of peace is only the question of Germany's enemies perceiving and realizing the futility of further wasting of men and money to attain their ends."

Not Afraid of Italy.

The Germans and Austrians are confident that Italy will cause them little trouble. They say that the Austrian fortifications and 300,000 men will be sufficient to check the Italian attempt to invade Austria. Austrian and German officials pronounce the fortifications on the Italian frontier impregnable.

Military experts here are speculating upon the possibility that Germany will invade Switzerland in order to combat Italy more effectively. Switzerland unquestionably would consider such invasion a violation of neutrality analogous to the German invasion of Belgium in the effort to outflank the French.

Swiss Invasion Planned.

The charge has been made that Austrian and German plans for the invasion of Switzerland were drawn up more than a year ago.

Inasmuch, however, as Switzerland has an army of 500,000 and a strategic position on the German frontier it is regarded as unlikely that the kaiser will permit any disregard of Swiss neutrality.

NO QUARTER TO "DEVILS OF HELL".

Hungarian Premier, Assailing Italy, Sees Victory Won from Fate.

Chicago Tribune.

BUDAPEST, May 26, via Amsterdam, May 27.—Count Stephan Tisza, the Hungarian premier, today delivered a stirring speech before the chamber of deputies. He explained Austria-Hungary's position toward the Italian demands during the last four weeks, and received a tremendous ovation when he closed his peroration with the following declaration:

"We conducted our negotiations with Italy in the belief that it would be impossible for a state calling itself civilized, and which was allied to us, to attack us while we were at

war; all the more so, as we had offered her everything.

Force Victory from Fate.

"We shall now, more than before, astonish the entire world with the spectacle of our power of action, virility, unity, and resolution. The Hungarian nation, united with all the peoples of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and with our powerful ally, will wage this war to the last breath against all the devils of hell and force victory from fate."

Explaining the negotiations with Italy, Count Tisza said:

"The latest speech of the Italian premier, Sig. Salandra, contained three accusations. The first was that the ultimatum to Serbia upset the equilibrium of the Balkans. It is generally known that we gave a distinct declaration to all the great powers that we desired no territorial changes whatever. The assertion of the Italian premier, therefore, is a notorious untruth.

Denies Balkan Alteration.

"The second accusation was that we altered the spheres of influence in the Balkans. This assertion is somewhat incomprehensible. As regards the Balkans we always took the standpoint that no division of the spheres of influence was possible; that we were interested in the entire Balkans, but claimed no hegemony whatever.

"Signor Salandra's third accusation was that we violated the triple alliance treaty because we neglected to come to an agreement with Italy regarding our ultimatum to Serbia. The only mention of an antecedent agreement with Italy in the triple alliance treaty states specifically that this was required only in the event of the alteration of the status quo in the Balkans."

"MADE IN GERMANY" REAL CAUSE OF WAR.

By Sam H. Clark in "Jim Jam Jems," Bismarck, North Dakota, October, 1914.

To the thinking man who has made a study of the situation with bias and prejudice eliminated, just one cause can be assigned to the present European conflict. Jealousy—trade jealousy—jealousy of the growth, the advancement and the progress of Germany has brought down upon her the united strength of practically all Europe in the attempt to cripple and crush the growth and advancement with which no other nation in the world has been able to keep pace. That simple trade-mark, "Made in Germany," which has been stamped as if by magic on the trade products of the world, has for the past several years kept the British lion's tail switching in a furious anxiety to spring upon German commerce and crush it; with covetous eyes England has watched and waited for the hour that came with the declaration of war against Germany, the hour when she would have the support and backing of the allies in what she considered a sufficient number to deal the death blow to Germany. But the best defense of a nation is not ships of iron and forts of stone, but hearts of oak! Washington's ragged continentals with their flint-locks proved this fact to Britain, and Germany is going to prove it to Britain again. This is the death struggle of a giant. Germany is fighting for her life, and while she may be overwhelmed in armed forces and driven to the defensive within her present territory, all the allies that England is able to summon to her aid will never crush Germany.

To cripple Germany's wonderful commerce is England's sole purpose in the present struggle. This fact is well discerned in the recent edict issued from London to the effect that "there can never be peace until Germany's military power is crushed and her fleet destroyed." Britannia must be king of the high seas and it is war to the death so long as Germany threatens to usurp the commerce that has made England mighty.

Just what the war situation really is at the present time we can only conjecture. The American Press is certainly not telling the truth. While most of the newspapers of the country have printed the thoughtful "Proclamation of Neutrality" by President Wilson, most all of them have disregarded it. The American press has done its utmost to prejudice the American people against Germany; column after column of manufactured war news has appeared and editorial influence has been wielded in behalf of Great Britain. The German Emperor has been styled a bloodthirsty maniac who sought war; we have been told that Germany's sons have been ordered to set their bared breasts against the bayonet, to drink hot blood out of the camp skillet, just to satisfy the martial soul of the Kaiser with the glorious pomp and circumstance of war. There seems to be a wilful desire and a studied move on the part of the press to present only the British side of the crisis and to harm Germany's cause as much as possible. There has been no spirit of fair play. The German Emperor has been dubbed a murderer and a madman; he has been charged with precipitating this war without cause.

For the moment let us consider some of the dope handed out by the American press. For instance, we read that 500,000 Russians were landed in Aberdeen on the 23rd of August. Anyone with an atom of sense must know that it would require at least 400 to 500 large transport steamers to accomplish this feat, and yet it is supposed to have been done on the quiet without arousing suspicion from anyone until the 500,000 Russian troops had landed. But if this report is true, then it must be admitted that these transports were in readiness long before there was any war talk, and that the ships had been at Archangel as early as the middle of July—long before the outbreak of the war. This fact would throw a curious light on England's boasted efforts to maintain peace, wouldn't it?

Another phenomenon that deserves attention in this connection is the statement that Hindu troops passed through Canada on the 27th of August. The newspapers speak of no less than thirty trainloads. These Hindu troops must have been shipped from India not later than the end of July—that is, before the declaration of war—or they could not possibly have reached Canada so early.

This is the kind of bunk that the newspapers have been handing out—manufactured war news favorable to England and her allies in the hope to stampede American sentiment against Germany when it rightly belongs with Germany.

Then again comes the cry that the Germans are bloodthirsty bandits and that in the invasion of Belgium the most diabolical atrocities were perpetrated. But when investigation is made, not one instance can be verified where atrocities have been committed by the Germans. Right at this juncture it might not be amiss to reproduce the signed statement made by five of America's most distinguished newspaper reporters who are at the front; their statement is as follows.

It must be recognized by the American people that a uniform effort has been made since the very outbreak of the war to prejudice the minds of our people against Germany.

And while the press of America has been discrediting Germany and giving every favorable advantage in news-column and editorial to Great Britain, the American people have failed to see the menace that threatens in the alliance of England and Japan. Had we not better look a little to our own colors? Is there not a deep significance to this alliance between the Jap and England? Will America not have to reckon with this alliance in the future, and especially if the allies are successful in the present crisis?

It is high time that the American people acquaint themselves with the true situation in Europe and with the real causes which brought about this terrible conflict between the great nations of the old world. Probably the most comprehensive and thoroughly reliable analysis of the situation yet attempted is that given to the American public by Prof. John W. Burgess of Columbia University. Prof. Burgess, through this analysis, shows a clear grasp of the situation and a thorough knowledge of the causes that led up to the present crisis, but of course the newspapers will not give space to an article of this kind. For the benefit of Jim Jam Jems readers and in the spirit of fair play, we reproduce several extracts from this masterful analysis.

MODERN NAVAL WARFARE
BATTLE SHIPS, CRUISERS, SUBMARINES

Cutting the German Cable—Capturing the Enemy's Merchant Marine
Neutral Shipping, Naval Battles, Blockades

"The German Submarine will Win the War"

By An American Army General

The Influence of Precedent, and Modern Naval Warfare Blockades and Submarines

ENGLAND'S CONTEMPT FOR AMERICAN RIGHTS.

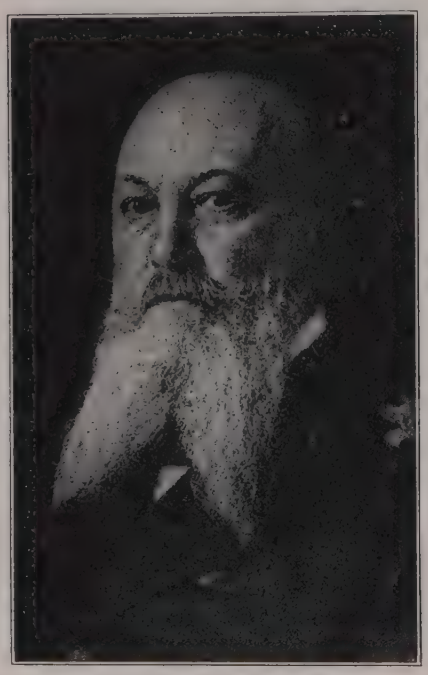
A Pro-English Sheet Answered—Gross Insults to the American Flag—American Ship with Non-Contraband Cargo Dragged Captive to an English Port—American Farmers and Cattle Raisers Deprived of the Right to Sell and Ship Their Products to Non-Combatant Populations—Our Sea Commerce and Sea Prestige Must Be Defended—May Bring About a War Between America and England.

(William Bayard Hale, writer of the following letter addressed to the New York Tribune, was selected by President Wilson to represent the United States in arranging the Mexican troubles. He has the reputation of being exceptionally well informed in regard to international law and is, therefore fully competent to pass judgment on England's flagrant violation of it. His criticism of the pro-English policy of the intensely pro-English New York Tribune is well founded.—Ed. I. W.)

From "The Irish World," New York, Saturday, March 13, 1915.

Sir: From the standpoint of absolute neutrality between Great Britain and Germany, I am nevertheless constrained to put it to the Tribune that in fulminating against what, in complete indifference to the facts, it describes as the German "paper blockade," the German "lynch law threat," the German "arrogant invasion of neutral rights," the German "relapse toward barbarism," it is surprisingly uncomplimentary to the understanding of the American people.

Does the Tribune believe that any considerable proportion of us are ignorant of the fact that in its order of Feb. 4, Germany was only doing what Great Britain had done precisely three months before? Does the Tribune believe that we are unaware that the first version of the order cabled to New York was a false one, representing as included within, and not (as in fact it was) excluded from, the danger zone



ADMIRAL VON TIRPITZ
In Command of the German Navy

a thirty mile strip along the Dutch coast? Does the Tribune believe that we are so dull as not to have noticed that the English order closing the North Sea became effective after twenty-four hours' notice, while the German order closing the British Channel was effective only after fifteen days' notice?

Does the Tribune really expect any considerable part of its clientele to accept its editorial denunciation of the German policy of attacking neutral ships, when every declaration of the German government declares that only ships of Great Britain and her Allies are to be treated as enemies, and that neutral ships will not be touched?

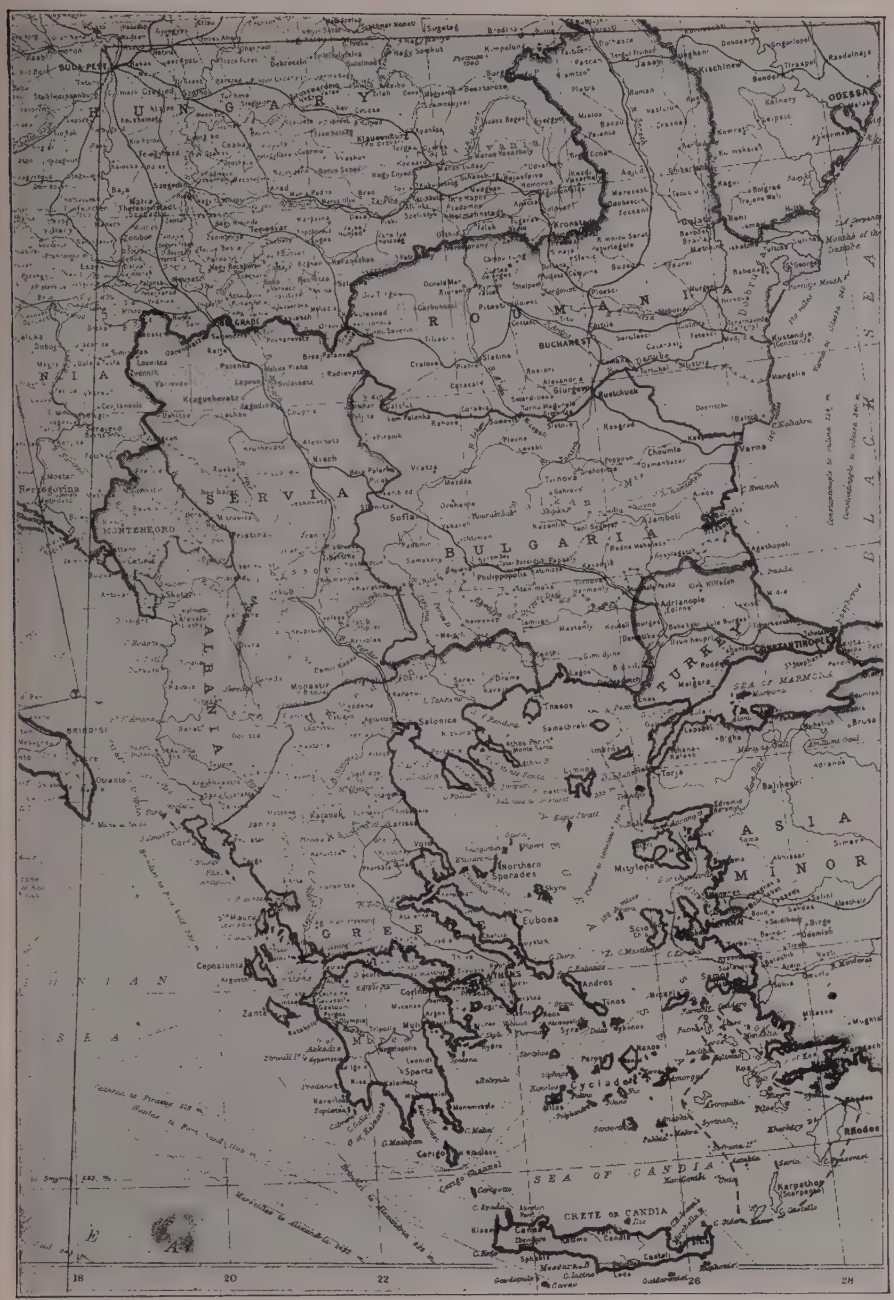
England the Real Aggressor.

Does the Tribune expect us to forget that it is England which is seizing American ships and other neutral ships at sea and dragging them captive to her ports; that it is England which denies American farmers and cattle raisers the right to sell and ship their products in American bottoms to the non-combatant populations of Germany and Austria; that it was England which hauled down the American flag on the American ship Greenbrier and took her ignominiously captive; that it is England which refuses to allow Americans to buy a foreign vessel, the Dacia, in good faith, secure American registry and sail the seas protected by the American flag; while it is the same England, which, either in fear or in an attempt to involve the United States in war, appropriates our national emblem and under its protection flees through her own waters from the foe with which she seeks to embroil us?

Complaisance Under English Arrogance May Bring About an Anglo-American War.

Some of us are concerned not in the least as to the conflict now being waged in Europe, but very much indeed as to the maintenance of an attitude of real neutrality between the combatants, together with the preservation of the rights that belong to neutrals. It is due no doubt, to the naval superiority of Great Britain over Germany, and to the policy consequent upon that superiority, but, to whatever cause it is due, it is the simple fact that the neutrals at sea have been attacked only by Great Britain and her Allies so far in this war. No doubt if the relative naval positions of Great Britain and Germany were reversed, it would be Germany that would be attacking our commerce and contempting our flag at sea. But by whomsoever our sea commerce and our sea prestige is attacked, against him it must be defended.

An editorial policy such as that which the Tribune is pursuing arouses in me, as an American citizen indifferent to the outcome of the war abroad, the gravest anxiety lest our complaisance under the arrogance of Great Britain may tempt it to steps which may at last arouse this country to a dangerous temper.


BUDA-PEST
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ALBANIA
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CONSTANTINOPLE
SEA OF MARMORA
ASIA MINOR
GREECE
Salonica
Sofia
Varna
Rustchuck
Giurgevo
Northern Sporades
Euboea
Mitylene
Cephalonia
Zante
Cyclades
Rhodes
Karpathos
SEA OF CANDIA
CRETE OR CANDIA
Canea
Candia
Sphakia
Leros
Castelli
Gavdos
Cerigo
Andros
Tenos
Paros
Naxos
Samos
Lemnos
Thasos
Samothraki
Imbros
Tenedos
Gallipoli
Adrianople
Kirk Kilisseh
Philippopolis
Kustendje
Constanza
Braila
Galatz
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Sebastopol
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Warsaw
Lublin
Brest-Litovsk
Pinsk
Kiev
Kovel
Lemberg
Przemysl
Cracow
Kielce
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Graudenz
Pillau
Memel
Kowno
Vilna
Grodno
Bialystok
Brest
Pskov
Riga
Dorpat
Reval
Helsinki
Viborg
Sveaborg
Hangoe
Kronborg
Copenhagen
Malmo
Gotland
Visby
Bornholm
Rostock
Stettin
Swinemunde
Kiel
Wilhelmshaven
Cuxhaven
Heligoland
Emden
Wesel
Cologne
Coblenz
Mainz
Frankfurt
Munich
Vienna
Budapest
Trieste
Pola
Fiume
Zara
Spalato
Ragusa
Cattaro
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Alexandria
Port Said
Suez
Aden
Cairo
Khartoum
Massaua
Tobruk
Bengasi
Sollum
Mersa Matruh
Alexandretta
Beirut
Haifa
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Gaza
Rhodes
Smyrna
Chios
Lesbos
Salonica
Athens
Piraeus
Patras
Corinth
Argos
Nauplia
Sparta
Kalamata
Navarino
Tripolitsa
Mudros
Cape Matapan
Cape Malea
Cape Spada
Cape Sidero
Cape Salomon
Cape Krio
Cape Ducato
Cape Santa Maria
Cape Leuca
Cape Otranto
Cape Spartivento
Cape Passero
Cape Bon
Cape Matapan
Cape Malea

have long since been finished and Germany has now from fifteen to thirty submarines in process of completion at its different yards.

The newest German submarines might be termed the super-dreadnoughts of the undersea boats. They will be nearly a thousand feet in length. They will be armed with a 14-pound gun on a disappearing mount and a 1-pounder on a fixed pedestal, "experiments having shown," the United States Naval Institute has said, "that it is possible to expose this gun to salt water without serious disadvantage."

Can Cruise for a Month.

German submarines of the U-19-27 class and also the U-28-36 class are armed with one 14-pounder and it is believed, a 1-pounder. They all have a working radius of approximately 2,500 miles. It would be entirely feasible for a flotilla of them to journey around England, staying away from their bases from three weeks to a month.

At nights the submarines could ride the surface in any obscure spot, practically free from danger. They could cruise slowly by day, either just awash or showing only their periscope. Communication could be maintained between boats of a flotilla by wireless, and perhaps by submarine signaling in some instances. When necessary they could develop a speed equal to that of most dreadnoughts and superior to that of older vessels. Small merchant ships would be at their mercy.—From the "Chicago Daily News."

A TRUMP CARD.

The New York Times Says That Washington Officials Consider Germany Played a Clever Game.

The Washington correspondent of the "New York Times" writes:

It has dawned upon officials here that the German government had executed a rather neat and clever counter-diplomatic stroke in notifying the world of its intention to create a war zone around the British Isles by taking a leaf out of the British book, and doing the very thing that the British government had done. The British and German war zone orders, as officially communicated to the State Department, were compared and closely studied today. This comparison was not found to be to the disadvantage of the Germans. It was even suggested that the German government had played a trump card.

The Situation.

The situation resolves itself something after this fashion: For England, the official date of the beginning of the war was August 4. England waited until three months of the war had been fought and then served notice on the neutral powers of the world of her intention to establish a war zone. The British war zone was set up on November 5. The Germans waited an additional three months, twice as long as did Great Britain, or until February 4, exactly six months from the official British beginning of the war, and then announced its decision to establish a war zone very similar to that of Great Britain, although somewhat more extensive. However, the principle involved with respect to both war zones is the same, since each is extensive enough to cover the high seas outside of the three-mile territorial limit, and the two war zones differ in importance only in degree and the character of the operations to be conducted in them.*—The "Continental Times," Berlin.

*The generous "New York Times" reporter has another guess coming as regards a real blockade that Great Britain is maintaining.—Editor.

LUSITANIA A FLOATING ARSENAL.

Through the courtesy of Hon. Dudley Field Malone, Collector of the Port of New York, two representatives of the "Irish World" were permitted to examine the records of the Collector's Office on Monday evening, May 10, and they found that millions of dollars' worth of contraband articles were shipped from the Port of New York to France and England, under the flags of the Allies, principally English and French vessels, from August, 1914, to May, 1915.

We give a partial list of the shipments of fire arms, cartridges, etc., etc., during the period mentioned. It will be noted that the list does not include shipments of horses, military saddlery, shoes for soldiers or other war supplies. Large guns are shipped under the name of hardware or machinery.

Month, destination and material	Value
August, 1914, France; firearms	$ 1,898
August, 1914, England; firearms	3,646
September, 1914, England; cartridges	214,401
September, 1914, England; firearms	40,087
October, 1914, France; cartridges	383,250
October, 1914, France; firearms	392,812
October, 1914, England; cartridges	700,699
October, 1914, England; firearms	80,473
November, 1914, France; cartridges	336,411
November, 1914, France; firearms	80,242
November, 1914, England; cartridges	649,015
November, 1914, England; firearms	83,149
November, 1914, Scotland; firearms	1,656
December, 1914, France; cartridges	273,559
December, 1914, France; explosives	655,810
December, 1914, France; firearms	110,221
December, 1914, England; cartridges	566,016
December, 1914, England; firearms	104,480
December, 1914, Scotland; firearms	1,077
January, 1915, France; cartridges	372,648
January, 1915, France; gunpowder	93,319
January, 1915, France; explosives	917,270
January, 1915, France; firearms	50,550
January, 1915, England; cartridges	716,561
January, 1915, England; firearms	108,639
January, 1915, Scotland; firearms	689,953
February, 1915, France; cartridges	661,232
February, 1915, France; explosives	606,713
February, 1915, France; firearms	7,354
February, 1915, England; cartridges	599,021
February, 1915, England; explosives	70,135
February, 1915, England; gunpowder	400
February, 1915, England; firearms	47,991
March, 1915, France; explosives	485,698
March, 1915, France; cartridges	620,554
March, 1915, France; firearms	71,826
March, 1915, England; cartridges	633,700
March, 1915, England; explosives	9,436
March, 1915, England; firearms	160,228
April, 1915, England; arms and ammunition	923,550
April, 1915, France; arms and ammunition	582,207

There were two items in the list of the Lusitania's $750,000 cargo over which the knowing ones of the maritime world gravely shook their heads as soon as the news of her sinking became common knowledge. That was the entry of her manifest of 5,471 cases of ammunition and cartridges valued at $200,024.

"The cartridge alone would have been enough," was the opinion of one large shipper who discussed the question, "but that additional 'ammunition' means bulk powders of high explosive power, and in their presence on board the steamship may be seen one reason for her sinking so suddenly."

It was generally conceded that the Lusitania, following the precedent set early in the war, approached the Irish coast with all her watertight bulkheads closed against any emergency. In this case the explosion of two or even three torpedoes against her sides would not have torn her sufficiently to sink her in the little time that elapsed before she went down. Consequently the theory that some of this large amount of ammunition completed the work of the torpedoes took precedent over all others.

The manifest of the Lusitania included the following entries: 260,000 pounds sheet brass, valued at $49,565; 111,762 pounds of copper, valued at $20,955; 58,465 pounds of copper wire valued at $11,000; 189

packages of military goods valued at $66,221; 5,471 cases of ammunition and cartridges, valued at $200,023. The total value of the cargo was $725,000.

The Lusitania seems to have been the vessel on which the largest shipments of arms and ammunition were sent to England. On its trip of April 1, it carried military goods, valued at $204,064; cartridges and ammunition valued at $151,800, and firearms valued at $3,379.

On the books of the Cunard line the Lusitania is valued at a flat $5,000,000, and, according to the officials at the New York office, she was insured for this amount. The question of making good her loss is as yet an involved one because of the war insurance issued by the British government which has been in force on all vessels of the British merchant marine since the war began.

The premiums for this insurance are extremely high and are quoted on such vessels as the Lusitania and the Olympic at about $50,000 for each voyage. In return for this premium the government offered to the vessels the protection of the defense squadrons off the English coast and insured the vessels against such loss as the Cunard line has now suffered. The Lusitania also carried insurance from Lloyd's and the cargo was insured by the shippers.—The Irish Voice.

TERRIBLE REVELATIONS.

THE LUSITANIA DISASTER.

DID THE BRITISH ADMIRALTY PLOT THE DESTRUCTION?

Read what Congressman Hobson Says.

The Cunard People Warned Their Friends.

(From the N. Y. Tribune, May 15, 1915.)

What Congressman Hobson said:

"A widowed cousin of mine", said former Congressman Richmond P. Hobson in an interview on May 15, 1915, "applied at the New York office of the Cunard Line for passage on the Lusitania. The booking agent, an old friend, took her off apart and told her that the vessel was acting under Admiralty orders and that she simply must not take passage upon it. He pledged her to secrecy until after the trip. This fact brings up pertinent questions.

"Why did not the Cunard Company give to all parties applying for passage the same humane advice its agent, for old friendship's sake, gave to my cousin, instead of loading the vessel down with a full passenger list, including many distinguished Americans, whose loss would necessarily strike the American imagination?"

"Knowing that German submarines were operating in the south of the Irish coast, why did not the British Admiralty, which controlled the Lusitania's movements, order her to use the uninfested route around the north of Ireland?

"Why was the ship, having a speed of 25½ knots—a very substantial aid to security—ordered by the Admiralty to slow down to 17 knots in the danger zone?

"How could a torpedo sink such a ship in twenty minutes? An elementary knowledge of naval architecture would convince any one that such a thing is impossible unless there was contributing cause inside the vessel, such as open watertight doors or an inside explosion.

"Why was there no protecting convoy in the danger zone?

"Why was there no consort for the great ship, ready for rescue work?

Who Had a Motive?

"There could be no possible motive," he continues, "for Germany wishing to destroy American lives. In fact, Germany sought by extraordinary warning not to destroy American lives, and her commander torpedoed the vessel at a point near the shore where it was presumable there would be ample time for the rescue of life.

"On the other hand, there is a full motive for England wishing such a tragedy—the motive for thrusting America into war with Germany.

The Duty of the United States.

"Our own self-respect and our position in history demand at least that we should find out the facts by regular, impartial investigation by a naval court. We could not condemn the basest criminal without a fair trial. We cannot pass judgment on a fellow Christian people simply from the charges of their enemy, given by a burning motive to embroil us in war.

"The American people are not afraid of Germany and her allies, nor are they afraid of England and her allies, but we are a God fearing people, afraid of His righteous wrath. We are not too proud to fight, but we are too brave and true knowingly to do wrong."

U. S. NAVY MEN BLAME BRITISH.

Washington, May 10.

Ranking officers of the American navy expect a radical change in the administration of the British admiralty as a result of the destruction of the Lusitania.

"Dumfounded" is the only word which adequately expressed the feeling of naval experts when they were assured positively that the admiralty allowed the Lusitania to enter the danger zone without the protection of a single convoy.

When Germany finally announced its intention to make war under the water by the use of submarines and to blow up every British ship that passed within torpedo range, American naval experts appeared to be satisfied that this movement would be checkmated without delay.

Great Britain's failure to take drastic steps to put an end to the commerce war has given American naval experts the impression that there is something radically wrong with Winston Churchill's management of the admiralty.

This belief was strengthened a thousand-fold when the news that no patrol had guarded the Lusitania was flashed. Officers immediately called attention to the fact that the tiny American oil tanker Gulflight, which was torpedoed last week, was furnished with a patrol.

Officers were of the opinion that upon the British admiralty must rest the blame, not only for the destruction of the Lusitania, but much more so on account of the tremendous loss of life.

They pointed to the fact that if the Lusitania had been accompanied by four or six destroyers at least the passengers and crew would not have been lost, because the patrolling vessels would have been present to pick up the victims.—The Daily News, Chicago.

PROMINENT STATESMEN ON LUSITANIA CASE.

General Opinion that Americans Took Their Lives in Their Hands as Passengers of Enemy Ship.

Vice-president Marshall said that anyone who puts his foot on a ship flying the English flag is practically on English soil.

Captain Turner, commander of the *Lusitania*, said: "Well, it is the fortune of war."

Senator T. J. Walsh: "Our citizens must yield to the warning given to keep out of the waters surrounding Great Britain or we must take the other alternative and make war. I am not yet prepared to declare that either interest or honor requires that we choose the latter."

Senator Wm. J. Stone, Chairman Committee on Foreign Relations: "American citizens, it must not be forgotten, went aboard a belligerent ship with full knowledge of the risk and after official warning by the German Government. When on board a British vessel they were on British soil. Was not their position substantially equivalent to being within the walls of a fortified city? It appears to me that from our standpoint as a neutral nation, the *Gulflight* case presents a more delicate and serious complication than the case of the *Lusitania*."

Senator Chas. N. Thomas: "The *Lusitania* tragedy differs only in degree from that of the **Falaba.** Apart from their greater fatalities neither may develop a condition so acute as the destruction of the *Gulflight*."

Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock: "The loss of American lives was not caused by desire to injure America, but was incidental or accidental, and if reparation is made does not become a cause for us to abandon neutral attitude."

Senator Wm. E. Borah: "That disaster and the loss of the lives of American citizens would be calculated ordinarily to arouse great feeling throughout the country, and doubtless the American people do feel deeply upon the subject; but to

my mind, the sinking of the steamship of a foe upon which happens to be found American citizens is by no means to be compared with the act of hunting out, robbing, assaulting and murdering American citizens in a neighboring country. We have lost more citizens in Mexico than we will lose on the *Lusitania*, and as our policy with reference to Mexico seems to be well settled and accepted, there is no possible reason why we should apply a different policy toward Germany. I don't anticipate any change of policy because of this unfortunate affair."

Representative W. L. Jones, of Washington: "Our citizens have rights, but they should not insist on exercising them in a way likely to involve us in war. When they sail in foreign ships into dangerous territory they should understand that they take the risk. Innocent people at home should not be embroiled in war on their account."

Representative A. Mitchell Palmer, of Pennsylvania: "The *Lusitania* was flying the British flag, and carrying munitions of war for the support of a belligerent. Neutral passengers, who, in the face of warnings, undertook this perilous voyage, certainly assumed some risk themselves, for which the entire nation ought not to be asked to suffer. Of course, the destruction of a passenger boat is horrible. War is always horrible. This method of fighting is not humane—it is hardly civilized, but there is no such thing as humanity in civilized warfare."

Representative Caleb Powers, of Kentucky: "This country is not the insurer of either the lives or the safety of the citizens, especially aboard foreign vessels, who of their own volition subject themselves to the dangers and perils of the war zone, and, while this country does and should deeply deplore the sinking of the *Lusitania*, yet it should not be involved in war by reason thereof."

Governor Simeon E. Baldwin, of Connecticut, and professor in the Yale Law School: "If I recollect correctly, the dispatch of our Government to Germany with reference to the previous incident of sinking a ship by a German submarine, as was supposed, in the war zone, referred to the matter as something occurring to a ship sailing under American colors. The phrase 'strict accountability' used in the dispatch did not, as I recollect it, refer to a foreign vessel sailing under her true colors. The responsibility now under the present circumstances of our declaring our policy, is somewhat different in character."

Governor Brewer, of Mississippi, in a statement, May 13, declared that as Americans had been warned not to take passage on the British steamship *Lusitania* he could not understand why the United States should quarrel with Germany because Americans lost their lives as a result of the torpedoing of the vessel.

"Americans were given fair warning to stay off," he said. "The passengers knew what to expect and took the risk."

Prof. George W. Kirchwey: "My advice to the President would be: Don't be too fond or too stiff about the rights of neutrals. Don't take an attitude from which you can't withdraw without war. I would make the American people count until they get over this bellicose feeling. There is no doubt that there is no right to sink living persons on ships, but I think there is need of a new law forbidding neutrals from sailing on enemy ships carrying contraband. The need of this is caused by the new emergencies and new conditions found in present maritime warfare and the recklessness of all the nations at war."

Oswald O. Villard: "A war now would be singularly unremunerative, and about as agreeable as a conflict between an elephant and an alligator. We would not get at them nor they at us. **We should be pulling England's chestnuts out of the fire if we were to send troops to Europe,** which latter action could be justified only on the wild ground that all our civilization was in danger."—From *The Fatherland.*

"GERMANY WARNED US" SAYS SENATOR VARDAMAN.

(By International News Service.)

Columbus, Miss., May 9.—When asked to give an opinion on the sinking of the Lusitania, Senator Vardaman of Mississippi said:

"I see no reason why serious complications between the United States and the belligerent governments of Europe should grow out of it.

"Admitting that Germany is responsible, she is only guilty of retaliation for the damage to her own commerce by England. Germany published advertisements in American and British press warning neutrals against use of the belligerent ships. They disregarded it at their peril.

"President Wilson is on the job, and I have faith in his prudence and good judgment."—Irish Voice.

CHIEF JUSTICE OLSON IS NOT YET READY FOR A JUDGMENT ON THE LUSITANIA.

That German rage against American contractors and manufacturers who have been supplying the Allied armies with ammunition and other contraband of war lay at the bottom of the destruction of the Lusitania, was the statement made today by Chief Justice Olson of the Municipal Court, who declared he had received his information from an attaché of the War Department now in Chicago.

"My informant told me that there were fifty-three American business men aboard the Lusitania who were on their way to England solely for the purpose of obtaining contracts to supply Great Britain with fighting material," said Judge Olson.

Tried to Intimidate U. S.

"It looks as if the Germans had got wind of this fact and had lain in wait for the special purpose of blowing the liner to atoms and intimidating American firms from carrying on negotiations with the Allies.

"If this is true, it is easy to see why the German submarines took particular care to see that the Lusitania did not escape them.

"It is known that the vessel carried a large amount of ammunition consigned to the British government. For my part, I believe that any man who takes passage on a boat, knowing this, and in the face of the advertisements sent out by the German Embassy in Washington, does so at his own risk. The fact that the Germans sent out these advertisements is only another illustration of German efficiency; they were even prepared sufficiently to send a warning throughout our country of what was about to happen.

Sees Both Sides.

"The fact that the Lusitania carried ammunition which was to be used in the killing of German soldiers appears to me to be the most important point in the controversy that is certain to come up over the sinking of the ship. Germany cannot afford to have her soldiers killed; she needs them.

"On the other hand, it does not appear right for them to blow up the liner, realizing that in so doing they were sending hundreds of non-combatants to their death.

"The German commander might have made known his intention to the commander of the Lusitania and permitted the passengers to debark before destroying the vessel.

"However, it is not up to the ordinary citizen to go into these question at length. My view is: Let Wilson attend to it. He will find some way to maintain the honor of the United States in the international situation, I am sure."

AMERICANS WERE WARNED IS DERNBERG'S COMMENT.

Former German Colonial Secretary Upholds Action of His Government in Sinking Lusitania.

New York, May 9.—Dr. Bernhard Dernberg, former colonial secretary of the German empire, tonight reiterated and emphasized statements he made in Cleveland yesterday, holding that the German government was justified in its action of sinking the Cunard liner Lusitania.

"I am sure," Dr. Dernberg said, "that Germany regrets the loss of life of Americans through the sinking of the Lusitania, but sufficient warning was given before the ship sailed.

"In an incident such as the Lusitania affair, a submarine cannot give the necessary warning. The Lusitania is a fast boat. It could speed out of range of a submarine in a short time.

"Every person seeking passage on a vessel crossing the Atlantic can obtain information whether that vessel is carrying munitions of war and stands the chance of meeting the fate the Lusitania met."—Irish Voice.

The Boast of the Cunard Company.

From the Boston Journal.

When the German Embassy had issued the following warning on April 22, nine days before the Lusitania sailed, and again on May 1,: "Travelers embarking on an Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Great Britain and Germany; that the zone of war includes the waters adjacent to the British Isles; that, in accordance with formal notice given by the Imperial German government, vessels flying the flag of Great Britain are liable to destruction in these waters, and that travelers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain do so at their own risk—"

The Cunard Company answered as follows: "The Germans have been trying for some time to put English lines out of commission. We anticipate that from this time on every possible means will be used by the Germans to prevent people traveling on English lines. The fact is that the Lusitania is the safest boat afloat. She is too fast for German warships or submarines. She will reach Liverpool as per schedule, and arrive in New York on time as long as we care to run her."—From The Boston Patriot.

WHY THE "LUSITANIA" WAS SUNK.

Last week we predicted the fate that has overtaken the **Lusitania. The Fatherland** did not reach the news-stands till Saturday, but the editorial in question was written several days before publication. To-day we make another prediction. Every large passenger ship bound for England is practically a swimming arsenal, carrying vast quantities of ammunition and explosives of every description. An arsenal, whether on sea or land, is not a safe place for women and children. It is not a safe place for anyone. Every now and then we read of a warship blown up by an explosion caused by spontaneous combustion, in spite of the rigid care exercised to prevent such an accident. Our passenger ships carry more explosives than the ordinary man-of-war. No innocent passenger should be allowed to embark on a vessel carrying explosives. **It stands to reason that a fate not unlike that of the Lusitania will meet before long a passenger ship by an explosion of vast stores of ammunition within.** While Germany is not bound to respect a flag of any ship carrying implements of murder, German submarines may discriminate in favor of a neutral flag. Spontaneous combustion recognizes no international convention.

Much as we regret the staggering loss of life in the disaster that startled the world, the facts in the case absolutely justify the action of the Germans.

Legally and morally there is no basis for any protest on the part of the United States. The **Lusitania** was a British ship. British ships have been instructed by the Admiralty to ram submarines and to take active measures against the enemy. Hence every British ship must be considered in the light of a warship.

The **Lusitania** flew the ensign of the British Naval Reserves before the submarine warfare was initiated. Since that time she has hoisted many a flag, including the Stars and Stripes. According to a statement issued by the advertising manager of the Cunard Line, the **Lusitania** "when torpedoed was entirely out of the control of the Cunard Company and operated under the command of the British Admiralty."

The **Lusitania** carried contraband of war from this country to England. If this contraband had reached its destination it would undoubtedly have killed far more Germans than the total number of passengers lost on the **Lusitania.** As a matter of fact it did actually kill the passengers by precipitating the sinking of the ship. There can be no doubt that the ship would not have sunk for hours, if explosions from within had not hastened its end. **Every passenger on a boat carrying contraband of war takes his life into his hands.** The explosives in the hold of a ship, we **repeat, constitute a graver peril to** passengers than the shots of German torpedoes.

It cannot be said that the **Lusitania** was torpedoed without warning. Ordinarily a half hour's warning is regarded sufficient. In this case the ship was warned of its fate **four or five days in advance.** We need only turn to the warning notice issued by the German Embassy on the day before the **Lusitania** left the Harbor of New York.

Instead of urging the President to take steps against Germany, we should impeach the Secretary of State for his neglect of duty in not warning all Americans of the peril of ocean traffic in the war zone, especially under the flag of a belligerent nation. If the Secretary of State, in accordance with the Mexican precedent had issued such a warning, not a single American life would have been forfeited.

Germany, provoked by England which established a war zone as early as November and made the importation of foodstuffs into Germany practically impossible, decided upon submarine warfare as a measure of retaliation. She was forced to do so by the signal failure of the United States to protect the common rights of neutrals. When Germany determines upon a plan of action she means business. The Germans are not a nation of poker players. Germany does not bluff.

The sinking of the **Lusitania** is a terrific lesson, but in order to drive home its force more fully and to safeguard this country from further losses and from the danger of complications with Germany, the State Department should issue at once a formal notice admonishing American citizens to shun all ships flying the flag of a belligerent nation and all ships, **irrespective of nationality,** which carry across the sea the tools of destruction.

But if we accuse the State Department of negligence, we should indict the officials of the Cunard Line for murder. They knew that the **Lusitania** was a floating fortress. Yet, for the sake of sordid gain, they jeopardized the lives of more than two thousand people. When the German Embassy issued its warning, the Cunard Line pooh-poohed the danger so as not to forfeit the shekels paid for the passage.

Did the Cunard Line tell its prospective passengers that its crew was short of eighty or ninety stokers?

Did the Cunard Line inform its passengers that the **Lusitania,** as Marconi states in an interview, narrowly escaped an attack by a submarine on a previous voyage?

Did they inform the passengers of the fact that one of its turbines was defective?

How many of the passengers would have remained on the boat if the officials of the Cunard Line had not suppressed the truth?

Those innocent victims believed in the protection of the British Admiralty. The Captain of the **Lusitania** admits that the Admiralty "never seemed to bother" about the **Lusitania.** He knew that England, though she waives the rules, no longer rules the waves. He is a soldier under orders of the Admiralty. He has a right to take chances with his own life. But what right has he to take chances with the lives of his crew and his two thousand passengers?

VON BERNSTORFF REGRETS LOSS OF AMERICANS.

(By the Associated Press.)

Washington, May 10.

Count Bernstorff, the German ambassador, went to the state department today and was closeted with Secretary Bryan.

After a half hour's conference between the ambassador and Secretary Bryan the following statement was, by mutual agreement, given out by the secretary:

"The German ambassador called at the state department and expressed his deep regret that the events of the war had led to the loss of so many American lives."

While neither the ambassador nor Secretary Bryan's statement mentioned the Lusitania by name, it was known that the two officials talked of it specifically. It was the ambassador's first visit to the department since the disaster. The secretary received him immediately and greeted him cordially.

When Ambassador Bernstorff came from Secretary Bryan's office he parried all questions by saying he could not talk, being under a promise to Secretary Bryan that anything to be said should come from the secretary. His only real response was that he had made no appointment with President Wilson.

Both Secretary Bryan and Count Bernstorff steadfastly refused to comment upon or interpret the state department's announcement, but it was interpreted as meaning that the ambassador had, for his government, expressed deep regret not only for

the loss of life on the Lusitania, but for the Americans lost in the torpedoing of the American steamer Gulflight and for the one American lost on the Falaba.—The Daily News, Chicago.

THE GERMAN ANSWER.

The German answer must be highly pleasing to all who honestly desire the historic friendship between Germany and the United States to continue without interruption.

In spite of heavy provocation on the part of the United States, Germany has kept her temper. Not content with furnishing implements of murder to Germany's enemies, we actually ask Germany to commit suicide. For a modification of submarine warfare as suggested in Mr. Bryan's note would be tantamount to self-destruction on Germany's part.

It may be said that we were actuated by no selfish motive, for our action was not in the interest of the United States: we were merely pulling England's chestnuts out of the fire. This may make us more noble in our own eyes, but it hardly makes our proposition more palatable to Germany. Nevertheless, instead of indignantly refusing to discuss so absurd a proposition, Germany's answer is sweetly reasonable.

Germany is evidently perfectly willing to explain to us why she refuses to commit suicide. In fact, Germany is prepared to make many concessions. Evidently, Germany is willing to go to the limit in order to humor us. Germany desires no trouble with the United States. If there is to be trouble, the word must come from President Wilson.

We prattle about humanity, while we manufacture poisoned shrapnel and picric acid for profit. Ten thousand German widows, ten thousand orphans, ten thousand graves bear the legend "Made in America." The German Government makes no reference to this. The German note is no exercise in rhetoric. It states the case simply and bluntly in German fashion. "The German Government believes it was acting in self-defense in seeking with all means of warfare at its disposition to protect the lives of its soldiers by destroying ammunition intended for the enemy."

We have reason to *believe* that the *Lusitania* carried both shrapnel and explosive acids. We *know* that she carried war material. We believe that the *Lusitania* carried concealed weapons. The fact that the Collector of the Port had not seen such weapons is no proof that they were not on board. His evidence is purely negative. There is much positive evidence to the contrary.

It is admitted that the *Lusitania* was an auxiliary cruiser and that she sailed on the high seas under the jurisdiction of the British Admiralty. The English are attempting to throw dust into our eyes. But we should remember that those who deny the warlike character of the Cunard liner are the same people that advised her to sneak *under false colors* into an English port. The Cunard Line used American passengers as a shield, just as it fraudulently used the American flag as a shield for its own protection.

Perhaps the Captain of the submarine that sank the Lusitania to the bottom had a vision of a thousand passengers drowned. But above that vision he must have seen another vision of German armies mowed down by the deadly cargo within her hold, and of ten times ten thousand widows and orphans pointing an accusing finger at him if he failed to destroy the ammunition on its passage to England. The dictates of humanity demanded the destruction of the death-carrying vessel.

However we may deplore the loss of innocent lives, the *Lusitania* deserved her doom. The Cunard Line deliberately inveigled American passengers to imperil their lives, although one of its officials, according to Congressman Hobson, confidentially warned a friend not to entrust herself to the protection of what was to all intents and purposes an English warship masquerading as a passenger vessel.

Last week the White Star Liner *Arabic* sailed for Liverpool with 400 cases of cartridges, 41 automobiles, 795 barrels of lubricating oil, 565 barrels of grease, 5,047 pigs of lead, 3,370 bars of copper, 730 reels of barbed wire, 1,516 pieces of forgings for guns, 14,014 packages of steel and—*two American passengers.* What would the United States do in a similar predicament? From a German standpoint, the submarine commander who fails to blow up a ship carrying such a cargo if he can, deserves to be court-martialed.

Germany is willing to give up her submarine campaign, if England will abide by international convention. Germany may be willing to meet us more than halfway if we stop the shipment of arms, which under the changed conditions of this unprecedented war has ceased to be a neutral act. Until either result is accomplished, we should prevent American passengers from taking passage on any vessel carrying contraband of war. Germany, on her side, should promise not to torpedo any ships carrying a certificate signed by the American authorities and the German Consul-General that she carries no implements of destruction.

Germany and the United States have both, in the past, demanded the sanctity of private property on the sea. England refused this demand, and our representative, Mr. Choate, weakly surrendered to English pressure. If Mr. Choate had not betrayed the interests of the United States and of humanity at that conference, the lives of civilians and private property would be as safe today on the high seas as they are on land.

England makes international law to suit herself. In doing so she depends upon her dreadnoughts. The marine law of the past was written by the battleship. The marine law of the future will be written by the submarine. At the same time, it must be clearly understood that the use of the submarine as employed at present by Germany, is permissible only as a measure of retaliation. As such the submarine is the emblem of humanity. It will free the world from the incubus of Navalism. The United States will benefit most from this transition. We need not, in the future, compete with England and Japan in the building of dreadnoughts. All we need for our protection is a large fleet of submarines. If we have mastered this lesson, even the loss of a hundred American lives is not too great a price.

We have concluded thirty treaties making a year's discussion obligatory before the rupture of diplomatic relations. This is America's most substantial contribution to the civilization of the 20th Century. Germany has accepted this theory in principle. She now accepts it in practice. We cannot refuse her proffered hand, without violating the spirit of every one of those thirty treaties. If we insist upon making an exception to the noble tradition established by us solely in the case of Germany, we would furnish proof both to her and to our own citizens that we are intentionally discriminating against the Germans.

If we lash ourselves into fury because Germany is unwilling to surrender her only chance for naval victory, we prove to every fair-minded American that the "understanding" which, according to Professor Usher existed between England and the United States during the Spanish-American war has been renewed by the Wilson Administration. We should have no choice, then, but to believe that the United States is no longer a sovereign power and that whatever the immediate issue may be we need a third war of independence to free ourselves finally from the shackles of England.

GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK.
(From the Fatherland)

BRITISH REPLY TO WILSON NOTE TO CITE MORE GERMAN FAULTS.

From "Chicago Daily News," Feb., 1915.

London, March 11.—The British reply to the American note suggesting that Great Britain allow all foodstuffs to enter Germany in return for Germany's abandonment of its submarine warfare on merchant vessels and its policy of mining the high seas is expected to be forthcoming at an early date.

While the contents of the reply are not known, it is possible as the result of inquiries in authoritative quarters to indicate some points likely to carry weight with the British government and to emphasize Sir Edward Grey's answer.

There is a strong feeling in Downing street that the "quid pro quo" put forward in the American note does not go far enough.

Great Britain in Africa, Egypt, and at Home

THE WORLD AT WAR

(From "The Literary Digest," New York, October 17, 1914)

Germany and her colonies are black on this map, and her smaller island possessions are surrounded by a black line Her African colonies are (1) German Southwest Africa, (2) German East Africa, (3) Kamerun, (4) Togoland. The largest colonial territory outside of Africa is (5) Kaiser Wilhelm's Land, in New Guinea. All that portion of the world not involved in the European War is shown in white on the map.

Officials of the foreign office point out that since the beginning of the war Great Britain only once has interfered with the supply of food destined for Germany, and then only after the German government, by assuming control of all foodstuffs, had abolished the old distinction between the civil and the military population.

High German authorities have repeatedly denied the British claim to cut off supplies of food from civilians is a legitimate act of war.

Great Britain, it is insisted, never adopted this view until the Germans by their own act made it impossible any longer to draw the line between noncombatants and armed forces. Furthermore, it is added, Great Britain is now invited by the United States to forego a clear belligerent right on the understanding that Germany will abstain from committing two—but only two—of many crimes against both law and humanity.

Authoritative spokesmen of the British view lay stress on the "inadequacy" of this proposal from two standpoints. They ask, first, what guarantee is forthcoming that Germany will keep to its agreement.

Secondly, they urge that the two offenses specified in the American note—submarine warfare on merchant vessels and the mining of the high seas—are far from being the only, or even the worst, offenses of which Germany has been guilty.

The claim is set up that it has bombarded unfortified towns, dropped bombs on places inhabited solely by civilians, and sunk both British and neutral ships, as if that were the ordinary legal way of disposing of them.

Great Britain, it is pointed out, has indulged in none of these practices, and such mines as it has been compelled in self-defense to lay have been laid in strict accordance with The Hague conventions.

The policy of the Germans, which arouses the most indignation among the directors of the British government is its continued alleged persecution of the Belgians, millions of whom, it is declared, "would be at this moment in a state of semi-starvation but for American generosity and assistance."

The view, therefore, held in the most authoritative quarter of Great Britain is that if there is to be any question of Germany's conforming to the rules of civilized warfare with respect to all points, and not merely with respect to two of them which it has been accused of departing from, it must come up for discussion, and that Great Britain could enter into no agreement a subject which did not include a radical change in Germany's present proceedings in Belgium.

FACTS AND FANCIES.

From the "Boston Evening Transcript," September 15, 1914.

HEARD AT THE BULLETINS

Flippant Youth (reading aloud)—"Kaiser attacks Nancy." Shame on him to hit a woman!

First Man (reading)—"Czar says he'll get to Berlin if it takes his last moujik."

Second Man—That means his last cent.

"Talking about them Belgians—say, did ja ever read that pome: "There was a sound of deviltry by night'?"

Man—I tell you Germany's got a great war machine.

ALL SUDAN REPORTED HELD BY DERVISHES; 2,000 ENGLISH SLAIN.

Gen. Hawley and Many Officers Killed Also When His Command Is Attacked by 40,000 Along the White Nile.

All Prisoners Are Decapitated, Railroads and Telegraph Lines Are Destroyed and the Conquest in Egypt Is Kept a Secret for Months.

From "The Daily News," Thursday, March 18, 1915.

Berlin, Germany (by wireless to Sayville, L. I.), March 18.—A German merchant who has returned from Egypt is authority for the declaration that the whole of the Sudan, including Khartum and also parts of Nubia, is in possession of the dervishes. The statements of this traveler are published in the Vossische Zeitung. He describes also an engagement near Fashoda last December, in which Gen. Hawley of the British army and a number of other officers, with nearly 2,000 men, lost their lives.

Battle Nears the Pyramids.

The merchant relates a story of the alleged uprising of the Senussi tribesmen in November. He declares that they destroyed an Australian camp near the pyramids Nov. 19, killing 200 Australians and capturing guns and provisions.

Later in large force, not fewer than 80,000, they overflowed the entire province of Fayum and destroyed all railroads, including the Cairo-Assuan line. Dec. 1 they destroyed the Alexandria-Cairo railroad near Damanhur.

Decapitates All the Prisoners.

Thousands of tribesmen responded to the appeal of the dervishes and Dec. 13; 40,000 of them marched in the direction of Fashoda, on the White Nile, where Gen. Hawley opposed them with 6,000 troops. Of the men under Hawley all the native soldiers deserted to the dervishes, leaving him only 2,000 men.

Most of this contingent was killed and Gen. Hawley and all his officers fell. Nabur-El-Asi, commanding the dervishes, had all his prisoners decapitated.

Keep Sudan Conquest Secret.

As a result of this victory all the native chiefs joined the dervishes, who, Jan. 1, took possession of the important military post at Nasser, in the district of Sennaar.

The merchant also declares that the dervishes destroyed all the telegraph lines in lower Egypt. No word of the conquest of the Sudan has been allowed to leak out.

FIRST NEWS TO REACH PUBLIC.

Last Reference to Sudan Conditions Was by Wireless Last December.

Granted that the news given out by the German merchant from Egypt is true, it is the first definite statement of these serious conditions to reach the public. The only previous reference to any such state of affairs came from Berlin the latter part of December, when a wireless message to Sayville said Constantinople reported an uprising of serious dimensions in the Sudan. Eighty thousand natives had started to attack the British province of El Kad and the Moslem population of certain districts was described as rising against the English. The Senussi tribesmen are members of a Moslem sect of North Africa.

GERMANY AND ATROCITIES.

From "The Day Book," Chicago, October 26, 1914.

Editor Day Book:—If not out of place, I wish to express myself among others and ask why it is that the American press and people in general criticize and condemn the German soldiery for alleged atrocities and depredations committed by them in this European war just as though other nations lived above criticism, especially during war. England, which is among the most warlike with a Bible in one hand and the sword in the other, has set us an example of her civilized state, when during the Sepoy mutiny in India she tied her prisoners to the mouth of cannon and sent them to eternity to meet the Prince of Peace.* Spain was no better in Cuba and other countries, and in our own so-called Civil war we had the Fort Pillow massacre, the draft riot in New York City, when the mob burned down the colored orphan asylum and hung negroes to the lamppost. The burning of Atlanta, Austin, Miss., and other cities, tearing up railroads, cutting off communication from the outside world by destroying telegraphs, etc., for which we now condemn Germany, and the inhuman treatment of prisoners in Southern prison pens, Andersonville, Bell Tole, Libby, Castle of Thunder, in which I suffered almost nine months. Not even Japan, which was not among the so-called civilized nations, treated her prisoners so bad during her war with China and Russia, the latter the massacre of Jews at Kishnef in time of peace. We should remember Germany has helped more than any other foreign country to make this country what it is today. Besides she has helped us put down the rebellion by furnishing 125,000 troops and some able generals to command. * * *

* See Illustration: *India Pacata.*—Editor.

A. S. What was the "Fashoda incident"?

A dramatic recital of the events which took place in the Mudirieh of Fashoda in 1898, much of it from the pen of Kitchener Sirdar, will be found in the British "Parliamentary Publication"; Egypt, Nos. 2 and 3, of 1898, the important portions of which appear in Larned's "History for Ready Reference and Topical Reading," vol. VI, p. 199 et seq.

In brief, the Fashoda incident may be described as a clash between French and British claims upon the Nile country. When, on Sept. 10, 1898, Lord Kitchener arrived at Fashoda, after his success at Omdurman, he found a small French force, under command of M. Marchand, entrenched in the old government buildings of the place. The Sirdar called upon M. Marchand to withdraw his men from the territory which they claimed to hold by right of occupation, but was met by the rejoinder that as a soldier the French leader could not but obey his instructions. The Egyptian flag was thereupon promptly raised over Fashoda by the British commander and the position of M. Marchand relegated to diplomatic settlement. Great Britain successfully maintained her claim to predominancy in the Nile valley and the French troops were withdrawn. The incident drew France and England to the verge of war and was brought to a close only by the complete acceptance by France of the British demands.—From the "Questions and Answers" column in the "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung," October 30, 1914.

W. L. J. When was England's Opium War? Was it generally approved of by the English people?

The Opium War began in 1839 and was concluded by the Treaty of Nanking, August 29, 1842.

It was not approved of by the English people generally. It was a war for the extension of the British opium trade in China and was promoted by a class in England which had arisen from the old East India Company monopoly. It had the support of this class and of the rupee-mad Government of today, and of no one else. Gladstone, who on occasion could rise above the mercenary spirit of his age, said of it: "A war more unjust in its origin, a war more calculated to cover this country with permanent disgrace, I do not know and I have not read of. The British flag is hoisted to protect an infamous contraband traffic. If it were never hoisted except as it is now, on the coast of China, we should recoil from its sight with horror."—From the "Questions and Answers" column of the "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung," October 27, 1914.—The Publisher of "War Echoes."

PRACTICAL AERIAL WARFARE
ZEPPELINS, AEROPLANES, HYDRO-AEROPLANES

The Use and Effectiveness of Modern Air-fighting Craft in the War
International Law on the Use of Aerial Weapons in War, and Present Necessities

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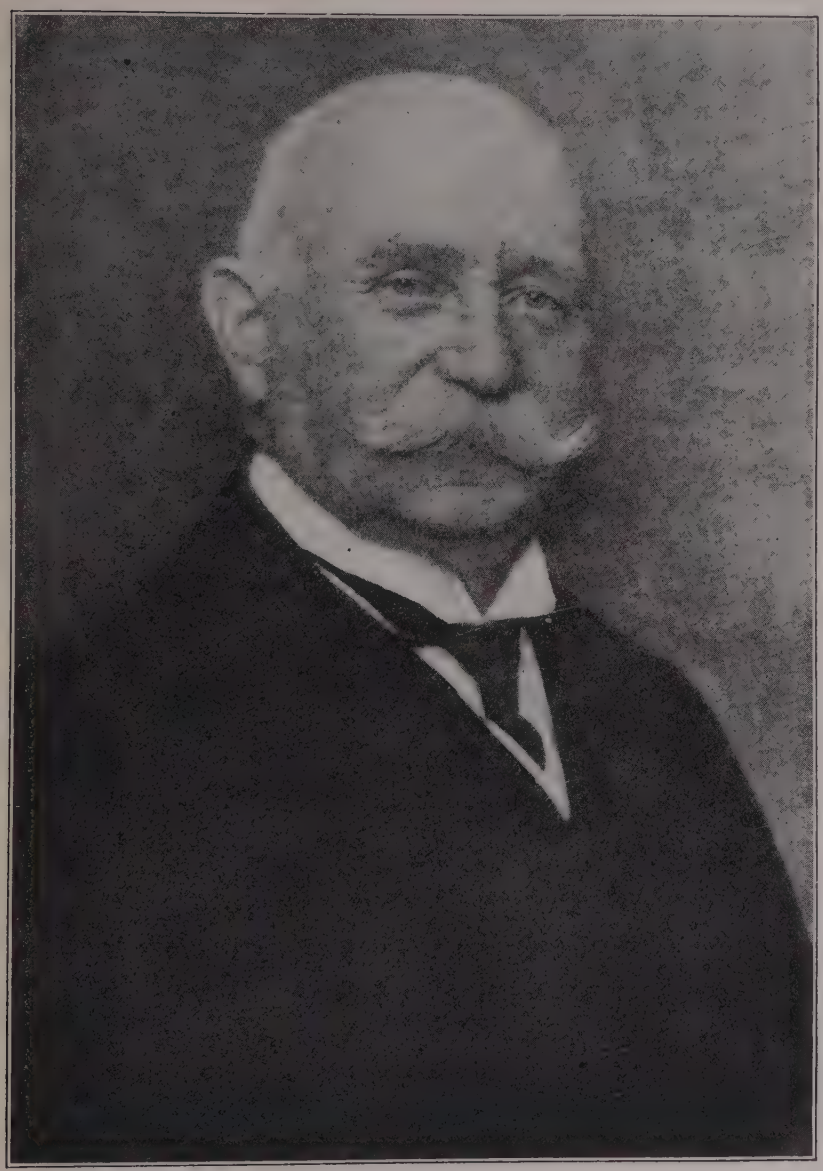
Aerial Warfare
Custom, International Law, and Progress



COUNT FERDINAND ZEPPELIN
(By Courtesy of the "Open Court")

Read "Belgian Neutrality, Its Real Meaning," by Professer Burgess, reprinted on another page.—The Publisher of "War Echoes."

Consult index for "Was Prussia's Treatment of Denmark in the Schleswig-Holstein Matter Unfair?"—The Publisher of "War Echoes."

WAR IN THE AIR AND LAW OF NATIONS.

The "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" writes under the heading: "The war in the air":

The English press designates the attack of our marine airships upon the east coast of England, as entirely contrary to the Law of Nations, the same as it did at the time of our bombardment of the English coast towns by our cruisers. The reproaches are also this time absolutely without foundation.

In the present war the international agreements do not come into consideration with regard to our air forces, especially also regarding bombardments by same. The declaration at the Hague regarding the prohibition of throwing bombs and other explosives from airships, has expired in its original form, and in its new form it has been ratified neither by Germany nor by France nor by Russia, and is therefore not binding for us with respect to England. The Convention at the Hague regarding military matters and the bombardment by naval forces, regulates only the war on land and sea, but not the war in the air. These laws are therefore only in so far applicable here, as they correspond to the common international laws. However, there is no doubt whatever that such laws regarding the bombardment by air forces, cannot be prohibited where a bombardment by military and naval forces is allowed.

Accordingly all fortified places may be bombarded by air forces, as such bombardment is permissible according to Article 25, as also according to Article 1 of the above mentioned Convention at the Hague. Furthermore all military institutions in unfortified places come under the same law, as is seen in Article 2 of the Hague agreement regarding naval forces. But at the same time the common martial law must also be admitted with respect to the war in the air, that the military power of a nation at war may answer any hostile attack with a counter-attack.

According to the reports at hand, the German airships strictly adhered to these principles. The aim of their operations was the harbor Great Yarmouth: this place belongs, according

to the official British "Monthly Army List," to the "Defences" of the coast fortifications, which are occupied in time of peace as well as of war by British military forces, and are therefore allowed to be bombarded by airships. The other English towns bombarded by our airships on their journey there and back, have to ascribe their fate to their own actions, as these towns first fired upon our Zeppelins, so that it must be left open, whether they ought not also be looked upon as fortified places. Besides, English air forces bombarded the unfortified town of Freiburg in Breisgau on December 9, 1914 and on December 25, 1914, the unfortified but inhabited Island Langeoog, although no attack whatever came from these quarters. As to a previous intimation of an intended bombardment, as laid down in the Hague martial laws, Article 2, paragraph 6, and in the Hague naval agreement, Article 6, there can be no question of this, according to the nature of an air combat and the practice followed by the airships of both parties in the present war.

In the present case it must certainly be regretted that private persons were the victims of this attack. But such possibilities cannot hold back our German forces to defend themselves with all reliable means within the bounds of international laws, against an enemy, whose warfare, with all methods contrary to international laws, is ruthlessly directed upon the destruction of our whole nation.

IS LONDON TO BE CALLED EXEMPT?

From the News of the War in Europe.

Vienna, March 15.—"The Fremdenblatt" says:

"When the Germans bombarded the east coast of Great Britain they were accused of having violated the rules of international law forbidding the bombardment of undefended places. These sinister accusations, proceeding from England as they have, are nothing but unsuccessful attempts at perverting the facts. Besides, it seems rather peculiar that England should presume to call attention to the rules of international law, while she it is who pays very little attention indeed to those rules, no matter whether at sea or on land, if her own safety is at stake.

"No state has ever enforced the maxim that 'might makes right' with greater severity, or has acted so selfishly in regard to the rights of others, than has England. And now that the English are in trouble themselves, they all at once point to international regulations on which at the same time they put their own strange interpretations.

"It must be noted that the term 'open places' is not used in opposition to the term 'fortresses,' but simply designates such places as are beyond the theater of war operations and which are not capable of furnishing any aid to the warfare of the enemy. As soon as a place is used by the enemy for war purposes and thus becomes in a narrower or wider sense of the word an aid to warfare, such place cannot be regarded any longer as an open one, and is therefore liable to attack, to bombardment or destruction, just like any other means of warfare.

"It is not necessary that the attack should be made from the land; it may just as well take place from the air. It makes no difference whatever, so far as the decision of the question is concerned, whether the bombardment is one by shells from howitzers, or takes place from airships dropping bombs. A case which under the present conditions deserves special attention is that of London.

"London in itself is no fortress; but for English warfare at sea and on land it possesses a military importance which under certain conditions may become even decisive. To understand this one has only to think of the national wealth collected here and of the vast economic values and means of warfare brought together on this limited area. Here are situated the royal and private shipyards, the extensive military stores, and the numerous warships and merchantmen are lying in the Thames.

"In the immediate neighborhood of London are also to be found the great arsenals and armories. Also military barracks are within the city. Furthermore, it is evident that the destruction of the Thames bridges would have an extremely disturbing effect upon the entire traffic. The same is true with regard to railway stations and railroad lines, for it is well known that the reserve troops for coast defense which are kept ready at different points in the interior are to be brought by rail to those places which are threatened by a hostile invasion. the destruction of the railways would disturb the movements of these troops considerably.

"From the military point of view it is perfectly proper that such places should be destroyed, as they are of decided military value to the enemy. This would be the case with London, where all of the aforementioned military values are concentrated. It would, therefore, be expected that important results would be obtained from such a bombardment. Besides, the moral effect must also be considered.

"All these calculations go to show that London may rightly be regarded as a military object of the first order, against which all destructive means may be used, and to which belongs. above all, a bombardment by aërial craft."

SCARBOROUGH—WHITBY—HARTLEPOOL.

By the steep chalk cliffs on England's east coast, north of the Humber, on a hammer-shaped peninsula, arises from the romantic, rifted strand, the city of Scarborough, lately bombarded by the German fleet. The older portion of the city on the north is separated from the modern quarters on the south by a ravine spanned by two bridges. Each of the cities boasts its own harbor. In the midst of the ancient city, on a high rock surrounded by the sea, is situated an old Norman castle of the twelfth century. The fame of Scarborough spread far beyond the boundaries of England, when in 1620, in the southern part of the small peninsula, mineral wells containing iron were discovered, which today spring up in the middle of the park, surrounded by promenades. The city was soon changed into a fashionable bathing resort, and although the springs are not valued as formerly, the fame of the resort still remains. Thousands of people enjoy its magnificent strand year after year, and the southern part of the city with its two theatres and a great aquarium, constitute a unique coast resort, in which great rows of hotels are to be seen and where the coal magnates of England have their beautiful summer villas. The southern harbor has in time become the more important of the two on account of the two great break waters which protect it from the fury of the waves.

Some thirty kilometers north of this, also in Yorkshire County, on either side of the mouth of Esk River, lies Whitby, with its narrow streets and old-fashioned houses. The coast bears the same character as that of Scarborough. The relation of the cities is somewhat the same as that of Blankenberghe to Ostend. Both are modern baths, although Scarborough is the most popular, while those who wish to enjoy similar beauties of landscape without the turmoil of a world bath, take refuge in Whitby.

Hartlepool, also bombarded by the German fleet, possesses very different characteristics. At the great funnel-shaped mouth of the Tee are situated a number of ports, of which the largest are Stockton and Middlesbrough, which has shot up in the last years in real American style, as well as Hartlepool, already in the twelfth century a famous commercial city. Their prosperity is due to the working of the coal lands of Durham. The coast is low and the open strand has an extent of many miles, so that the land must be protected by artificial means from the violence of the sea.

Southwest of the older city is West Hartlepool, separated from her neighbor by wharves and docks. Behind its 1,200 meter long breakwater, coal, iron and machines are loaded on to the departing vessels, while the arriving ships bring in wool, cotton and German sugar. Half finished ships of all sorts are to be seen on the docks, lofty storehouses stretch along the walls of the harbor under the protection of the fortifications, while smoking chimneys speak of a wealthy industry, whose chief productions are machines, paper, flour and soap.—"Hamburger Fremdenblatt," Hamburg, Germany.

The Hague, Sept. 11.—I have just returned from Germany, and anything I may write cannot be in the least influenced by fear of German censorship. British censorship, however, is to be feared. **All the American correspondents in Berlin report that not only have vital facts of their dispatches been cut out by British censors, but other wholly untrue dispatches have been added.**—Joseph Medill Patterson, in "The Chicago Tribune," September 26, 1914.

GLOOMY OUTLOOK FOR LONDON.

(The Irish World, March 13, 1915.)

President of the Aeronautical Society of America Outlines the Impending Doom of the Modern Babylon—To Be Attacked Within a Few Weeks By a Fleet of Fifty Zeppelins—Germany's Trump Card—Death and Destruction to Rain Down From the Sky—Official England Aware of the Danger—The Man on the Street Pooh-Poohs It—The New Zeppelins Will Not Drop Bombs, But Will Fight With Guns Firing Steel Capped Projectiles—It Will Be the First Great Raid Planned Since the Beginning of the War—Previous Raids Merely Tryouts—English High Angle Guns Will Afford No Protection.

How often has it been said "the Zeppelins have not made good!" There is one man, whose experience and studies amply entitle him to a hearing, who declares that the answer to the Zeppelin question is still to come, and he believes it will come soon. Not only that, but he believes the Zeppelin will vindicate itself in a raid on England. This is the opening sentence in an article in last Sunday's New York Sun which deals with a threatened Zeppelin raid on London.

The man who advances these views is Thomas R. Macmechen, aëronautical engineer and president of the Aëronautical Society of America. His British Company is now building for England five dirigibles of a new type—"Zeppelin destroyers," as it were—for defence against the larger craft.

Briefly, Mr. Macmechen's thesis is this:

1—The flight and weight carrying capabilities of the Zeppelins under all but abnormal weather conditions are proved and as certain and dependable as the navigation of a steamship. A hurricane will wreck the latter as quickly as the former.

2—The wrecks of Zeppelins are printed and known. There are less than a dozen all told. The actual flights under all sorts of conditions runs into thousands. These are not heard of.

3—The attacking Zeppelins will do their destroying with armor piercing guns rather than with bombs.

4—The raid will be not by three or four but by a great number, not less than fifty, possibly by a hundred accompanied by aëroplanes.

5—The high angle gun has been proved, even when used under daylight conditions, to be useless as a defence. Aëroplane defence is useless by night, which is the Zeppelin's best time for operation.

6—Germany thus far has made only reconnoitering trips. She will make her real raid only when thoroughly ready, and that time is not far away.

"Cloud of Death" Gathering on the German Coast

Mr. Macmechen said recently, with earnestness and apparent conviction: "A great cloud of death is gathering on the German coast. Week by week its potential power is increasing, yet the time to strike has not come. A white haired, hale old man—he is 78—is working quietly and waiting until the War Office shall say: 'Are you ready, Count Zeppelin?'

"For answer, that night the monster air fleet will rise high above the German coast and float out in the darkness over the sea. Germany will wait and pray. It is her trump card. If it fails—but Ferdinand von Zeppelin is not handling failures these days. Half a hundred new superdreadnoughts of the air, built since the war began, flanked by myriads of buzzing, swooping, circling aëroplanes, would strike England to the very heart.

The Londoner's Incredulity.

"And the Londoner, in smug complacency, is still pooh poohing!

"'The Zeppelins!' Bah! What have they done? Our high angle guns and our aëroplanes would drive them from the sky. What did the Yarmouth raid amount to? The Zeppelins will never attack London; that is German braggadocio.

No Time to Prepare for the Air War.

"But official England is not pooh poohing now. Official England knows all too well; but she got over the pooh poohing stage too late. She is grasping at every straw of promise, yet knowing that there is not time to prepare for war in the air and knowing, too, that one successful raid will mean another and still others that bid fair to leave England cowering and helpless.

"Then, with Germany master of the air and with Germany master under the sea, how long will England maintain her supremacy atop the sea? The Admiralty will not admit that this means the passing of the dreadnought, but they are beginning to fear just that."

These ideas Mr. Macmechen gathered during his stay in England, where he came in almost daily contact with high government officials and experts in warfare of the water and the air. He is to return there soon. For ten years he has been a leading aëronautical authority in this country and is now building, near London, five "Zeppelin destroyers," something entirely new in the conquest of the air. The first machine, which is really a Zeppelin in miniature, is nearly ready for its official tests.

England's Utter Helplessness.

Recently, at the Aëronautical Society's rooms, 29 West Thirty-ninth street, Mr. Macmechen spoke of the certainty of a Zeppelin raid on London and of England's almost utter helplessness. He spoke with an earnestness and an intimate knowledge that carried conviction and he gave figures and facts and reasons for his every view. The Zeppelin raid on London is coming, Mr. Macmechen believes, and it will be a spectacular blow that will paralyze England and stagger the world.

These new Zeppelins will not drop bombs, they will fight with guns firing steel-capped projectiles. They will not come in pairs, but they will come by the score or by the two score, and hundreds of aëroplanes will come with them.

Why London Was Not Raided Sooner.

Mr. Macmechen classes the Yarmouth raid as a mere reconnoitering party and he believes its purpose was accomplished. He said:

"The first great raid, which the Germans have been planning since the war began and for the success of which they are depending on the aged Count Zeppelin will probably not come for some weeks. The time is not yet right. The first raid will be followed by blow upon blow aimed directly at the throne of England.

"The reason there has been no great attack on London from the air," Mr. Macmechen added, "is because aërial tactics and strategy make such an attack folly until there are a certain number of these airships, enough to leave a wide trail of destruction.

To Strike England's Heart.

"For instance, if Germany had fifty of these new Zeppelins they would strike England to the heart. They could hit London a body blow today and come back again tomorrow. Count Zeppelin will strike when he gets ready and not when England wants him to.

"Suppose the British did bring down two of the fifty and a dozen of the aëroplanes; the rest would go back to their base and be ready to come again in a few hours. Whether they came or not they would be ready and with that knowledge there would be little rest in London.

"The knowledge gained in the first attack would make the second attack more deadly. England has been preparing for these attacks, but she began to prepare too late. England spent too much time laughing in the face of science.

Concealing the Character of the Danger.

"The British Admiralty knows all this now. The people of England are not afraid, because they don't know the danger and the Admiralty is not telling them, yet 9,000 constables have been mustered in with instructions to herd the people of London into the cellars at the first appearance of a Zeppelin.

"The Intelligence Department of Great Britain knows the preparations that Germany is making. Further confirming details are coming in nearly every day. One report from Lake Constance, where the observer remained nineteen weeks, told of a complete Zeppelin being turned out from the factory every two weeks while he was there.

"These are of the new superdreadnought type, a great improvement over the two airships that took part in the Yarmouth raid. Germany has just completed two of these superdreadnought Zeppelins when the war began, but she has been building them ever since. I estimate that she has at least forty of them now, each with six guns, two on top and two at each side.

Probable Date of the Intended Raid.

"Perhaps Germany is ready to strike now, yet I should be surprised

if she made the first raid this month. March is not the most favorable time on account of the winds. I do not look for the big air invasion until after the middle of April, but I believe it will come soon after that.

"And why isn't England ready? How is it that she has no defence worthy of the name against this attack?

"If, five years ago, British military authorities had studied and could have foreseen what the development would be, we would have had thousands of aëroplanes and hundreds of huge dirigibles brought to a higher degree of efficiency. Then we would have had H. G. Wells' 'War in the Air' as a grim reality.

Air Craft Has Knocked Military Strategy Into a Cocked Hat.

"The trouble has been that military men have never had more than an intuitive and not a consciously reasoned conception of the powers and limitations of aircraft. This has led military men astray. They have said:

" 'We recognize aircraft as a probable auxiliary to the cavalry, but that aircraft will knock out the strategy we have known for years, the strategy we learned at the military academy, is absurd.'

"But now it has been demonstrated beyond a doubt that aircraft has knocked war strategy into a cocked hat. Many of the old time war methods have gone forever and others are passing. It is time to write a new book on strategy.

The Use of Dirigibles More Common Than Suspected.

"Dirigibles have been used much more in this war than we have been able to judge from what we have seen in print. They have been used especially at night, when the dirigible has a distinct advantage. When the history of this war is written we will find that we have not begun to approximate what the dirigibles have been doing. Of course, the aëroplane can go up in the darkness as well as the dirigible, but it is a question of landing. The aëroplane must land on a level place at high speed. It cannot see the wire fences, rocks and so on. But the dirigible can settle slowly to the ground.

"The aëroplane has been the eyes of the battery and it has had to court considerable risk, flying as low as 1,600 feet to see in detail.

"Yet, the high angle gun has been adjudged inefficient even at that height. That gives military science another blow. The reasons are the difficulty of aim and the time it takes to lay a gun that has the reach. Aëroplanes have indeed been hit, but solely because of the recklessness of pilots who flew as low as 300 or 400 feet. It has certainly been demonstrated that aëroplanes are almost immune from ground attack.

Unreliable Defences.

"Now, how about the high angle gun and the dirigible? 'Huge floating marks so easy to hit,' we've all heard that phrase. And then what was the sole lesson of the Cuxhaven raid? It has never appeared in print.

"I talked with four men who saw that raid. Two of them were naval aviators and two were on the fleet. When the Zeppelins appeared—and this was in broad daylight—the entire fleet concentrated its high angle guns on the Zeppelins. And the answer is that the Zeppelins went home. These were the most efficient high angle guns England has, and, remember, the fire was concentrated on the two Zeppelins at an altitude of only 2,500 feet.

"And what about the great British air fleet that is to protect London? The two Zeppelins were preceded and flanked on each side by German aëroplanes. When the British aviators went up they engaged the German aëroplanes and the dirigibles were left to themselves.

Stupidity of English Military Authorities.

"Still, for the defence of London, we have the high angle gun and the aëroplane. If a bright, ten-year-old American boy did what the military authorities of England are doing today, you would take him out and shingle him.

"First, they darkened the city. Then, as if to attract as much attention as possible, they installed powerful searchlights at vantage points all over the city. Nothing could have better guided a dirigible navigator approaching in the night. London has since seen the fallacy of the searchlights, and they are not used now.

"Still the high angle guns are in position all over London on the tops of buildings and other carefully selected places. The authorities of the air department have also relied on big squadrons of aeroplanes to resist a Zeppelin attack on London.

"They were to go up over London —this will be at night—and attack the Zeppelins directly over the city. Couldn't that bright American boy see what would happen?

"London would bombard itself and shoot its own aviators out of the air. Shells from the high angle guns are incendiary. They would drop back on the city, set fire to their own buildings and kill their own private citizens.

"In arranging this the military authorities showed conclusively that they did not know the first principles of air attack and defence. The folly of this preparation was pointed out to them, and now they have worked out a more sensible method of defence, yet they still have those high angle guns on the roofs of London. Now they propose to attack the air invaders on the coast before they get to London. That would be the logical way, if England had anything to attack them with that was worthy of the name."

NAVAL STRENGTH OF WARRING NATIONS.

Russia.

	—Navy— Built	Bldg.
Superdreadnoughts	...	4
Dreadnoughts	...	7
Other battleships	13	...
Armored cruisers	6	8
Cruisers	8	6
Destroyers	95	45
Torpedo boats	42	...
Submarines	31	18
Total	195	88

France.

Superdreadnoughts	...	8
Dreadnoughts	2	2
Other battleships	27	...
Armored cruisers	22	...
Cruisers	15	...
Destroyers	84	3
Torpedo boats	324	...
Submarines	73	19
Total	552	32

Great Britain.

	—Navy— Built	Bldg.
Superdreadnoughts	13	17
Dreadnoughts	16	...
Other battleships	48	...
Armored cruisers	34	20
Cruisers	72	8
Destroyers	215	36
Torpedo boats	118	...
Submarines	77	19
Total	593	100
Grand total	1,340	220

Austria.

Superdreadnoughts	...	...
Dreadnoughts	2	2
Other battleships	14	...
Armored cruisers	3	...
Cruisers	5	3
Destroyers	18	...
Torpedo boats	63	27
Submarines	8	3
Total	119	35

Germany.

	—Navy— Built	Bldg.
Superdreadnoughts	...	3
Dreadnoughts	17	8
Other battleships	30	...
Armored cruisers	9	...
Cruisers	37	6
Destroyers	141	24
Torpedo boats	47	...
Submarines	27	10
Total	308	51

Italy.

Superdreadnoughts	...	...
Dreadnoughts	4	2
Other battleships	11	...
Armored cruisers	10	...
Cruisers	13	...
Destroyers	32	10
Torpedo boats	97	8
Submarines	18	8
Total	185	37
Grand total	612	123

MODERN CAMPAIGNING
PRESS ROOM CAMPAIGNS AT HOME AND ABROAD

With Spectacular and Glorious First Line Forces and Plenty of Dum-Dums ! The Pen is Mightier than the Sword—In War Time !

Press Room Campaigns in England and France Plenty of Dum-Dums !

CAUGHT WITH THE GOODS.

Editorial, Milwaukee Free Press,

Robert Wild.

THE SECRETS OF THE GERMAN WAR OFFICE. By Dr. Armgaard Karl Graves, Secret Agent. New York: McBride, Nast & Co.

Here are thirteen chapters, purporting to be disclosures of the state secrets of the European chancelleries, by one who claims not only to have maintained intimate, personal relations with the protagonists of the present world-drama, but to have been even an active participant in its preparatory stages, yet who is a most egregious blunderer if nothing worse.

The suspicion is not absent that this author, or perhaps his collaborator, Edward Lyell Fox, has derived his literary inspiration from a recent perusal of Conan Doyle's "Scandal in Bohemia" and has based some of his historical studies on the novels of Louise Muehlbach.

To attempt to sift out the truth from these 256 pages would be a task not worth the effort, for "Gratiano speaks an infinite deal of nothing, more than any man in all Venice; his reasons are as two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff; you shall seek all day ere you find them and when you have them they are not worth the search."

The first chapter opens with:

"O jerum, jerum, jerum, quemotatio rerum."

How one who had been "trained as a military cadet," who had been prepared for "three years at a famous gymnasium which fitted him for one of the old classic universities of Europe," who "after spending six semesters there," took his "degree in philosophy and medicine" before reaching his 22nd birthday—how such a scholar could write "quemotatio" in place of "O quae mutatio," when these words occur in a well-known German student's song, is past comprehension. Such ignorance of Latin is inconceivable in a graduate of an "old, classic university of Europe," and a doctor of philosophy at that. The only other alternative explanation is the possibility that the publisher was blessed with a Boeotian proofreader.

Although the book is now in its "third printing," we are confronted with such a monstrosity as: "Wirklicher Geheimrat and Vortragender Rab Botho Kaiser," translated as "Privy Councilor to the German Emperor,"—"royal concert" is printed in place of "royal consort,"—"coup" appears instead of "coop" in the expression "coop up diplomatically,"—and a dozen times we are informed that the author had his headquarters at "Koenigergratzer strasse 70," instead of "Koeniggraetzer strasse."

The abysmal ignorance shown by the repeated statements that Von Heeringen is the chief of the general staff is unpardonable, when every child knows that Von Moltke holds that office. In the chapter on "The German War Machine,"* as printed in Collier's for Aug. 15, 1914, Graves speaks of the "Chef des Grossen General Stabs" as " at present Field Marshal Von Heeringen. The words "at present" are altered to "in my time," when this chapter appeared with the others in bookform. The change, prompted I know not by what, does not help the author out of his ridiculous predicament, it only emphasizes and magnifies a blunder which exposes him who has the audacity to assert that "I have enjoyed special facilities, of which I have availed myself of the full, to gain the inside knowledge which I here commit to paper," to peals of inextinguishable laughter!

The description of Von Heeringen's "great similarity" to the older Moltke, is ludicrously negatived by the illustration from a photograph inserted on page 204, which shows us a sturdy, bearded, burly figure, the very antithesis of "the aquiline features, the tall, thin, dried up body" of the old hero of 1870. The height of the ridiculous is however attained when Von Heeringen becomes a "gaunt, limping figure," who is made to assume the weird personality of the "Ghost of Metz," in a description which would have delighted Edgar Allen Poe. Nota bene: I have been told that General von Huelsen-Haeseler was slightly lame. Graves had probably heard something about some general who limped, and thereupon imperturbably wrote a narrative of a prowling, limping general, "covered by a gray army overcoat," startling the sentries on "stormy bitter cold winter nights," accompanied by orderlies carrying night glasses, "hidden men taking down in writing the short, croaking sentences escaping between the thin compressed lips" and other similar rubbish, and then dubs this apparition Field Marshal Von Heeringen, chief of the general staff! "Si tacuisses, philosophus manisses."

The reference to "General" Stein, in whom here is lost for the first time in the history the statesman, whose life was written by Prof. Seeley, is downright absurd. Has Dr. Graves never heard of Scharnhorst? And Napoleon permitted himself to be tricked by Queen Louise into granting Prussia the right to maintain an army of 12,000! Is Dr. Graves actually ignorant of the fact that even in her darkest days Prussia's army never sank below 42,000 regulars? By what authority does he change the queen's meeting with Napoleon, when in return for Madgeburg she tearfully offered the Corsican a rose, but was rudely repelled, into a silly school-girl's story of a bargain for a kiss on the queen's "classic arm?" He speaks of those who have passed an "Abiturienten-Examen, the equivalent of a B. A." as being enrolled as one-year volunteers. Does he not know the difference between "Maturitas" and Abiturium?" He writes of a "little watch-tower" near Spandau. Does he not know that the Julius Thurm is a veritable citadel and happens to be in Spandau? Is his story "inspired" when he tells us how Germany is going to wage war for "ten calendar months" with $120,000,000?

And yet with all this pitiable misinformation before them, the editors of Collier's Weekly gravely assured their readers that they "made all the investigations possible about Dr. Graves' past and verified as many incidents as were humanly verifiable," and that their "experience with him has tended to give them confidence in his knowledge."

It is of course impossible to disprove the so-called "disclosures" and "secrets" which Graves palms off

upon our credulity, but he is vulnerable as a witness, for his credibility is impeached both by his blunders and by his exhibits. "Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus?"

As some people believe anything, it may be worth while to deny the rumor that a German battleship has been captured by British submarines in the mountains of Switzerland.—From the "Public Ledger," Philadelphia, August 9, 1914.

CALIBAN ENTHRONED.

Editorial from the "Milwaukee Free Press," October 10, 1914.

Robert Wild's interesting criticism of "The Secrets of the German War Office" reflected quite as much upon the publishers as upon the author. If any proof were needed that American editors and publishers in the high places have vastly deteriorated in the past thirty years, the book in question would furnish it.

Mr. Wild points out simple errors of fact that every American fairly read in European affairs ought to have recognized; still the editors of Collier's Weekly, who should possess something more than a high school education, passed them by, and editorially assured their readers that they had "verified all the incidents that were humanly verifiable!"

Superficial as the knowledge of these molders of public opinion is thus shown to be, what shall we think of the fitness of the book publishers, McBride, Nast & Co., for their important business?

The mistakes in Latin and German, yes, even in the English language, that punctuate the work show that the "readers" for this concern are either slovenly or ignorant. If Graves made the errors originally, it was for his publishers to correct them.

As little as thirty years ago, a publishing house of repute would have felt itself disgraced forever by an exhibition like the present. Men like Ticknor and Fields had their authorities on both the ancient and the modern languages, and a slip was no more possible in Latin than in English. But they had definite cultural standards.

Today, the Caliban of journalism and commerce sits enthroned in the sanctums of most of our magazines and publishing houses. The waste basket is becoming the last retreat of culture.

WONDERFUL HISTORIANS!

The Saturday Evening Post, which claims to be "fair," perpetrates the following atrocity in a recent issue:

"As a result of the Franco-Prussian war, Germany took from France the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. From that moment France has been nursing her wrath, and this war is a direct result of the forced ceding of French territory. If as a result of this war Germany takes more French territory, of if France takes territory that is really German, the vengeful hatred thus begotten will some day find issue in another war."

If the Post were inclined to be fair, it would have said that Germany recovered her provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, which Louis XIV stole from her when she was too weak to defend herself. Alsace and Lorraine were not "French territory" except by theft; their population was German and it is still German.

Yet the Post tries to create the impression that Germany's recovery of what was her own was an encroachment on the soil of France, insinuating by the use of "really German" that these provinces might be taken back without violating the German nation.

Among the many falsehoods that have been systematically circulated in America is that of the Gallic transformation of Alsace and the love in which the French have held it. Let us quote from a forthcoming book* of Prof. Hugo Muensterberg, whose wife hails from this beautiful province:

"Alsace is a German province with German traditions and German lifeblood. For a while French rule was forced on it, but it never became French. In the beautiful little old garden of my wife's parents, Monk Otfried lived, who wrote one thousand years ago the first German epic poem in rhyme. This German tradition remained unbroken until Louis XIV, after he had laid in ruins the castle of Heidelberg, snatched Alsace from the German people. Then a long period of oppression began. This French rule was much more rigorous and intolerant than any German rule after 1870.

"Moreover, the Alsatians were never really accepted as Frenchmen. In the eyes of Paris they always remained only half French; their French dialect appeared ridiculous. They disliked France and were disliked in France. It was no wonder that the resources remained undeveloped. Even the proudest city of Alsace, Strassburg, when it came into German possession in 1870, was after all only an overgrown village. To day it is a wonderful, proud city with beautiful palaces, with one of the best equipped universities of the world, with noble avenues and parks, enriched by German's good will as much as it was held down by France's indifference in the past.

"Alsace would be today perfectly happy in its natural German frame, if France longing for political revenge had not artificially kept alive agitation for jointure with France."

But if the Post's misrepresentation of the status of these provinces is deceptive, its statement that their "forced ceding" to Germany is the direct cause of this war is the veriest joke, albeit a sorry one for a presumably responsible journal to perpetrate. Evidently it has no high opinion of the intelligence of its readers.

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*"The War and America," by Hugo Muensterberg, 210 pages, published by D. Appleton Co., New York. —Editor.

We'd better begin praying for the Austrians now. There may not be any of them left by October 4.

THE CAMPAIGN OF THE PRESS ROOM.

The "inexhaustible resources of the British Empire" is, in one way at least, apparently no idle boast. The ranks of the British Army may be thinned; it is conceivable that they might be annihilated; but by what stretch of the imagination can we conceive of England ever running dry of those valiant defenders who stay at home and write, while the "colonials" and Allies go forward to do battle in the trenches?

It is peculiarity of this war of the world that, so far as America is concerned, the British pen proved itself mightier than the sword. It is not peculiarly English to readily adapt instrument to opportunity—or to necessity; but at last England seems to have learned the trick and thoroughly. While Germany has been fighting, for hearth and home, England has been writing. She was compelled to write so much for the enlightenment of the recalcitrant "recruits" that one might have imagined her supply of ink and paper threatened with exhaustion. But England is no common country. She has had enough to spare us a share—and a very large one.

There have been casualties among her pen-men, but the reserves appear truly inexhaustible. Some of them have fallen from mental exhaustion, others have been stilled by the enemy, still others have run away. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle opened the battle. His ammunition was Bernhardi, and he soon ran out of it. H. G. Wells disappeared at about the same time. He was armed with a novel weapon designed to reduce "the moral support of the American people"—the "sleeping-partnership" of Great Britain in the Monroe Doctrine. It was an invention of his own which did not work well in action. Israel Zangwill cracked his knout once or twice and ran away. Viscount Bryce was hurried forward with his 42 cm. "Small Nations," which exploded at the first discharge.

The battle was not going well for England. The glittering steel of British bayonets must find its counterpart in the battle of pens. Corporal Bennett was called upon. He advanced with a rush, into "The Saturday Evening Post." The brilliancy of his illogic and the tremendous power of the venom which he spurted about dazzled and asphyxiated the enemy as some deadly gas—but only for a moment. The strength of the dose had been regulated for children, and he had adults to deal with. Sir Gilbert Parker was called into consultation, and prescribed a larger dose. It was overlarge, and as in the case of most poisons, too much was as bad as none at all. Sir Gilbert served only to nauseate us.

There was a lull in the conflict. England buried her dead; and then in a last effort to carry the day sent for Mr. Gilbert Chesterton to lead the "forlorn hope." With characteristic recklessness he answered the call of England and is hammering us with his paper pellets through the smooth-bore columns of "The New York Times."

The most violent assaults have been made upon Fort Militarism and Fort Culture. The attempts against the former were led by Surgeon Doyle, wearing the ribbon which he won at the wiping out of the Boers; but, as previously reported, he soon found himself without ammunition. He failed to establish General Bernhardi in a position from which to command the batteries of the enemy. The approaches were mined by German art and science and philosophy, German industry, and German love of peace. These mines had been laid, year after year, for centuries, and to have overlooked their existence was, to say the least, culpable in a commander or Sir Arthur's past achievements. When they were exploded retreat with the remnants of his annihilated argument was all that was left to him.

The investment of Fort Culture is still under way, but is being prosecuted with waning force. The world has long recognized the impregnable nature of this stronghold. It is a Gibraltar of the mind and soul; for it is the soul and mind of a nation. And England pelts it with pellets and expects to reduce it! Large calibre minds were discarded from England two generations ago. Her factories have turned out more since. She took Gibraltar with heavy guns, and she will not take German Culture with "stink-pots." The charges led by Major Chesterton have not come near it. It stands today as strong and intact, as beautifully magnificent as it has through all the years when England sought her own light from its lamps and was willing to pay for it by a chant of praise.

The dogs of war should be called off. They are wasting their strength in the vain effort to reduce the irreducible. The defenders are too many for them, and shorn of defenders, German Culture would still stand impressively unassailable on the rock of its own inherent glory and greatness. The 1-pounder intellects of the England of today can make no more impression on its walls than can her 1-pounders on the fortress of Helgoland.

And so the battle goes. The innocent bystander is made to suffer the brunt of it. It is being fought on our own soil, and against the wishes of the American people. Our neutrality has been violated as actually and more menacingly than that of Belgium and China. Because we would not surrender our "moral support" upon the enemy's first call for it, we have had to defend it. Our right to think for ourselves and to continue to cherish what generations have taught us to admire and respect, has been denied, and we are overrun by every penny-a-liner England can call to her colors. Our fondest recollections and our deepest and sanest feelings are outraged and trampled upon as if they were no more than the Kaffir fields of South Africa. We cannot go abroad without breathing their poisonous fumes. They enter into our homes, glare at us from the columns of our papers, and follow us to church on Sunday. We are never free from them, sleeping or waking.

They are dragooning the American people into mental and moral submission, but they will not succeed. We are willing to counsel the surrender of Fort Militarism when England razes Fort Navalism, but German Culture will never be surrendered from the American heart.

No American newspaper, as far as we know, has protested against the amazing indictment of German character by G. K. Chesterton, the English essayist, which appears in a current magazine. Let us quote:

> But though the word "barbarian" is the key of the situation, it is very liable to be misunderstood. The Prussians themselves cannot form a notion of what we mean when we call them barbarians; and that, as I shall show in a moment, is precisely because they are barbarians. They are perfectly and even pathetically sincere when they say they are the people of culture; and even when they practically deny that there is any culture at all in the land of Turgenev and the land of Chopin. And the Prussians really are cultured in the sense that they read a great many books. But the spirit of civilization is not to be found in books.
>
> The psychology of the barbarian is this: that, like the lower animals, he does not understand reciprocity. He has not that little mirror in the mind in which we see the mind of the other man. If I scatter crumbs for the birds in winter, that will not prevent the birds from eating my fruit in summer; because birds, like Prussians, are barbarians. If I leave the bee his honey, he may still leave me his sting. And he has not broken any contract, because bees, like Prussians, are barbarians.
>
> Now this fundamental unreason and inequality, as of men ruled by beasts, can be tested by taking any civilized institution in Prussia. . . .

The New York newspapers—most of them—are deriving considerable amusement from the efforts of German university professors to explain their country's cause to the American people. The articles prepared by scholars like Harnack, Haeckel, Eucken, Roentgen, Wundt and many others of like caliber strike these journalistic critics as undignified and even ridiculous. "So far as has been observed," says the Globe, "the oracular declarations of the eminent professors have singularly failed to affect American public opinion."

We have long since given up hope that fact and argument could reach the Teutophobe press. Having no desire to be fair, its representatives are not open to conviction. And this confirmed unfairness is eloquently demonstrated in the cheap and provincial baiting of the German scholars, while the outpourings of English professors and men of letters are welcomed with open minds no less than with open columns.

We were patient too long. In Europe and in our colonies. Every lubber thought he was justified in imitating England's impertinence. We shall exterminate this impression with a rake of steel. Our body is as clean as that of any Anglo-Saxon. We have worked harder than he, but we bathe as often. He owns his island, also perhaps a couple of colonies, and insists on everybody speaking his language and giving up his place to him. Not we. We know and accomplish more with less brag, and won't be forced to bend our backs. To recall a sentence of Blucher: "The whole world knows that Prussia and Germany are always cheated of their rights in spite of every effort." That was in the past. It won't happen again. Modern Germany knows that it is strong and does not have to beg for rights to which it is justly entitled. England is allied with yellow stink-apes, and glories in the assassination of German men, and the rape of German women by drunken Cossacks, Englishmen, Belgians, Frenchmen, North and South Slavs, and Japanese glorify each other as the bearers and protectors of the highest mission of civilization, and call us barbarians. We should be dolts to make denials.

The intelligent German, who has long taken Chesterton's measure as a labored and uninspired competitor of the brilliant Shaw, will laugh at this naively vicious psychology; at this vicious Brobdingnagian psychology. Accustom yourself rapidly to the idea that German soil is the home of barbarians and fighters. They have no time now for slander and small talk. Their task is to whip your armies, to capture the members of your general staff, to scatter your swimming hordes beyond Antwerp and Calais, until they are prostrate under the heel of the barbarian.

DECEIVING THE WHOLE WORLD.

American Newspaper Men Arrested in London for Telling the Truth About Germany—A Personal Letter.

By James O'Donnell Bennett.

From the "Chicago Tribune", October 6, 1914:—The following personal letter from Mr. Bennett to the editor of "The Tribune" is so remarkable that it is presented in full.

Before there was mention of our war Mr. Bennett was sent to London to be "The Tribune's" correspondent in England. At the outbreak of the war he, the only "Tribune" man near the seat of action, was cabled to proceed to the firing line. Since the German occupation of Brussels he has been entirely in German surroundings.

"The Tribune" does not support or decry his views. They are startling and the American people are entitled to read them.

Aix-la-Chapelle, Germany, September 12.—Tomorrow John McCutcheon and I shall have been in Aix just two weeks. In that time we have sent off many thousands of words to "The Tribune"—John about 20,000; I about 14,000. My first letter was 6,000 on our inability to verify stories of German atrocities; my second over 6,000 on the state of feeling, illustrated by numerous incidents, in North Germany. John said my letter on non-atrocities probably would create a sensation in America.

I have a big batch of descriptive matter under way for next Saturday's boat from Rotterdam to America.

In addition to the two long articles which I mailed I have also sent a 1,000 word cable by post to the Commercial Cable office in London to be put on the wire there to you.

Whether the English censor will let it pass I much doubt, because, judging by the London papers we have seen and by the extracts which I inclose from a letter from Mrs. Bennett, Eng-

land is wild with apprehension and stuffed with lies.

Germans Feel Confident.

The best of writers could hardly convey to you the sense of order, confidence and satisfaction existing in Germany. And, in view of what we have seen and heard in Germany, it would be difficult to exaggerate the madness of English newspapers in their policy of trying to jolly the English public into a belief that the Germans are being thrown back.

In the face of these "German reverses" Germany is constantly sending more men (thousands upon thousands of them) by train through Aix to the front.

Aix is absolutely serene. Manufacurers are even about to launch new building operations in this vicinity the day after tomorrow.

Meanwhile we are not allowed to go into France in the wake of German columns, because, say the military authorities, vast plans are making which must in no way be imperiled by the presence of outsiders.

Those plans may culminate at the end of next week, and then, according to assurances we have received, we may be allowed to go forward.

This chance seems to us worth waiting for. If it does not materialize at the end of the week there is nothing for us to do but return to England.

As to the kind of reception that may await me in England, you may judge from these extracts from Mrs. Bennett's letter received by me today from London. It is dated Monday, September 7, and has been a week, lacking two days, in reaching me:

"My greatest anxiety lately has been that you would write something pro-German. That, as I understand the situation here, would get you into trouble with the English authorities upon your return. They simply will not have it, no matter how true it may be.

"I wrote you a long letter last week telling you of Mr. Heitkamp's arrest. Mr. Heitkamp is manager of the Curtis Brown bureau, which serves "The Tribune" from London at the instigation of the war office. He was arrested on Thursday night and not released until Saturday afternoon.

"He was handled very roughly and allowed to communicate with no one—not even his wife. He just escaped penal servitude for life, and he still does not know what they so much objected to in what he had written.

English Detectives Search Mail.

"When I went down for your mail at the Curtis Brown offices I found the room which you and Mr. Heitcamp occupy full of Scotland Yard men.

"They were going through Mr. Heitkamp's papers and they went through all his papers and letters at his home. And this happened to an American whose people have lived in America since the seventeenth century and whose daily work connects him with the American press.

"So you see, my dear, how useless it is to try to say anything for the Germans. The English simply won't allow it to be used, and one takes the risk of penal servitude.

"All this has terrified me for you. You have absolutely no chance. I felt so sorry for Mrs. Heitkamp. She was not allowed to see her husband.

"As I said, I wrote you all about this, but could not get the letter through, and have been nearly frantic over the possibility of their arresting you when you return to an English port if you have sent pro-German copy to 'The Tribune' while you were in Germany.

"My never knowing for so many days where you were and what had happened to you made it worse.

"Please realize how serious this is and be very careful as to what you write. It would gain you nothing if you tried to be fair, and the penalty is too great. You will be careful?

"This fear has been with me constantly since Mr. Heitkamp's arrest. Of course, I think his foreign name and his Italian wife may have made a difference.

"The Scotland Yard men asked me all about you and put it all down; so you are on the records. It was unfortunate I went for the mail that morning. I can't tell you how this terrifies me. . . .

"Mr. Brown, by the way, was so frightened over Mr. Heitkamp's arrest and the possibility of his being involved himself that he stayed away from the office (he was down in Cornwall) and quite repudiated Mr. H. It was really very serious, evidently, and, as I say, Mr. H. cannot see what he said to bring it on himself.

"Do listen to what I say about writing anything pro-German. It will only react on you and do no good."

London Buoyed Up by Lies.

Mrs. Bennett's little sidelight on the state of feeling in London will interest you. It follows:

"I don't read the papers much, for I find them too disturbing, but I hear a good deal. The people believe what they want to believe, though I think that down in their hearts they know they are not getting the real state of affairs.

"Just the same, the other kind of thing buoys them up, and that is why it is done.

"You, I suppose, are seeing only the other side, aren't you? So be careful and unbiassed. Loving England and the English as you do, it must be painful for you to have to think of its future as you do think. I hope you are wrong, and I know you must hope so, too."

Thus I have given you the essentials of the young lady's letter. Of course she may have gained an overwrought impression of the state of affairs, but she is not an ill-poised or excitable woman—quite the contrary.

In any case, even if I were so disloyal to the truth as to wish to act on her warning, that warning comes too late. By this time, in a 6,000-word article headed "The Solemn Truth," which should reach you in Chicago tomorrow (Sunday) night, and in a 7,000-word article headed "The System at Work," which went by the boat from Rotterdam this morning—in both those articles I have committed myself up to the neck.

May Be Deported.

If reports on those articles are sent back to the English authorities after the articles appear in "The Tribune" I may be ditched in England. They may deport me if I try to land there.

But a man who failed to write what I have seen and heard in Germany would be a dog.

I came to Germany anti-German. So did John. But London lies and German dignity and solidity have about brought me over to the German side.

If America thinks Germany is in the least frightened, or if America thinks Germany has gone mad with blood lust, then America has only surrendered to the most stupendous campaign of lies that has been launched from Europe since Napoleon made "false as a bulletin" a proverb.

If what we have seen means anything, the world is going to wake up soon to find a gigantic new world power in the saddle.

Last Sunday night I had the pleasure of seeing Joseph Medill Patterson in Aix. He came up from Berlin under military escort with five other American correspondents and was permitted to view the forts at Liège.

He was much discouraged about the war correspondents game, and says the jig is up and that no armies will longer tolerate them.

He was so kind as to say, however, that if my anti-atrocities story, which should, as I said, reach you tomorrow evening, did get through to Chicago it would be worth the trip I made from London.

The government did not ask us to make this statement. We made it partly for its news value and partly from a sense of outraged decency.

Certainly the Germans are getting a rotten deal from the rest of the world in the press reports of this war. I hope America will not be inflamed by those reports with the idea that it ought "in the name of humanity" to mix up in the trouble.

Reshaping of Europe.

All the men in the group of Americans here have been convinced by a fortnight's observations with the troops on the countryside and with the citizens in this town that the situation involves nothing less than the reshaping of Europe by Teutonic hands. It is a new European empire swinging into being, and if Europe doesn't like it Europe will have to fight over the matter for the next five and twenty years.

To us the German ascendancy seems as inevitable as sunrise tomorrow. God save us, but the system and the power behind the system are just incredible, and the spirit of the people is overpowering.

What Joe Patterson had seen had him talking last Sunday night in precisely the same strain I am writing tonight—a strain that may seem to you hysterical, but that is in truth very, very grave.

We are not sending any of our articles on the state of affairs in Germany by mail to the Commercial Cable in London, to be relayed to you by cable in London, because we think that, even if we stuck to the bare facts, the

English censor would not let them through.

We can keep busy, and are keeping busy writing our observations and sending them off by the weekly Rotterdam mail.

Does this seem to you advisable? This letter will reach you in two weeks. Suppose I stay here until it does reach you, and that upon arrival of the letter in Chicago you cable me (care of the consul) what you think as to my returning to London and facing a row with the English authorities?

As to that prospect I am not frightened, but if I were jugged it might take a lot of fussing and cabling to get me out. That would waste both time and money.

AN OPEN LETTER TO H. G. WELLS.

In Appreciation of His Kind Message to the United States.

My Dear Sir:

You are considered one of the foremost English novelists, but you have never before proved your talent for fiction as you have done in your recent work, "The Last War," published in the October number of the "Metropolitan Magazine." We are awestruck with the "multum in parvo" of it, and with its unrivalled quality. Thank God for our American sense of humor which enables us to see through the mock seriousness with which you write and to appreciate the sardonic humor which fills nearly every paragraph, certainly the message as a whole.

For instance, when you contend that the violation of Belgium's neutrality was the reason for England's going to war, you know, and we know, and everybody knows that you don't mean it, that England would have broken Belgium's neutrality as quick as that if it had suited her, and I am sure you chuckled to yourself when you wrote it and wondered if those "blawsted" Americans would understand it. As one of the reasons of my writing this reply is, to show you that we do understand the British humor on this side of the ocean, I wish to state specifically, that we fully understand that the England who violated the neutrality of Denmark in 1807, and that of Chile at Valpariso in 1814 (the spirit of our Captain Porter, of the brave Essex, must have enjoyed your caustic joke) could not seriously assert that she went to war because Germany violated the neutrality of Belgium. And I want you to know, that we see the deeper joke in this, that England, if that *had* been really her reason, should have lifted her mailed fist (or boot) against *France*, as the Sansculottes were the first to violate Belgium's neutrality. Yes, yes, my dear Sir, we know, that Belgium did not object to being ravished by fair France, but that had better remain unmentioned.

"We have done our utmost to avoid this war," you say. Of course, we know that, far from trying to avoid this war, England has been waiting and working for it for years, and if she quickly found out that the job of crushing Germany was not as easy as it looked, and in her unpleasant surprise called on her Eastern ally for help—help, well she got it—didn't she? And how could she know that France was so weakened by absinthe and women that, by herself, she would not be able, to stand up to Germany for one month? How could she know that, I ask? Of the English diplomatic service every man, as is expected, did his duty, and months before the war began, England, France, Russia and Belgium had arrived at understandings as to the part each was to play in case an opportunity should offer *or be provided*. Russia in Asia was to mobilize without calling undue attention to the fact and to egg on Servia in her campaign of seduction and murder against Austria-Hungary; France was to make a loan to Russia for the purchase of cannon, strengthen her army and prepare for instant mobilization. Belgium was to have her army trained by French officers, her fortresses strengthened by French engineers, and was to let the French army pass unhindered through her territory, of course, after a gentle protest, and England was to continue her campaign of vilification against Germany.

You see, my dear Sir, we are pretty well informed, and therefore in a position to laugh with you up your sleeve, if you'll let us.

When all the world comes to recognize the amount of work ("dirty work" envious Germany would call it, but never mind her) England has done in her wonderful campaign to isolate Germany, they will be forced to acknowledge that England is the only nation fit to rule the waves and the colonies, and that she must—simply *must* have a navy strong enough to whip any other two nations. No use talking about that, for this is the right and might of Britannia, guaranteed in her Constitution and acknowledged by every weaker nation on earth.

Did your utmost to avoid the war; did you, really? My, but it's rich! Well we know that one word from you into the Czar's ear would have caused instant demobilization. one telegram to Poincaré have turned France's defiance of Germany into courteous protestations of peace in France and good will towards Germany; but, of course, that could not be, for then Belgium's neutrality would not have been violated and England would not have had to draw her unsullied sword to uphold her honor. By the way, old man, a sword that came unsullied out of the Chinese Opium War must be a good one.

The best joke of all is your disarmament proposition—it took me an hour to recover from my laughing fit! It is *so* nice and vague. It seems to say so much, and says so absolutely nothing. My wife asked me, who was to be disarmed, but I laughed, so she never asked me again. And I couldn't have answered her to save my life. If she had asked me now, who was *not* to be disarmed, the answer would have been easy, for whoever was expected to disarm, *England would most certainly not!* What? Dismantle her fleet, that made her the ruler of the waves? Only a lunatic could propose such a thing! England's navy is her bulwark against her enemies and she would be in a nice fix without an army and without a navy if ever she should be attacked. What, England disarm—proud England, peaceful England, the England of a thousand battles on land and on the sea? The idea is too absurd to be discussed.

Germany on the other hand—yes, sir, she *ought* to be disarmed. Quite right, my dear Sir, what does she want with an army, anyhow? In the East the Russians can protect her against an invasion from Japan, and in the West, France will see that no harm come to her from Cuba or Iceland. So I can't see any reason for her not disarming, and then she could send 800,000 men into her factories instead of into war. By the way, hadn't you better repeal the law requiring that all manufactured goods entering England or her colonies must show plainly the land of origin? Why should you want your customers to know that most of your fine British goods were made in Germany?

Yes, I see, the German army had better go, and the German navy, too; if you left Germany her navy and she could save the cost of her army, she would build dreadnoughts by the hundred and might try to wrest the sceptre of the waves from your hands. Yes, sir, the German navy will have to go, also. That's two armaments gone and that's enough to begin with, I reckon. Disarm the British navy—no, a thousand times: no! We are willing to sacrifice the German navy, if you make a point of it, but the British navy—the greatest civilizing influence in the world—never, as long as the British ocean prefers to bear an English name.

But look here, my dear Sir, are you not going to step too far when you call the Krupp concern *an organized scoundrelism* and say that the German guns and shells are *notoriously poor?* I viewed the statement with a good deal of concern because it differs too widely from the facts and those facts are too universally known. The unsurpassable quality and modernity of the Krupp field guns and especially the new Krupp siege mortars, which pulverize a modern fort in one or two hits (and they are all hits) have been too widely advertised to be successfully contradicted at this late day, and I fear very much that this mistaken (!) statement will make a good many readers shake their heads and doubt if you know what you are talking about. Mr. Krupp, with an armful of rejected siege guns sitting on the steps of the throne, would surely make a fine cartoon, but as a statement of facts it's a fizzle and I do wish you had not written it.

On the other hand, here is a paragraph that is great, because it seems to be written in such highly moral indignation and therefore has such tremendous force for persuasion behind it. I mean this one: "We are fighting Germany. But we are fighting without any hatred of the German people. We do not intend to destroy either their freedom or their unity. But we have to destroy an evil system of government and mental and material corruption that has got hold of the German imagination and taken possession of German life." There, doesn't that sound fine—fine? If that does not excite the Americans to indignation and wrath, nothing will, and you might just as well give it up.

And the sardonic humor of it! On the face of it—virtuous indignation and a statement of incontrovertible fact,

while in reality there is not a word of truth in it, not one! Mr. Wells, you are great, I salute you, and I seem to hear the echo of the homeric laughter that went up from the hearts of oak when they read your now famous message to the United States. I seem to see Asquith and Grey wipe the tears of mirth out of their eyes on reading that neither *the freedom nor the unity of Germany is to be destroyed* (Germany is only to be dismembered, crushed and wiped off the face of the map), but that only *an evil system of Government is to be done away with*, for none know better than Asquith and Grey that under the circumstances no other Government is at all possible for Germany, and that it would be just as absurd to ask England to get rid of her navy as to ask Germany to disband her army. They know with absolute certainty that England, if placed like Germany between two implacable foes, would most undoubtedly have a strong standing army to protect her frontiers, even as she has now a standing navy to protect her sea coast. And the joke of it is, that England's navy is as large as any other *two*, while Germany's army is not even as large as *one* other —the Russian. Germany relies on *quality*, while England, relying on *quantity*, would have under like circumstances an army as large as Russia's and France's together, and I guess both put their reliance correctly.

"We have to smash the Prussian imperialism." To speak of Prussian imperialism when England's imperialism is the most notorious and most strongly resented fact in history, takes an amount of courage not everybody possesses, and to make it palatable requires the supreme effort of even a great writer of fiction. But I think you have succeeded, my dear Sir, for you have bellowed your assertion with the strength of ten bulls and the quiet voice of reason has no chance to be heard as long as you keep it up. But you have to keep it up, for in the quiet after the storm the low voice of reason and truth would be heard and might do untold harm to peaceful, innocent England.

But, of course, we know what you mean by German imperialism and what you really want to smash. In England's place we, too, would view with the utmost disfavor the steady growth of Germany's oversea commerce and fleet, a growth which shows no sign of stopping and is developing into a very serious menace to your own foreign trade and carrier business; we, too, would stand aghast at the incredible cheek of Hamburg of wresting the laurel from London and becoming—in tonnage—the largest seaport on earth; and we, too, would try to smash such "imperialism," such an "evil system," such "mental and material corruption" by any means that came to hand, good or bad, or even worse. The end justifies the means, they say, and what more moral, more unselfish, more glorious end could there be than England's trade, say *e. g.*, with the West Coast of Africa, where she ships Bibles, rum and guns to lighten the black man's burden. My dear Sir, I am becoming quite enthusiastic, and first thing you know, I'll write some fiction myself.

I just noticed another little slip you made, Mr. Wells. Really, you ought to have been more careful!

"Physical and moral brutality has indeed become a cant in the German mind and spread from Germany throughout the world." Thus you wrote and thus it is printed! I am sorry I did not see this in manuscript, for as a friend I would have advised you to cut it out. That kind of thing may go in England, but here in the good, old U. S. A. I am sorry to say, such piffle must fall flat. You forgot, that Germans are everywhere in the States, and by underhanded and most contemptible means, by intentionally good citizenship, truthfulness and pure lives they have sneaked into the good graces of their American born fellow citizens. It's pitiful, but true that you can't convince the average American of the well established fact that Germans, without exception, are physically and morally brutal, and that their bestiality is brutalizing the world—ay, has even affected gentle England.

And it would have been such a joke if it could have been worked. With England's past history in mind, it would simply have been a scream! We know something of England's history, and we remember how she incited, with the kindliest motives, of course, during the Revolutionary War, the Indians against the American settlers, spreading rape, arson and red murder among white people of her own race; we have read of the Chinese war, when England for moral reasons of pecuniary profit forced opium on an unenlightened government; we still remember with a shudder that England's gentle civilization bound Hindoos before the mouths of cannon to send them to heaven on the double quick; we find that cock-fighting, bear-baiting, boxing matches and football (in its brutal form) originated in moral England, and we appreciate to the full that you, my dear Sir, expected to score enormously with the paragraph last quoted. The pity of it is, that it won't work here, but I am sure in England it will add further laurels to your crown of shame—I mean—fame.

Here is still another little slip you made, Mr. Wells, "Monopoly," you say, "means rascality." Had you forgotten that France has a tobacco monopoly and that you thus accuse France of rascality? Or is this intentional and did you mean to tell France not to imagine that she was as good as England, although she is her ally? Of course, we know you think so, but I did not imagine that you wanted the world to know about it.

But worse than that, you say, that imperialism means rascality, too. For the love of us all, Mr. Wells, that certainly must be a slip of the pen, for if England does not stand for imperialism, what does? Has not little 2x4 England swallowed India, Australia, most of Africa, Canada, British Columbia, the Pacific, the Atlantic, both Arctic oceans, Scotland, Ireland, West Indian Isles, etc.? If that is not imperialism, what more does she want? But, what is rascally about that, my dear Sir? You know, her methods have been always those of gentle persuasion, and with a sigh, but also with a willing heart, because it paid, she has taken upon her shoulders one brown man's burden after another, until she now nearly sinks under the weight, but also has become the richest country on earth.

One of the cleverest things I find in your second last paragraph. "England, France, Italy, Belgium, Spain, and all the little countries of Europe are heartily sick of war," you say, and then continue: "The Czar has expressed a passionate hatred of war!" There it is: The Czar—not Russia, for everybody knows that the Czar is afraid of his own shadow and that Russia with its ten million soldiers is passionately devoted to war. So you leave Russia alone and only mention the poor Czar's passion for peace, as it gently suggests Russia's dislike for war instead of crudely asserting it.

My dear Sir, you are a genius of the highest rank, and I'd give two bits, if I could turn like you the facts inside out, and were able to paint the lily black with the same brush you use to cover dark treason with a coat of dazzling white.

Mr. Wells, I salute you!

Very respectfully,

A TORY ADMIRER.

—The Crucible.

THE FRENCH "DIME NOVEL" LITERATURE.

The detailed report of the Commission of Inquiry as to the supposed German atrocities, several hundred thousand copies of which were printed and are soon to be sent all over the world in various translations, at the expense of France, is now before us. We have gone to the trouble of giving it a careful perusal, just as we did with the seven Belgian reports which were drawn up in the same miserable fashion.

The four men who have done this work are only to be pitied; they are: Georges Payelle, First President of the Court of Accounts, Armand Mollard, late Master of Ceremonies at the Elysee and Chargé d'Affaires in Luxembourg, Georges Maringer, Privy Councillor, and Edmond Paillot, Legal Adviser at the Court of Cassation. Such names are to stand as a guarantee to the French and to the neutral countries, that the investigation has been carried out conscientiously, and that the German soldiers really are the barbarians, murderers, thieves and rapists, such as they have been depicted ever since the beginning of the campaign.

Most of the American papers have stopped printing the latest Belgian reports, because the crazy excess of these accusations showed, even to the most patient and credible readers, that they were but fiction defamation. The opinion of the future will not loathe the German soldier. Nay, it will simply turn its back on those Don Basilios who wished to stamp each and every one of them as criminals. The Triple Entente may no longer hope for the victory of lies, any more than for that of weapons. No matter how difficult or how loathsome the work may be, Germany will continue to fight down this whole-

sale libel. In the end we shall see which was able to fight its way through the horrors of this terrible war better and more nobly, the derided German culture or that "civilization" which allows France to march proudly at the head of Senegalese, Kirghiz and Britons.

"The collection of proofs is already in print and will fill a volume of about a hundred pages." This is what we read in the "Matin" of January 15, as "reply" to the note of the German government, who, in an angry protest, declared it beneath their dignity to have anything to do with this ignominious report which lacked all foundation. So much the better, then, when these gentlemen now come forward with their "proofs." According to previous experience it will be an easy matter to fix their value. Even the report itself, which rattles off the several hundred "atrocities" as fluently as if it involved indisputable, carefully proved and pronounced facts, abounds in untruths which are obvious even to those who know least about German military conditions, not to mention the innumerable absurd exactions laid on the logical reader. This Babylonian tower of lies will soon crumble with a crash over the heads of Messrs. Payelle, Mollard, Paillot and Maringer, and bury them forever under its ruins. It is true that they only deal with the Departments which were occupied in September, viz.: Seine-et-Marne, Marne, Meuse, Meurthe-et-Moselle, Oise and Aisne, in so far as they are now free from German troops. It will therefore be possible to judge from the endless mistakes, as regards names, dates and regiments, as to the "exactitude" and "thoroughness" of the examination of "each individual case." The German military authorities will know how to put even this chaos in order.

In order to understand how it is possible for anyone to dare to put such mad and atrocious reports before the French, we must remember their favorite reading matter which recurred to our mind involuntarily whilst reading this clumsy report; to the "dime novel" in serial form, with murder and manslaughter, incendiarism and rape in every column, which all those widely circulated papers, "Matin," "Journal," "Petit Parisien," "Petit Journal," etc., favor without exception and which has by no means tended to raise the general standard of intelligence during the past decade. The newspapers vie with each other in the production of bloody placards announcing their new novels with the most thrilling titles. In these miserable stories virtue does not need to win the day as in other cheap novels; the more oppression there is and the more detailed its description the better. Thus were those hysterical women brought up who figure in each criminal case and give the French judges so much trouble. It is for the tastes of such people that the "report" has been written. Mollard, the Master of Ceremonies, found a dozen ninety-two-year-old witches on whom the "Huns" are said to have laid violent hands, who were not sparing in their detailed, naturalistic descriptions. Every bullet that happened to hit a may-be harmless peasant in a village street or behind his window, gives rise to an assassination for which an endless variety of witnesses are to be found, giving an equally endless variety of evidence. Each farmstead that took fire because it was hit by a bombshell, or because it had to be removed out of the fire line, is a proof of wilful arson. The investigation will not admit in one single instance that a tribunal was warranted, because German troops had been fired upon. No German officer, they say, ever punished soldiers for robbery or even for committing worse crimes. "C'est la guerre" (It is war-time) is the answer they gave to such as complained.

Anyone who knows how severely the German officers punish each breach of discipline that comes to their knowledge cannot but laugh pitifully at this misrepresentation. In 1870 only timepieces were stolen; for 1915 that is not ridiculous enough; whole wagon-loads and even special trains full of sewing-machines and toys are carried off (Suippes-Marne). Baccarat was ravaged wholesale. The inhabitants were shut up in the station and then the furniture, including timepieces, was carried off under the supervision of the officers and the town set on fire with dynamite "pastilles" and torches; in the famous "cristallerie" however, "our enemy showed a relative degree of honesty, for they purchased the goods, forcing a reduction of 50% to 70%, playing with their revolvers the while." But why should we go on bothering about this miserable and disgusting rubbish here? It will shortly be taken up again, case for case, officially with the proper rectification for the benefit of the neutral countries.

Last year a murder occupied all the French papers for months. In Brittany the director of a powder-works disappeared. An engineer named Pièrre was suspected of the murder and taken in charge. A thousand miles away a clairvoyant of Nancy described the place where the corpse of the director was actually found. During the post-mortem examination, a bullet was found which exactly fitted Pièrre's revolver. A hundred witnesses appeared who all declared they had last seen Pièrre with his victim; anonymous letters simply poured in. Then it suddenly turned out that the bullet did not fit the revolver after all, that the witnesses had all allowed themselves to be influenced by the famous self-suggestion and that Pièrre was innocent. The newspapers unanimously accused the public prosecutor, who had conducted the case, of having had a party feeling against Pièrre and of having committed a crime himself, by letting the engineer languish so long in a prison cell. The whole of the tremendous judicial apparatus had broken down, except the fortune-teller of Nancy . . . There were volumes of evidence, experts' opinions and documents all for this one case. And the murderer is at liberty to this very day!

The above incident, which is typical French justice, occurred in times of peace. How can we, then, in times of war, in the heat of battles and amid the maddest anxiety, place the slightest confidence in the recollections and statements of these peasants and villagers?

For the only person who could have flabbergasted us in this report of the examining magistrates Payelle, Mollard, Maringer and Paillot on the "German atrocities," the fortune-teller of Nancy is missing. Until she has found the proofs of all the German atrocities in the dregs of her coffee-cup the "terrible and painful accusation" would be incomplete, even if another "hundred pages" were to be added!

The Press Room Campaign in the United States With Now and Then a Dum-Dum!

DERNBURG CUTS WEB OF LIES.

From "The Fatherland," New York, September 30, 1914:

The article by Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, formerly Germany's Colonial Secretary, in which he explains to American readers in the "Sun" the constitutional limitations of the Kaiser, cuts clean through the web of lies spun by the New York "Times" and "Herald's" henchmen around the person of the German Emperor. Vainly the "Times" with waning logic, attempts to confuse the issue by declaring that the German Reichstag is not truly representative of the people because the apportionment of votes is not entirely just. "The Fatherland" believes that, after the war, radical reforms in the elective machinery of the German Empire will be made. Meanwhile we prefer the German system, even with its limitations, to an apportionment of districts, by American politicians, gerrymandering the country over the poker table of a political club, or to the Russian system, where the knout of the Cossack or the bomb of the Nihilist decides all political issues.

HOW THE BOSTON TRANSCRIPT DOES IT.

The Fatherland, New York.

Hugo Muensterberg.

Since the beginning of the war the American newspapers have divided into rather distinct classes. A very small group favors Germany, a considerable group stands squarely on the neutrality proclamation of President Wilson, giving really equal chance to both sides of the war. Then there is a much larger group which professes fairness but from inborn or nurtured prejudice leans strongly toward the allies and is unfair to Germany. Then follows a group which is not only unfair, but malicious, and finally a group by itself, the Boston "Transcript." On the whole the Boston newspapers try to be fair. The Boston "Traveller," the Boston "Journal," the Boston "Post," the Boston "American," and the most influential paper of the city, the Boston "Herald," have shown an earnest desire to understand both sides in the war. The "Transcript" has not been concerned with such minor considerations as justice and fairness, but has from the start piled up in its columns heaps of distorted news and venomous vituperations. Those who tried to plead for fair play and thus to protect Germany against these hateful attacks have been systematically treated like the German nation itself; and as I was nearest, I was the most convenient target for ruthless denunciations. Needless to say that the "Transcript" opened its columns to the kind request that Professor Francke and I be dismissed from Harvard University because we dared to defend the German cause. This campaign against me does not disturb me. It is not the first time in my life that in the service of truth I have stood for an unpopular cause, and I am accustomed to bear the brunt of the battle. But I do become disturbed when the malicious fight against my person is used as a means to harm the German cause itself. In such a case it is my duty to call public attention to the schemes applied. I use as an illustration the Boston "Transcript's" brilliant action against my recent book,

Last winter, when nobody thought of war, the editor of the Boston "Transcript" begged me to allow him to see my new books a few days before their appearance. He had heard that a New York paper had asked for the same right, and as he appreciated the news value of printing short abstracts from a book before its publication, he asked this favor for the Boston "Transcript." I did not hesitate to fulfil this request in the case of my war book, as I know such quotations would at last bring the voice of fairness into the wilderness of the "Transcript" pages. The sheets of the book were accordingly sent to the "Transcript" four days before publication with a letter saying that the editor might publish any six to seven pages from the book beforehand. The publisher saw in this a fair bargain; it would give to the newspaper the requested and much sought advantage of publishing a fragment of a new book before its appearance, and it would give to the book the advantage of being brought in a friendly way to the notice of the public, which would feel inclined to seek the book and to read it as soon as it came out. Exactly the same thing was done with three other papers, the Brooklyn "Eagle," the New York "Sun" and the Boston "Herald"; and all of these did, of course, the decent thing; they published some pages, thus gladly acknowledging the publisher's courtesy. What did the "Transcript" do? It was quickly recognized in the editorial rooms that this book with its insistent claim for fair play might make dangerous breaches in the wall of anti-Germanism behind which the "Transcript" is sheltered. The safest scheme was therefore to use the few days before the appearance of the book to discredit the author and to create indignation which could prevent the public from reading it. Only one way was open. The public must be made to believe that I had insulted the Americans, and therefore deserve to be punished by their ignoring my book. The pages of the book itself did not contain such insults. Hence they had to be invented. Two days before the book came out the "Transcript" published in a most conspicuous place an article the heading of which says that my new book is "singularly unfair to Americans." It begins with the absurd statement that I have expanded into a book my earlier papers in support of the German cause. This neat introductory effort is to give the impression that those who read my articles in the newspapers have no reason to look into my book. After this clever trick the book itself is characterized by quotations like "American penchant for lynching," "popular ignorance," "prone to act like sheep," and so on. Now there is not a single word about the penchant for lynching or of the thinking like sheep or any other insulting phrase in my whole book. I make this affirmation in spite of the fact that the "Transcript" sometimes even adds the words "he says" after phrases which I have never said in my life. For instance, when the sheep come for the second time: "Our opinions have all been formed with the unanimity of sheep, he says." Everyone who knows me knows that such a zoological comparison would be entirely impossible in any writing of mine. Yet such inventions are very well chosen to awaken disgust with the forthcoming book and to kill its effects on public opinion beforehand.

This seems exaggerated, as everyone knows that the "Transcript" has an extremely small circulation and has very small political influence, as its editorial page stands so far below that of the Boston "Herald." Yet it is read in the residential districts of Boston and suburbs on account of its good literary essays, and thus even its political articles do indeed have a chance to poison the atmosphere. But the far more important factor is that just on account of its being unknown in the outer world, correspondents of other and more read papers can comfortably draw from its columns for their dispatches. Here was a fine opportunity for it. The correspondents, no one of whom had seen the book, wired to their papers that a book by me on the war was to appear, which was extremely unfair to the Americans and which insulted them by comparing them with sheep and by speaking of their ignorance and of their penchant for lynching.

"Indeed, Professor Münsterberg is not careful of his facts and frequently exposes himself to the charge of misrepresentation, and either disregard for truth or ignorance of it. His unfair treatment of ex-President Eliot is a case in point. With easy dexterity he turns Dr. Eliot's felicitous phrase of advice, 'to seize every opportunity that may present itself to further the cause of human freedom and of peace at last,' into the astonishing phrase, 'to seize every opportunity **for attacking Germany.**' (The bold face is ours.)"

Now, as I read this article without having read the book, my impression was what I believe most readers will get, namely, that Professor Münsterberg had misquoted Dr. Eliot either accidentally as a mere lapsus calumi, or purposely. The purpose of the reviewer, in my opinion, was undoubtedly to inculcate the latter belief into the minds of the vast majority of its limited circle of readers, who will undoubtedly not take the trouble to really inform themselves on the matter. When, however, one reads the passage in the "War and America" and discovers that Professor Münsterberg, while treating the shallow, ignorant and prejudiced utterances of ex-President Eliot much more considerately than they can possibly deserve, quotes him exactly; when one realizes that the second passage quoted in the "Independent" is not a quotation from ex-President Eliot at all, but a quotation from the book, in which Professor Münsterberg merely draws the inevitable conclusion contained in ex-President Eliot's declaration; then one gets a quite different impression of the meaning of the charge in the "Independent." Underhanded attempts such as this, and many others that might be chronicled, serve to show the desperate situation in which the Allies find themselves in any attempt to justify their course before the thinking public.

It is to this portion of the American public, not to the rabble, that "The War and America" is addressed, to those not yet certain that "the Kaiser did it," "the Crown Prince did it," "militarism did it," in short, to the most of the American people who do not read Elbert Hubbard's drivel and live upon his plane of life. Most other people will find this book impartial almost to a fault, particularly in its treatment of the British point of view. Many a time, as I have read certain passages, I have had the conviction that the English point of view on certain questions was deserving really of much less consideration than was given it, that an evaluation of conflicting aims might well have been made, instead of merely presenting statements of

facts. The reason is to be sought, in my opinion, in the fact that a native German, in attempting to present a strictly neutral statement of the situation, has undoubtedly suppressed a great deal that he would be thoroughly justified in saying "in words hard as cannon balls." To accuse such a book of impartiality is merely to descend to the plane of mean insinuation.

"The War and America" discusses the essential factors and issues in the war and their meaning for America under the chapter heads: "The Aggressors," "The Anti-German Sentiment," "The German-Americans," "The Threatened Provinces," "The English Philosophers," "The Russians," "The German Policy," "The Kaiser," "The Silent Voices," "The Americans," and "The Morals of the War." Its main purpose is to make clear the facts on both sides, from which alone a just decision can be reached; and that such statements as have appeared in the press continually are based, not upon facts, but upon guesses and purely **a prior** theorizing, will become only too clear to anybody reading this book in an unprejudiced frame of mind.

Many of the absurd statements about the power of the German Emperor, German militarism and the domination of a military clique, autocracy versus democracy, immediate responsibility for the war, and the like would have been spared us, if the host of closet-historians produced by the present crisis had only been in possession of a small part of the facts of this book at the outbreak of the war.

Those like ex-President Eliot, for whom republicanism is the alpha and omega of government for all nations, irrespective of their historical traditions and stage of development, will find in the chapter on the "Kaiser" the German point of view explained in a matter of fact way, with which the most enthusiastic republican can find no fault, even though he may prefer his own point of view for his own country. The price of the book should place it in the reach of every one; and the information is first hand and so valuable that nobody desiring to be completely in touch with the present situation can afford to do without it.—Herbert Sanborn (Vanderbilt University).

Before receiving my copy of Pro-Professor Münsterberg's book on the present war I had read a review of it in the "Independent," which had astonished me. Under the date of October 5, a writer in that magazine criticizes this book as being unfair, and charges Professor Münsterberg flatly with either ignorance or knavery. When one sees, however, the way in which the "Independent" attempts to establish this allegation one gains a bit more insight into the method which Germany's adversaries find themselves forced to adopt. The author of that review shows not merely that he has not understood the book, but that he has tried energetically to misinterpret it, and the following is a case in point:

These good men had no idea that the "Transcript" had led them into a trap and that not one word of it was really in my book. But their dispatches worked havoc. To give an illustration, such a dispatch was sent to the Washington "Star." From there it spread all over Washington. The next day the Washington "Post" brought out its first editorial, a wild attack on me, under the title "The Public an Ass." The editorial says that the German Emperor himself has appealed to the intelligence and fairmindedness of the American people, but "Professor Münsterberg rushes in with the suggestion that the judges are a lot of sheep and asses." No one who knows the Boston "Transcript" can have been surprised that even this editorial of the Washington "Post," based on the falsehood spread by the Boston "Transcript" itself, was then reprinted by the "Transcript" like an independent confirmation. I tried to set myself right before the readers of the "Transcript" and asked the editor to print a letter in which I insisted that none of those insulting phrases appeared in my book. It was only consistent that while the "Transcript" has ample room for the most trivial letters from any crank, the editors refused to print my letter. Their readers must be hermetically protected against the truth. I must remain to them the man who is unfair to the American people. And this is the same "Transcript" which some years ago when my book on "The Americans" appeared wrote that it was by far the best and the fairest book on the Americans ever written, claimed even its superiority to Bryce and insisted that I had done a lasting service to the American nation by writing that book for the European public. For twenty years I was in the eyes of the "Transcript" the fair and faithful interpreter of the American mind. All is suddenly forgotten, because my book which stands for fairness must be crushed by any possible means.

(Reprinted from "The Fatherland," New York, November 4, 1914.)

AN AMAZING CONFESSION.

(Editorial from the "Milwaukee Free Press," September 3, 1914.)

The letter of J. Rankin Towse, London correspondent of The Nation, in the current issue of that weekly, throws a sinister light upon England's part in the precipitation of the European war. Bearing in mind that this letter was dated August 11, and that war between Great Britain and Germany was declared August 4, we invite the careful perusal of this paragraph from Mr. Towse's letter:

"The promptitude, the secrecy, and the order with which the (British) government acted were extraordinary. It is only now leaking out that preparations for war began three months ago. I know that some naval reserve officers were then assigned to their respective ships, and I am assured, on what I believe to be responsible authority, that Lord Kitchener went secretly to Belgium a few weeks ago to arrange with the Belgian headquarters staff about the disposition of our expeditionary force. A large part of that force was in Dover a week or so ago. The old place was thick with soldiers one night; the next morning they had vanished. During the night they were all entrained for Folkstone, where they were put on transports and dispatched. At the same time a fleet of great steamers, loaded to bulwarks with khaki clad soldiers, sailed out of Southampton. I heard yesterday, from a good source, that 100,000 British soldiers were in Belgium last Tuesday (August 4)."

Since Mr. Towse, like The Nation, is strongly Anglophile, this statement comes from a friendly observer on the ground.

If true, what does it reveal with regard to England's claims of pacific and neutral purpose toward this war? It reveals that they are hypocritical humbug.

Sir Edward Grey has tried to convince the world through the British White Book that he sought peace up to the last moment; yet here is the statement of a pro-Britain that the government began to prepare for this war months ago; that "the mobilization of the British fleet was accomplished then, secretly, under the pretense of a review before the king," that many days prior to Germany's declaration of war upon Russia "Lord Kitchener went secretly to Belgium" to arrange for the disposition of the British.

No wonder, in that event, that Great Britain refused to meet Germany's proposal that she guarantee the neutrality of Belgium!

More than that, Mr. Towse deposes that while John Bull was protesting his desire to remain neutral and discussing the conditions with Germany, he was quietly engaged in landing soldiers in Belgium and already had 100,000 on Belgian soil prior to August 4 when war was declared.

We will not ask our readers to believe all this, although Mr. Towse is said to be exceptionally careful in the report of alleged facts. What we wish to emphasize is that this Anglophile correspondent, like the British public, admires this British forehandedness—the very thing condemned in the Germans—and finds no inconsistency between it and England's professions.

No matter what additional evidence continually comes to light, disproving all that has been said against the Kaiser and Germany, "The Outlook" continues to believe all absurdities emanating from the London-Paris Co., Unlimited, as long as they say something despicable about Germany and her "barbarian' inhabitants, it is accepted as gospel truth.

For the Rev. Dr. Abbott to listen to and weigh reasonable argument of the other side, which possibly might change his mind and make him acknowledge his mistake, would be too much to expect.

POWER OF THE PRESS.

Associated Press Unchecked, Not Verified—Newspapers Are Only Mental Food for Many—Doctored, Distorted, Colored.

Enormous Influence of British Press on Every Free-Born American.

Accept News and Opinions of Daily Papers with Reserve.

The Origin of News.

There has been an **immense** amount of discussion and a great deal of writing on the subject of the responsibility for the **Great European War.** It is only **natural** that this important matter should be discussed, but it is most **remarkable** that newspaper editorials have been **distinctly one-sided.** That there should be some bias in the case of American newspapers is easily explained, if we **investigate** the process by which news is gathered, if we **investigate** its origin. Sometimes it may happen that this is gathered by someone who **unconsciously** distorts it with this point of view. Sometimes it is unconsciously **manufactured.** In this case—quick as a flash, many of our prominent **English** newspapers have put the whole blame of this Great European War on **Germany.** They have made no examination of the situation, have made no search for deeper causes. American papers blamed Germany and the German Kaiser, just because some British newspapers blamed the Germans and the German Kaiser. Now is this **fair?** Let us see.

So that this subject might be fully understood let us **investigate** how the "news" is gathered. Newspapers have to buy "news," just as a grocer will have to buy his flour and his supplies, in order to sell them to you. The grocer is naturally interested in buying his product at the lowest price possible, and in selling to you at the highest price possible. The difference between the two is his **profit.** The same thing applies to "news." There are four large sources of expense connected with the production of a newspaper:

1st—"News;" its gathering, **writing,** and producing.

2nd—Paper; cost of material, etc.

3rd—Machinery; presses, maintenance, interest, etc.

4th—Delivery; of the finished newspaper.

A very large percentage of total expenses is eaten up by the "news" in its gathering, and its reproduction. When compared with a grocer the newspaper is even **worse off,** because the grocer can advance his price, whereas a newspaper is sold at a **fixed price.**

Consequently, newspapers are constantly looking for the cheapest way of getting "news." A distinct proof of this cheapening process is the "Associated Press."

The Associated Press—Its Purpose.

The "Associated Press" is an organization which gathers news for **all** the newspapers. It is a mutual organization to save money and avoid extra work. This idea is good, but it has great dangers. Formerly every newspaper gathered its own news. The proprietors of papers knew that they were spending a great amount of extra money in buying their "material." Therefore, they organized the Associated Press, which is now almost alone prevalent at least in gathering the "news" for most of the large city papers. As a result, the **newspaper owners save untold thousands** of dollars every year. **All** of the papers belonging to this association get the same material, and you may have noticed by comparing various papers that every one of them has the same article, word for word, and letter for letter. Some of our papers have a small independent news-service of their own, but, generally speaking, the above statement is correct.

The Associated Press a Monopoly.

The Associated Press has sometimes been called one of the **strongest** "trusts" of monopolies in the United States. Various newspapers (such as the N. Y. "Sun") have been trying to break this monopoly, but so far have not been successful. Only a **technicality** has until now saved the Associated Press from being declared **an unlawful monopoly.** This technicality is that the Associated Press is a mutual association without the purpose of profit. They have contended that a monopoly can only be unlawful if it makes **excessive profits.** In other words, they have called the attention of the courts to the so-called **"good trusts,"** and the so-called **"bad trusts,"** about which you have heard so much during the last few years; and I suppose that they style themselves a **very good trust,** because they do not make any profit at all! Is this really so? From more than one point of view, it is merely a subterfuge, because it is a fact that each of the newspapers belonging to the Association have two great advantages: 1st, They are receiving their news quickly. 2nd, They are receiving it cheaply. Now, you know Time is money, and money **saved** is money **earned.** In other words, while the **Association itself does not make** any profit, the **proprietors** do make a great **amount** of profit.

Power of the Press.

Now, if the Associated Press or the Press should desire to **influence** its news in one direction or another, it could **easily** do it, and it **will be read by millions** of people each day. Many people believe more or less of what they read. It may issue **wrong news,** because of lack of investigation at the main office. It may issue **erroneous news,** because of lack of full knowledge on a particular subject. News is often printed which **any** man, well versed in the subject will at once discover to be **wrong.**

When I make these remarks, I do not mean to imply that the Press issues **knowingly** or **maliciously** any wrong statement; I merely wish to call your attention to **their carelessness** and to certain worse possibilities. For instance, can it not be propable that there **is a slight coloring, a slight partiality, a slight leaning** on the part of the makers of **THIS** news; a **subtle influence** stamped upon it because of its peculiar origin?

Briefly, then, the Associated Press is a **money-maker** for the newspapers. It is a great central monopoly or "trust" for news. And the Press is an institution where **a few men** have the **power** to **influence** you in the **right** or in the **wrong** direction, by possibly giving you slightly "colored" news, or information. * * *

WILL THE NEW YORK WORLD EXPLAIN?

The Vital Issue, New York.

Numerous complaints have been received from correspondents that letters addressed to newspapers were either not printed or mutilated. It is pretty hard to give actual and positive proof of this, because usually the newspapers cover up their tracks. But we have at least one case which we will prove, and in the following we are going to entertain our readers with a remarkable instance.

A certain gentleman wrote a letter to the "New York World," as per Exhibit "A," and the "New York World" printed the letter as per Exhibit "B." The writer of the letter was highly indignant that his correspondence should be mutilated, and below we publish his statement under oath:

The undersigned hereby deposes and says:

First. On September 5th, 1914, I wrote a letter to the Editor of the New York "World," New York City, as per Exhibit "A."

Second. On September 7th I bought a copy of the "World" from a news stand, in which only part of my letter appeared, as sent to the "World" as per Exhibit "B."

Third. I noticed immediately that the Editor of the New York "World" omitted the most essential part of my letter, thereby giving my letter a color entirely different from my original statements and intentions.

(Signed) MAX VIEWEGER.
(Witness) MARY W. WALLACE.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 15th day of September, 1914.

(Seal) MARY W. WALLACE, Notary Public, New York County, No. 4211; Register No. 5250.

Exhibit "A."

September 5th, 1914.

The Editor, The World, New York City.

Dear Sir:—Your paper is to be congratulated on the lucky coincidence of its president, Mr. Ralph Pulitzer, being in Germany at the present time. The accounts written by him of conditions in that country at the outbreak of the war bear the earmarks of intelligent understanding

or at least an earnest effort to get at the truth. It must be hoped that this will have the proper effect on the editorial attitude of your paper, which up till now has been hopelessly unfair, not to say hostile to the German side. Today's contribution of Mr. Ralph Pulitzer, for instance, seems to me to knock out completely your editorial, "Autocracy or Democracy," and similar efforts of the same tenor.

I, for one, hope that "The World" will take editorial cognizance of its egregious misconception of the war and make amends for it as far as possible. Sincerely yours,

(Signed) MAX VIEWEGER.

Exhibit "B."

Mr. Pulitzer's Letter From Germany.

To the Editor of the World:

Your paper is to be congratulated on the lucky coincidence of its president, Mr. Ralph Pulitzer, being in Germany at the present time. The accounts written by him of conditions in that country at the outbreak of the war bear the earmarks of intelligent understanding and earnest effort to get at the truth.

MAX VIEWEGER.

New York, Sept. 5.

SERVING THE NEWS.

(From "The Fatherland," New York, October 7, 1914.)

Mr. Joseph Medill Patterson, the correspondent of "The Chicago Tribune," writing to that paper from The Hague under date of September 11, defends the Germans from charges of wanton cruelty in Belgium and France, and incidentally casts an illuminating side-light on the manner in which the war news is served to American readers. He says:

"I have just returned from Germany, and anything I may write cannot be in the least influenced by the fear of German censorship.

"British censorship, however, is to be feared. **All the American correspondents in Berlin report that not only have vital facts of their dispatches been cut out by British censors, but other wholly untrue dispatches have been added."**

Does any intelligent, thinking American believe one-half of the colored news dispatches which are cabled over about German cruelty and English heroism?

An illustration: On September 23 news came that the Germans had destroyed three British cruisers in the North Sea with a loss of 1,200 men. The next morning there appeared in the New York papers a column cable dispatch of an interview with the chief gunner of the ill-fated "Cressy." He related circumstantially an amazing achievement of his gunners in sinking two out of five German submarines. **Yet only one German submarine was engaged, the U-9.**

The American public is allowed to hear but one side of the war, the side England desires it to hear. No faith can be attached to any dispatches save only those which come by the Sayville wireless station.

THE POLICY OF A DOMINEERING PRESS.

The New Yorker Staatz-Zeitung, Chicago.

Herman Ridder.

In considering the beginning of the present war it is well to have in mind that there is a sharp difference between causes and pretexts, between origins and occasions. The aggression of Russia was the chief cause of the war; her defense of Slavic freedom but a pretext. The desire of Russia for a greater Slavic empire was the origin, the Austrian ultimatum to Servia but the occasion.

I have read nearly everything on the war that has appeared in our daily press during the last month and over, and I have yet to see any mention of the fact that Russia entered upon the mobilization of her forces a year before the assassin's shot was fired at Serajevo. How, by the way, do those who charge the German Emperor with having brought on the war, explain away this fact? How, too, do they account for the joint activities and preparations of France and Russia during 1912 and 1913? What interpretation do they place upon the visits of General Joffre and the arrangements of M. Delcasse?

I know how public opinion is created. I have too often seen it dominated by the press. I know, too, that for many years a section of our daily press was subsidized by the Trusts and its "news" made to order. I can discern the work still going on, but under a new paymaster. Inflammatory headlines, a careful selection of reports from Paris and London, and, finally, bitter editorial denunciation of the German Emperor.

The daily papers forget that the origin of the war dates further back than the so-called British "White Paper," and ask us to close our eyes to the years of Russian preparation which preceded the appearance of that very much overestimated document. In its leading editorial of the 7th instant, entitled, "The Truth About Germany," the "Times" carefully avoids all reference to Russia. Why does it not give its American readers "The Truth About Russia" as well? Can the "truth" about any one of the powers involved in the present struggle be told without at the same time telling the truth about all?

The fact is that neither editorially nor in their columns are the great majority of the American newspapers giving their readers at the present time material upon which to construct an unbiased opinion either of the causes which led up to the war or of the progress of the war itself. It is utterly impossible from a reading of the New York English newspapers to arrive at any just conception of the German point of view. That side of the shield is not presented to the reading public. The "New York Herald" has frankly stated that it will not print reports received from Germany by wireless.

Why does such a situation exist? Is it because Germany has not one ounce of right on her side? Is it because the German Emperor is held to be entirely responsible for the war? I know, as a matter of fact, that Germany was forced into hostilities by Russia. I know, too, as a matter of fact, that the German Emperor tried by every honorable means within his power to avoid them. And I am confident that the judgment of history will be quite clear on both of these points.

Every trick of journalism, and I know the game from the pistol to the tape, has been tried to win the American public to the side of the Allies. England, especially, has gone to the limit in courting the "moral support" of the American people. Her best writers and not a few of our own have been commissioned to fill the American newspapers with the English side of the controversy. The pen of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, which loaned itself for the same purpose against the cause of Boer liberty in South Africa, and the sensational quill of the Novelist Wells, are busy picturing for American eyes the horrors of a German triumph. Others have other fields to cover. It would be impossible to conceive of one way in which during these first six weeks of the war the story of England's friendship for the United States and of her righteous entrance into the European struggle could have been presented in a more favorable light to the American reader or the truth about Germany and Austria more grotesquely, and, consequently, more criminally distorted.

In the face of these facts the New York "Times" seizes upon the publication of a book by some of the leading minds of Germany, designed to set forth the German point of view, as an opportunity to remark: "A case that enlists pleaders of this high distinction must in truth need buttressing." It is needless to point out the way in which the "Times" would like its remark to be taken. The unbiased American is very likely, however, to take it in an opposite sense. The case of Germany does need "buttressing"—buttressing against the avalanche of English, French, Russian and Servian misstatements, distortions and subtle prevarications which have been sent down upon it. Left to itself, the case of Germany would have required no support, no defense. Threatened with submergence by the mere weight of the numbers, bribed or bullied against it, the best pens of Germany must not raise a voice in the defense of all they respect and hold dear in their national life! A million reams for the allies of England, but not a stick for Germany or Austria! Is that, I ask, the American people's earnest desire? Or is it the policy of a domineering press?

"We prize above the approval of all other mutual nations that of our kinsmen (sic!) who share our ideals (sic!) and speak our tongue," says the "Times of London." Undoubtedly. Outside of Germany, there is no people on the face of the earth whom the British hate more or fear

more than they do these same "kinsmen," and it was only to be expected that in a contingency in which the disapproval of the American people might have seriously inconvenienced British policy, every nerve and every pen should have been strained to secure their approval.

"We always counted on the support of American opinion in the war that has been forced on us. We counted upon it so securely that we at first neglected means which, perhaps in prudence, we should have taken to secure it."

This also from the "Times" of London.

All embracing as is the British press agency, it still needs a bit of polishing up, co-ordinating, and the like. Otherwise small kittens like this are liable to slip out of the bag.

The first shot in the British campaign to subjugate American opinion and capture its approval was not fired after the inception of "the war that has been forced upon us," but as far back as the beginning of 1913. Writing in "The Philadelphia Press" of August 26th, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle says: "But early last year my views underwent a complete change," and therein alludes to the articles which we all recall having read in a string of American newspapers in the spring of last year. That article, which dealt with the same work of Bernhardi and supplies the text for the more recent writings of the historian alike of the Boer War and of Sherlock Holmes, was the first move to mould American opinion in connection with the present war. In was coincident with the increased military preparations of France and Russia and may be served now as part and parcel of those general activities of the Allies for the destruction of Germany, which the pro-English press find it so convenient to overlook in discussing "The Truth About Germany."

Just at present the pen is fooling most of the people all the time, but this cannot continue very long. The American people want to know the facts, and in the end they are going to get them. When the truth is published, they will judge the matter for themselves.

I am quite confident of the outcome of this war. Germany has a tremendous task before her, but the German people are not unequal to it. It takes a strong heart and desperate courage to win against such odds, but I know the temper of the Germans. They are as great in adversity as in triumph. German history is full of disappointments and reverses, but it is also full of heroic successes. No matter how one feels today, tomorrow he will feel a thrill of admiration for the two nations who are standing alone and against whom the world is battling.

I have met many Germans during the past month and I cannot but admire the note of hope and confidence in their voices and bearing. As Germany is surrounded by her enemies, so are her sympathizers surrounded by an adverse public opinion. But such a condition can be only temporary. In defeat or in victory, Germany will win the admiration of the world by her courage and forbearance.

It is not an unmixed evil to be in the ministry. To preach the gospel of Germany today requires a certain order of courage. Let no well-wisher of Germany fail in his duty to his sympathies. Russia cannot avoid the responsibility. I have talked to many men and I have invariably received the answer, "You are right in what you say, but I have never heard it put that way before." Unfortunately, my pen is weak. I cannot write as I feel. Expression escapes me. I feel the truth and yet cannot proclaim it, as I would wish. My mind has a thousand aims, yet my heart but one. If I could but speak individually to each and every American, I know that I should leave with him a seed of kindness toward Germany, a little understanding of her perils and a little sympathy for her position.

A DIFERENCE OF POSITIONS.

New Yorker Staatz-Zeitung, New York.

Herman Ridder.

Throughout the length and breadth of this great land the name of "Marse Henry" is a familiar one to newspaper readers. Dean of American editorial writers, and among the most brilliant as well as picturesque characters which our journalism has to offer, Colonel Watterson's place in our national life is unique. So it is, that when I regard the "Courier-Journal" in its connection with Henry Watterson, I always think of the lesser as geared to the greater. Personality will rise above enterprise no less in journalism than in other fields.

I know the Colonel well. I have the most distinct recollections of that charming Southern personality of his. As a prince of entertainers he is without an equal. As a conversationalist he is without a peer among present-day Americans. The charm of his liquid Southern accent is still in my ears. His voice is like the music of yesterday. Even his spaces of silence are swept with song. It is not, however, that we admire "Marse Henry," or that we consider him a great editor. The fact that counts and will count is that we love him.

I cannot, however, always agree with the torrents that flow from his circumambient pen. Indirect as is the challenge offered by the "Courier-Journal," I must accept it. I cannot pass over without remark a great many of the assertions which its talented editor has permitted himself to make.

The great misconception under which so many of my well-meaning friends are apparently laboring is that we, German sympathizers, love our own United States the less because in this cataclysmal hour we long for a German victory. By not one single emotion of patriotism, by not one sacrifice of loyalty, do we waver in our attachment to the Stars and Stripes. This is not a contest between the United States and Germany. There is no conflict of interests by which we can suffer or lose because of a German triumph.

I do not wish to appear as a defender of monarchy against democracy, or as pleading the cause of Kaiser versus President. I do not hold up the German government as a pattern for us to follow. By no measure of interpretation can my meaning be so construed. I have taken up the cudgels which my profession has placed in my hands solely in a discussion of the quarrel which is going on between Germany and her enemies, of which latter the United States emphatically is not one.

The difference between the positions of Henry Watterson and myself is that Colonel Watterson considers it best for the interests of the United States that the Allies should win—I, that American interests will suffer less from a German triumph.

If I were to plunge into an editorial analysis of what, for example, the Russian Government stands for, I could not do better than choose my words from the opening sentences of his arraignment of the German government. The only changes that would be necessary would be the substitution of "Russia" for "Germany," and "Czar" for "Kaiser." The Colonel would then say:

"It may be harder for a Russian than an American to differentiate the Russian Czar and the Russian people. To the Slavic mind the Czar stands as the symbol of all that is loyal in the Russian heart.

"To the average American who considers the institutions of his own country as distinguished from the institutions of Russia, the Czar appears as, though a brilliant personality, an odious despot. His government is to our seeing the sum of all iniquity. Who believes in it cannot believe in the government of the United States.

"That a wise and good despot may for the time being insure wise and good government may be true enough. That the government of the mob may be supremely bad—even tyrannous—is likewise true. But, as between the one-man power and the many-men power, the mass and body of human-kind will in the long run fare best with the many-men power. Hence, we Americans are republicans."

How much truer would have rung the words of Watterson had they been applied, in the first instance, to Russia, where they belong?

"Why, indeed, should Herman Ridder himself, whoop things up by quoting the war songs of Germany and talking of the 'Vaterland' as if he were writing in Berlin instead of New York?"

Why, may I be permitted to ask, does Colonel Watterson "whoop things up" for the savagery that is being hurled against German civilization, as if he were writing in St. Petersburg or Tokyo or Simla instead of Louisville, Ky? Is one American to be muzzled when he seeks conscientiously to give the American people the truth that the goose-quill of another may have the field undisputed? I leave it not to my good friend "Massah Henry," but to the

great body of my countrymen:—Do they wish both sides of the shield, or but one?

And therein lies the angle of distortion that we, German sympathizers, object to. Why should upon us be placed the defense of that element in the German government that all upbuilders of democracy object to? If it comes to a question of German rule or Russian misrule can there be the slightest choice? If you maintain that it is a choice of evils then I answer, for God's sake choose the lesser. Let me quote, in this connection, from Professor John W. Burgess, of Columbia University:

"The 'rattle of the sabre' would then be music to our ears in comparison with the crack of the Cossack's knout and the clanking of Siberian chains, while the burden of taxation which we would be obliged to suffer to create and maintain the vast navy and army necessary for the defense of our territory and commerce throughout the world against these giant powers with their Oriental ally, Japan, would sap our wealth, endanger our prosperity and threaten the very existence of Republican institutions."*

If you must differ in opinion from us, if you cannot see the questions involved as we see them, do not beg the question by attacking our Americanism, our loyalty to democratic ideals, or our love for the American flag. I venture to state that there is not an American of German parentage in all this land that does not agree with me when I say, "My country, right or wrong, first, last and always!" But, to this, we prefer to add with Karl Schuerz: " . . . right, to keep her right; wrong, to get her right."

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*The complete article, "Why I Champion Germany," by Professor John W. Burgess, from which the above is quoted, is reprinted on another page.—Editor.

THE NEWSPAPERS AND THE EUROPEAN WAR.

Origin of News—How it is Gathered. A Technical Article Well Worth Your Attention and Serious Consideration.

The Vital Issue.

Editor's Note: This article was written by Mr. F. C. Gramercy, who is well known as a student and keen observer on the trend of literature in this country. His papers are even more appreciated in Europe than on this side of the Atlantic. He is well versed in all international affairs. His residence and study in various parts of the world have given him an intimate acquaintance with the languages and customs and with the trend of thought of several countries. His criticism does not merely scratch the surface, but goes to the bottom of things. His remarks are to the point, but always thoughtful and fair.

PLANNED WAR MONTHS AHEAD.

From "The Fatherland," New York, October 7, 1914.

The Paris "Gil Blas" of February 25, 1913, printed the following:

"A paper in the East of France publishes an interesting news item. It is common talk in military circles that for weeks past large supplies of British munitions of war have been shipped to Maubeuge, on the northeastern French frontier, via the Paris-Cologne Railway. The city of Maubeuge is of great military importance. In the French plan of campaign it is designated as the point of concentration of the allied troops, who are to be commanded in case of war by the English Field Marshal, Sir John French, as commander-in-chief under General Joffre. It is well known that the projectiles for the British guns are different from those of the French. However, the two governments have formed an arrangement by which the necessary supplies for the English artillery may be landed in France in time of peace."

A PSALM OF PEACE.

Let us not be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate,
But, the path of peace pursuing,
Learn to watch and learn to wait.

While the bonehead Democratic
Party gums affairs of state,
Let us, with a mien ecstatic,
Contemplate our shins—and wait.

Minor thief and major grafter
Pilfer, plunder, peculate.
While they grab what they are after
We will hold our breath—and wait.

Let us sit around lamenting
That the world is hot with hate;
We will pray for its repenting—
Meantime, brothers, let us wait.

We will issue proclamations,
Warring powers to placate.
It may interest the nations;
If it doesn't, we can wait.

"Safety first," our motto; let us
Mind our step and watch the gate,
For the Bogey Man will get us
If we don't watch out, and wait.

Friends, sit tight and take no chances;
We might rue it when too late.
Whatso'er the circumstances,
Venture nothing. Watch and wait.

Lives of great men may remind us
'Twas their deeds that made them great.
These examples need not bind us—
Safer far it is to wait.

So we'll glorify inaction,
Leave to Providence our fate,
And, in smug self-satisfaction,
Wait—and wait—and wait—and wait.

—From "The Chicago Tribune," September 12, 1914.

FROM A GERMAN SYMPATHIZER.

(From "The Times-Picayune," New Orleans, August 16, 1914.)

To the Editor of The Times-Picayune:

It is supposed that Germany will soon be on her knees begging for peace. Wonder it is that the Kaiser has not "fallen all over himself" to accept President Wilson's mediation proposal.

While Germany's full strength is 5,000,000 men, from the battles (?) fought during the past week, according to newspaper account, anywhere from 1 to 25,000 Germans have been killed, etc., in each battle, so that, by now, 10,000,000 must be out of the fight already.

Not only that, they must fight like amateurs or else they have awful bad luck. For to date, they seem to be beat every time, no matter what odds are in their favor. If two German ships meet one English or French ship, the German ships are sunk. If 100,000 Germans meet 25,000 Belgians or French, the Germans are losers by 25,000 or more. In fighting the French, the Germans lose 30,000, the French 15,000. All this is certainly not according to the proverbial "Dutch luck!"

The only trouble with all these victories (?) over the Germans is that the news all comes from hostile countries, for what matters it to them if they throw a few thousand extra dead or captured Germans into every battle?

The news also comes that Italy's King refuses to sell his country's honor. How Italy detests the Germans and Austrians now there is a fight on hand! During peace, it is presumed, Italy made good use of the Triple Alliance. Truly, a friend in need is a friend indeed.

PRO-GERMAN.

When the German-American lays down a penny for one of these papers at a news stand—and this happens above five hundred thousand times here in Chicago—he is really being the rod that is continually applied to his nationality. He keeps open the turbid source from which slander and hatred of the German flows. The "impartial" American papers have united with the biased English publications to deceive this country by presenting a highly colored picture of war events favoring England. They fill their columns with the original text contained in London and invent the exasperating headlines by which they endeavor to humiliate the Germans. Self-respect should prevent every German from further supporting such doings and keep him from spending his good money for reports misrepresented to favor the British. If American papers show their hatred for Germany to such an extent that they print all reports from St. Petersburg, London, Paris and Nisch on the first page of the paper under broad headlines, while the trustworthy Berlin and Vienna reports are given some small space on the third or fourth page it is time the German would refuse to ever again take hold of these formidable weapons.

FIFTH CHAPTER

ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE WAR

HOW MUCH CAN WE HELP BY DISCUSSING THE USE OF FORCE?

PEACE AND WAR

Interesting and Helpful Thoughts and Suggestions on the Philosophy of War

Moral or Immoral

Depends on the Righteousness of the Cause

REFLECTIONS ON THE SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY OF THE WAR

How we can Prevent some Wars—On bringing Philosophy to the People

Ethics and Humanity and War

THE DUTY OF PREPAREDNESS FOR WAR

THE SIN OF UNPREPAREDNESS

But like Religion without the State, Love without the Home, and Patriotism without the Army

Undisturbed, Perpetual Peace is an Ideal for Heaven and not this Earth

But, Peace or War, always on Condition of Righteousness

PHILOSOPHIZING ON THE WAR
SOME INTERESTING REFLECTIONS ON THE WAR

A Variation of Scripture:

It may be necessary that wars come—but woe to those through whom they come

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LESSONS OF THE WAR

We may be obliged to employ Force to Protect Virtue and Progress of the Human Family
But Woe to the Nation that would stay these Virtues by Force!

INTRODUCTION

DOCTOR PAUL CARUS

LESSONS OF THE WAR.

By the Editor "Open Court."

Dr. Paul Carus.

So suddenly has war fallen upon Europe that we can scarcely realize it as yet, and are at a loss to know what to think of it. Many among us believe in the establishment of universal peace on earth, and are inclined to condemn armaments and readiness for war, which they call "militarism," and these people are least prepared to form a correct and sound judgment of the situation. Considering the difficulty of understanding the nature of war and the part it plays in the history of mankind we will here briefly outline the lessons which the war teaches us.

According to the theory of evolution the one main factor that determines the survival of the fittest is the struggle for life; and in commerce this struggle for life shows itself as competition, and in the rivalry of the nations, as war. Life is not a mere frolic; it is a combat, and our first duty is to maintain ourselves. The fit survive, the unfit go to the wall. War is the natural state of things; peace is introduced by civilization as an artificial means to alleviate the sufferings of war and to eliminate them more and more.

Civilization should not be regarded as unnatural because it is higher than the more primitive condition of a war of all against all. Civilization is higher nature; it is, and should be, nature refined and ennobled. So we will understand that peace is not the abolition of struggle, but simply a higher kind. Peace abolishes slaughter but leaves competition, and competition often proves to be more severe than war. The struggle for life in the time of peace in mercantile and industrial competition is frequently as keen as a battle, sometimes it is worse; it demands courage, quickness of decision, keen foresight and strong endurance as much as the conflict of war.

The first lesson then is this: We shall never be able to do away with struggle altogether, for struggle is the nature of life. But we shall be able to avoid unnecessary sufferings, and this is slowly being accomplished by means of civilization.

A universal and lasting peace is an ideal which is not impossible, but we are sure that it can be realized only upon the basis of force. Peace on earth will come about as a matter of course only when the men of goodwill hold the balance of power. So long as the unjust, the brutishly greedy, the narrow-minded and stupid have anything to say in international affairs peace will remain impossible, and therefore it will be the duty of every civilized nation to be prepared for self-defense. This is the second lesson we have to learn.

Germany was pretty well prepared for war. She suffered so much in former centuries from being unprepared that at last she has learned the lesson. If other nations should fall upon the United States as the allies fell upon Germany, we should be unable to resist and would have either to make an ignoble peace or suffer great reverses before we could assert ourselves. And how few of us know that it is our duty to be prepared for war! In this rough world of ours we must unlearn that goody-goody morality which praises the ideal of peace at any price and denounces the lion as an evil doer because he lives on a flesh diet. Its emblem of goodness is the sheep, or the lamb innocently butchered. We do not glorify the wolf, the representative of lower nature, but we do not mean to worship the lamb with its passive virtue, so the third lesson of the war may be formulated thus: "Ovine morality is wrong." We must cease to admire and imitate the sheep because it is so good, so very good that it would rather be devoured than fight.

The ovine ideal was greatly admired in Germany till it brought on a dissolution of the empire and allowed the nation to go to wrack and ruin and be wiped off from the face of the earth. The Hohenzollerns with their people, the little state of Brandenburg-Prussia, learned the lesson of war and the duties of self-assertion; and from them came the salvation of Germany.

We do not mean to say that either the Hohenzollerns or the Prussians were faultless, or that Prussianism did not exhibit much onesidedness. The Prussians went too far in emphasizing militarism; they have often enough neglected the culture of art and science and have been eclipsed by smaller states in literature, in art, and other branches of intellectual progress. Certainly they can be criticized and have been held up to ridicule frequently and not without justice. But when the time of danger came and the very existence of Germany was threatened, Prussia came to the rescue and saved Germany from extinction; and the lesson which the recent events teaches us is this: "Go ye, United States and do likewise," which means, "Be prepared for self-defense."

Let us not only educate our boys in Sunday schools, but let us make men of them. The desire for self-defense is natural. If we were to become implicated in a war on a large scale and if hostile armies were to invade our country, there is danger that our citizens might turn into snipers instead of warriors. It is to be feared that this will be the case with England if the country is invaded, and the result would be terrible.

In former articles[1] I have advocated the principle that our young men should be drilled in military service, and it seems to me that it ought to be done somewhat in the style of the Swiss army. I am firmly convinced that it would be beneficial to our youth. The boys need it, and a criti-

[1] See, for instance, "Duplicate the Naval Academy," "Open Court," XV, 495.

cal moment might come when such an institution would preserve peace, or, if that should prove impossible, would serve to protect our country efficiently.

The fifth lesson therefore is this: A military training will do good to every one of our boys, and militarism, the right kind of militarism, is a necessity which ought to be introduced in our own country. Its introduction into England in a system of compulsory military training has already been announced. The English propose to crush militarism in Germany where it has reached a certain perfection, but they do not and never did object to the barbarous militarism of Russia nor to their own navalism, and now are going to establish an English militarism.

My Critics.

I may be excused for taking space to characterize my critics by citing quotations, but these specimens exhibit the violent nature of the great masses of the supporters of the English cause. They scold, they calumniate, they jump at unjustifiable conclusions; mere suspicions, absolutely wrong, are uttered as undeniable facts, and even if their errors are refuted they cling to their beliefs.

The letters of protest which have come to me in response to the October number of "The Open Court" are rare, only ten so far, while whole-hearted endorsements are numerous, among them a telegraphic greeting from the New York society of former German university students in appreciation of the view I have taken.[2] The language of my critics is bitter, and three of the ten come from Canada. A Canadian friend of mine assures me that Canadians, including German Canadians, have no opportunity to become acquainted with the German side of the question.

One letter from Toronto, signed "Jones," without street address, contains a long newspaper clipping relating to the establishment of a German secret service to influence public opinion abroad, but it is peculiar that this secret service is reported to have been founded in a public meeting. The letter reads: "Are you one of the Secret Service agents of Germany in America? From October issue would think so. The paper that sells its conscience, if its Editor has any, is contemptible."

Another letter of the same character reads: "....From the beginning to the end of the magazine you have shown that you are clearly a subsidized agent of the German government. For gold you have got together a lot of quotations and other material to belittle the British empire in the eyes of the world at the present time....You were not thinking of the cruelties that were being practised by the soldiers of 'Cultured Germany' in Belgium...."

The same Toronto critic writes in a second letter:

"You are to me a 'snake in the grass,' and you are playing a double game which will finally reflect itself against you. The twaddle you have been publishing for the edification of your readers, could be, however, easily scattered to the four winds of heaven so far as its correctness is concerned. However, a man who apparently has been bribed with German gold or else become imbued or obsessed with the mental capacity of the mad professors of Germany, would not listen to any wisdom coming from a person who has traveled extensively throughout the world, and knows the feeling that is predominant among the intelligent portion of the world. Germany will be 'smashed' with all its *mad professors*."

A third letter, coming from the United States and anonymous, is on the same level. Its arguments are not rational nor logical, but delightfully vigorous in invectives: "Never again shall any publication bearing your name enter my house, nor any decent American household that I can keep it out of. Never again will I vote for any man who calls himself 'a German-American.' He lies. Moreover, he is a fool. I know that I cannot insult you by calling you a liar. You are a German. I call you a fool. You can feel that. To you and all other exponents of *die Kultur*, as illustrated at Louvain, my undying contempt. You remind me of the gorilla whose ego was too large for his cosmos."

A fourth letter from a Canadian resident in the United States, "saying a definite farewell" to "The Open Court," because "in ethical sense it has fallen upon evil days," encloses an argument against the German side and claims that it "mirrors the sentiment of nine-tenths of my native-born American friends." He mentions "General von Edelsheim's plan to invade our shores," published in "that now classic monograph entitled *Operations upon the Sea*," and also the violation of Belgium's neutrality as well as "the deliberate destruction of the Louvain library and the Rheims cathedral."

It ought to be generally known by this time that the Belgian neutrality treaty was indeed a mere scrap of paper. Even Gladstone in his time considered it as such and made a new treaty for the time of the war 1870-71 to last one year after the war—a fact pointed out by Professor Burgess—and it is acknowledged that in cases of necessity such obligations are broken, and statesmen admit that it is perfectly justifiable to break them. I will quote Sir Edward Grey in his speech in the House of Commons on August 3 where he cites English authorities, Gladstone and others, for the view that such guarantees are not always binding. Sir Edward Grey cannot very well uphold the absolute sanctity of Belgian neutrality, for the documents discovered in Brussels and Antwerp prove that Belgium, England and France had broken Belgian neutrality treaties long before a German soldier set foot on Belgian ground.[3] Sir Edward Grey said: "There is, I admit, the obligation of the treaty....but I am not able to subscribe to the doctrine....that the simple fact of the existence of a guarantee is binding on every party to it irrespective altogether of the particular position in which it may find itself at the time when the occasion for acting on the guarantee arises. The great authorities upon foreign policy....as Lord Aberdeen and Lord Palmerston, never to my knowledge took that rigid, and if I may venture to say so, that impracticable view of the guarantee. The circumstance that there is already an existing guarantee in force is, of necessity, an important fact, and a weighty element in the case."

So the breach of neutrality is unessential, the reason for war lies deeper. Sir Edward Grey continues: "There is also this further consideration, the force of which we must all feel most deeply, and that is, the common interest against the unmeasured aggrandizement of any power whatever."

The true reason for the war, according to Sir Edward Grey and others, was the maintenance of the balance of power, and thus there is no use for arguments, no use for logic, no question of right or wrong. Since Germany has become united she has distributed the balance of power and must be crushed before she grows too powerful for England. Her "unmeasured aggrandizement" is the reason why the British entered into the war. It is this they call German aggressiveness and never tire of denouncing German imperialism, Prussianism and militarism. These words mean that Germany should no longer be a union, should no longer be strong and warlike, should not be able to defend herself. Rational arguments are not needed; defenders of the British cause simply scold and show contempt for imperialism and militarism; at the same time they propose to introduce these heinous institutions in Great Britian. The colonies must be federated and the government must be allowed to raise big armies by drafting.

There is one more pro-British letter which I regret has been misplaced. It is quite similar to the others, only it adds, "You are a cur." These vigorous expressions of a difference of opinion are interesting, for invectives prove that people who use them are without a convincing argument. Otherwise they would produce the argument instead of scolding. It is the man without reason that turns rude. And the easiest way to dispose of an opponent is to denounce him as immoral, as a liar, a man without conscience, low in an ethical sense.

The sixth of my critics has an argument. He is a scholar of keen discrimination in his own field, but sometimes a stickler for points which others consider as unmeaning. He is a native Britisher but pretty bold and impartial. He writes:

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[2] Men who have attended German universities are very numerous all over the United States and all belong to the most intellectual class of our citizens. Some of them have founded a society under the name *"Verein alter deutschen Studenten,"* which is flourishing in many of our larger cities, especially New York and Chicago, but also in many smaller towns. Most of the members are Americans or German-Americans, and I have reason to believe that the sympathies of most of them are pro-German in this crisis.

[3] See the report from the German general headquarters as quoted on pages 663 and 664 in the editorial article, "Poor Belgium," in the November "Open Court."

"In your reprint of the "Saturday Review"* article of 1897 you omit the most damning words of all: viz., the last sentence: '*Germaniam esse delendam.*' On February 1, 1896, the same review, in an article 'by a biologist,' says: 'The biological view of foreign policy is plain. First, federate our colonies and prevent geographical isolation turning the Anglo-Saxon race against itself. Second, be ready to fight Germany, as *Germania est delenda;* third, be ready to fight America when the time comes. Lastly, engage in no wasting wars against peoples from whom we have nothing to fear.' These are the last words.

"Herman Ridder quotes the Catonic speech as of 1879 instead of 1897, and I controverted him in the Philadelphia 'Evening Bulletin.' By this misprint it is made to appear that English jingoism was five years earlier than Prussian, for it was on November 1884, that Treitschke said this: 'Mit Oesterreich, mit Frankreich, mit Russland haben wir bereits abgerechnet; die letzte Abrechnung mit England wird voraussichtlich die langwierigste und die schwierigste sein."†

This proposition to place the guilt where we find priority in an authoritative statement of jingoism, does not seem to me applicable. The question is not who threatened first, but who has done right and who has done wrong. The breach of neutrality in Germany would have been wrong if it had not been contemplated first by the French, and it is justified by the English plans to take it in their schemes of 1906.

I will quote one more critic who is a Britisher living in the United States, a man distinguished by scientific erudition. He writes: "Your article in the October 'Open Court' was extremely interesting to me, rabid Britisher I am, in that it was the only exposition of the German side of the question which I have seen that was not made in the heat of anger. I do not agree with you, however."

A very unexpected letter reached me from England from quarters which do not have any influence on the government but represent *die Stillen im Lande* who may form a nucleus for a future reform. Our correspondent states that one of his nearest friends, a professional thinker with a strong leaning towards politics, is "of opinion that Grey is a very unscrupulous person; in fact he describes him as a 'devil.' Indeed, Grey's whole policy, especially about the Morocco crisis, is very bad. With regard to the violation of Belgium's neutrality, my friend is sure that Germany violated it first and with no provocation on the part of France, but that if France had violated it England would not have interfered. It is interesting that Asquith made a great point of Belgium to appeal to the British public, while Grey, to do him justice, did not pretend that Belgium was the cause of the war. The fault of British diplomacy is that at the beginning England did not say definitely what she would do or would not do. The English people are often unconscious hypocrites because, though the ideals they think they pursue are noble ones, they will not acknowledge that their policy is, like the policy of other nations, governed entirely by self-interest. The German policy is almost brutally frank, but the English policy has never been frank. What the English were afraid of about Belgium was that Germany should annex Belgium and establish seaports which would threaten England. When Germany had no navy to speak of, in 1887 I think, England did not propose to interfere on behalf of Belgium when Germany proposed to advance against France through Belgium. Also there was at one time a precisely analogous case in the Russian invasion of Persia; Persia's neutrality had been guaranteed by England, and England did not interfere, but salved her conscience by the reflection that the Persians were a bad lot. England's behavior to other nations is simply guided by the fact as to whether they have a navy or not; if they have a navy England's conscience awakes."

A man who approves the defense of Germany in "The Open Court," says:

"At the beginning of the war. . . . I received the impression that the Kaiser was to blame for his rapid and quick action and that he could have prevented war. But it is evident that it would have been folly for Germany to wait longer after war was unavoidable. By her rapid mobilization and quick action Germany secured great advantage and located the destruction of property which accompanies warfare, outside of German territory.

"Our conscience and our moral support should not be neutral. To be neutral in this would be morally wrong. President Wilson's appeal for impartiality and neutrality has served its good cause by restraining people from taking sides on sentimental grounds. It is well if the American people remain neutral in action to guard against being drawn into the conflict, as, probably, more harm than good would be done if the United States would enter the war. It is commendable to remain neutral in arguments based on sentiments. But in arguments based on reason and moral principles it is a sacred duty not to remain neutral. This is the duty in particular of moral teachers. The evils in this world must be fought and great effort made to overcome them, otherwise the evils will overcome the good.

"After considering calmly with reason both sides of the question, we ought to give our moral support to whichever nations deserve it, as determined by our sense of justice, leaving out our commercial and possible pecuniary interests. . . . The pocket-book is most people's guide in an argument. To make this clear it is necessary to state that there is only one other guide and that is the general welfare of the people.

"Particularly 'The Open Court,'—as seeking for truth and ethical ideals—should give moral support to whichever nations deserve it. We can hardly arouse the enmity of a nation to a sufficient extent to be drawn into the conflict, by condemning it on sound moral principles; but this should cause its humiliation and shame.

"American neutrality has actually gone so far as to give active assistance to the Allies by selling war material to them. It is necessary to counteract this, as Germany appears to be the most innocent of the nations engaged in the war."

In reply to my critics I wish to state that I am not anti-British, but I blame the British government for making the war and deceiving the British citizens so as to make them hate Germany and fear its prosperity and increase of power. I protest against the war as much in the interest of Great Britain as of France, Germany and the Belgians who are victims of the bad policy of their government.

I have investigated the origin of the present European war, and have come to the conclusion that it was forced upon Germany, that Germany tried as far as possible to preserve peace. Considering the fact that Germany has been growing and expanding until the other nations of Europe became alarmed lest she surpass them in industry and power, the war was perhaps unavoidable. It was rather hard on Germany that the three biggest powers of Europe fell upon her simultaneously, but this concerted action was part of their agreement. It was the plan of the Triple Entente, and constituted their hope of victory. The war will be a test of Germany's strength and efficiency, and the test is great, very great.

The cause of Germany has been much misrepresented in the English speaking world but she has more friends than would appear from the opinions published in the newspapers. This is certainly true of the United States of America. I grant that many Anglo-Americans side with the Triple Entente, and most of England's friends are noisy in their denunciations of German militarism and of the tyranny of the Kaiser; they are untiring in their accusations of the German breach of neutrality, of the atrocities committed in Belgium, of the burning of Louvain and the destruction of the Rheims cathedral. The friends of Germany are quiet, but most of them are intense in their convictions and among them are the German-Americans.

The German-Americans.

The German-Americans stand by Germany because they feel that Germany and all that Germany represents in the history of the world, *das Deutschtum* or Germandom, the spirit of Germany itself, is at stake in the present crisis. The Germans in America are by no means blind in their judgment. They have not always stood by the fatherland, nor do they now without due consideration of the facts. They do not take sides simply because Germany has been their home and Germany is on one side while the rest of Europe is ranged on the other. They stand by their fatherland because they are fully and firmly convinced that their fatherland is in the right and that the others, especially the English, are in the wrong. The German-Canadians do not know the actual facts,

* The first article of the October "Open Court." The copy of the "Saturday Review" from which our article was taken did not conclude with the words: *"Germaniam esse delendam."*

† From "Die ersten Versuche deutscher Kolonialpolitik"; November 25, 1884, in Treitschke's "Deutsche Kämpfe," "Neue Folge," "Schriften zur Tagespolitik." Leipsic, 1896, p. 349.

they know only the British side of the war, so they appear to stand by England.

No better evidence of the objectivity of thought of the German-Americans can be furnished than their position during our war with Spain. After Admiral Dewey had taken Manila, the German navy under Admiral Dietrich entered Manila Harbor with a force superior to the American fleet and behaved in such a way that they practically challenged the American fleet to battle. Their attitude almost brought about a war between Germany and the United States, but in this dangerous crisis the German-Americans stood faithfully by their new home, the United States. They openly denounced the attitude of Dietrich, and the German government, noticing that it had made a serious mistake, made up for its blunder as well as it could. The Kaiser sent Prince Henry to the United States to show his good will and Prince Henry was well received here.

The story goes that once in the Kaiser's younger years when a visitor was announced to him as a German-American, he remarked that he knew Germans and he knew Americans, but German-Americans he knew not. The remark reflected the spirit of a certain portion of German officialdom, and alienated many German-Americans from the German government. They felt that the German government was too narrow to understand that we have a very strong representation of German nationality in the United States, just as we have traditions of all nations. We have Irish-Americans, Anglo-Americans, Franco-Americans, etc., and the German-Americans are certainly not the least among them. The Kaiser's hasty comment cost him a great deal of sympathy in the United States, for if the German-Americans feel that their Germandom is no longer recognized in Germany, they will naturally drop it and become purely American. To be sure, the German-Americans are Americans, but the patriotism of this country is not so narrow as to demand an absolute cutting off of former traditions. Every one in this country is welcome to become an American, and American patriotism is broad enough to cherish all the old traditions of other nationalities. Every one who comes to this country is expected to bring with him the best he has acquired in his old home and there is no need to lose his love of that home. We do not hate any nationality and every stranger can find a home here without abjuring his former fatherland. It is well recognized that the Germans make very good American citizens, while English-Americans are rare. English people who live in this country mostly retain their allegiance to the British crown.

Upon the whole, English people think quite disparagingly about America. I feel justified in calling it a prejudice, for it is in most cases a prejudice without reasonable foundation. They judge Americans after the type of the loud and uncultured specimens who force their presence into conspicuous evidence wherever they are, mostly so abroad, and they disregard the better classes. They forget that England, too, has specimens of whom the better Englishmen have no reason to be proud. All nationalities are pretty much alike in this respect, but it may be a good symptom of strength that the English are more English, and therefore more vigorous in national self-consciousness than any other nation. This impressed me particularly when the first Englishman I met here answered my assumption that he was naturalized since he had become a permanet resident of America. He said: "I have never foresworn my allegiance to Her Majesty, the Queen!" To become naturalized here necessarily includes that allegiance to a sovereign should be foresworn, but it does not mean a break with one's ancestral traditions. On the contrary, here in America we want every foreigner who comes to preserve everything of his old country that is good and introduce it into the American commonwealth we are building.

It is a requirement of the Greek church that any convert who enters its fold must curse his former faith in pretty vile terms, and from this rule not even a Czarina is excepted; for, as the story goes, it was quite hard on the wife of the present ruler of Russia, a German princess, to curse her old faith when joining the church of her husband, since she could not be exempted from this awful obligation. In court circles it is secretly asserted that the poor empress feels pangs of conscience whenever new misfortunes visit the empire, as if they came as a just punishment for her apostacy from the evangelical church. This demand of the Greek church is in line with old traditions and is deemed right in Russia; but everything is quite different in American patriotism, for here we are in the habit of cultivating all that is good and noble in other nations. Yea, our own patriotism is to be based on cosmopolitan grounds. We cherish the idea that universal love of all mankind should be compatible with the love of our own country, and so we believe that German-Americans may just as well live harmoniously in this country together with Irish-Americans or Anglo-Americans, with Franco-Americans or with emigrants from any country of the world.

Our American ideal has not been fully realized, for we must confess that we welcome only the European nationalities. Theoretically we draw no lines, but practically objections have been raised against the Asiatic races; and even in this case we feel the incongruity of measures against the immigration of special races for reasons which we must grant, but we need not enter into a discussion of them here. Here we are followed by Canada which discriminates against the Hindus. This is more illogical since they belong to the British empire as well as the Canadians themselves.

Germany is not without faults, and nobody is more critical than the Germans themselves unless it be the German-Americans. The wrong kind of militarism has sometimes made itself felt in Germany, and nobody has criticized its obnoxious traits more than the Germans. The German people themselves objected to the Zabern affair most severely, while in the Dreyfus case the French were drunk with militarism in favor of Esterhazy, the Russian spy, and no other nation has reacted against military superciliousness more strongly than the Germans.

The officialdom of Germany, the pride of men in high position, has proved offensive in many respects, but whenever it occurred publicly it has been more emphatically and effectively criticized by Germans than any similar attitude of other governments by their own people. On the contrary, most of the objectionable deeds of other governments have passed by unnoticed. In Russia all objections to the tyranny of the government are suppressed with iron severity. Nor are the French and English governments without blame in this regard.

What people in the common walks of life call "bureaucracy" in lower German officialdom, is often represented in our country by a tyranny of petty officials, and strange to say, Germany has often been denounced on account of its "intolerable bureaucracy." We have reasons to envy Germany's bureaucratic institutions, for Germany has attained the best and the most efficient service at the lowest cost by granting her lower officials positions for life on condition of unflinching honesty and good behavior. German officials are strict in enforcing rules, and punctual in their duties, but they have little or no opportunity to tyrannize any one. Reformers have often endeavored approximately to introduce one or another feature of German bureaucracy here, but upon the whole our political bosses oppose reforms of this kind. It is precisely in the distribution of bureaucratic positions that the power lies by which political leaders are able to pay their supporters for campaign assistance.

The lack of religious liberty in Germany is still to be lamented, and I can tell instances from my own experience; but I have discovered that conditions are worse in England and even to some extent here in America.

There is no need of entering into further details. The Kaiser's speeches were criticized, and not least severely by the Germans themselves, until he mended his ways. We may incidentally add that what he really meant was by no means as terrible as his words sounded, and it is sure that if his successor were to rule in the spirit in which the imperial speeches have been interpreted, Germany would soon change into a republic. However, as long as the coming Hohenzollerns will fill their high office in the sense of Frederick the Great, as the first servants of the state, they will never be a danger to liberty nor need they fear a revolution.

Other faults noticeable in modern Germany are perhaps common to mankind in other portions of the world, including England. These are the snobbishness of some rich, the increasing indulgence of pleasure-seekers, a deteriorated taste in literature, a preference for Bismarck's kind of *Realpolitik*, the loud swagger of false militarism and the insolence of officialdom. But wherever these unpleasant features appear in Germany they are not a whit worse than in other countries, Great

Britain not excepted. Certainly all these faults are no reason to make war on a country. Any enumeration of them can only be— and indeed, as I understand the situation, is meant to be—a mere excuse of English people for endorsing the government's action in making war.

English Views.

The English periodical "The Nation"[4] notes the striking resemblance between the German mind as shown in German papers and the English mind as exhibited in the English press. In both countries there prevails "the unanimous confidence in the justice of the war, the conviction that it was forced upon them by the base and treacherous designs of their enemies, and the confident assurance that their cause will be triumphant in the end." After quoting some German verses and characterizing some German opinions, the unsigned article continues: "What a farrago of hypocrisy! English readers will be disposed to say. Yet it is impossible to read such writing without recognizing that the writers are saying what they believe." After noting the views of Romain Rolland and Gerhardt Hauptmann (the latter a severe critic of German officialdom and militarism) we read on: "How can such men be blind to what appears to us the hard facts regarding German aggressiveness and German atrocities and lawlessness?" And again further down: "However preposterous it sounds to us, for the German people this is a defensive war, primarily against the long-laid designs of France and Russia, though the bitterest feelings are directed against England for our 'treachery.' It simply enrages English readers to read expressions of pity for Belgium from Germans, for the people they have so foully and brutally maltreated."

Has the author of this article in "The Nation" never seen the vindication of the Germans by the American reporters, Messrs, Bennett, McCutcheon, Irvin S. Cobb, Harry Hansen, and Roger Lewis? No one who knows them doubts their honesty and impartiality. English people do not seem to have seen the statement signed by them in common,[5] nor any of their descriptions of the war. So our author continues:

"But how is the ordinary German to know the crimes he has committed? The 'Berliner Tageblatt' is quite a respectable paper. It devotes some space to atrocities. But they are assigned to Russians in East Prussia, to Belgian peasants and occasionally to Frenchmen. German soldiers are so well disciplined that they do not commit atrocities! It is the enemy that uses dumdum bullets, fires on white flags, and abuses the Red Cross, mutilates or assassinates wounded soldiers, shells ambulances, assaults women and children, sets villages on fire for sheer wantonness, and brutalizes in every way the art of war! So far as material destruction is concerned, we have the evidence of the photographer and the admission of the German commanders that these things have been done in the course of the Belgian invasion. But Germans at home believe that these charges brought against them are wicked calumnies, the products of lie-factories in Paris and London.' They conduct the war in a civilized fashion: but those Russians, Belgians, and French are capable of anything!"

The photograph of a ruined house is no evidence of Germany's brutality, and we know very well that war is hell. Blame the men who have started the war, not the men who expose their lives in battle; and remember that many houses and beautiful trees (as for instance in Malines) have been destroyed by the Belgians, not by the Germans. The photograph shows neither the author of the war nor the men who have made the ruins.

In explanation of the unreliability of photographs I will insert here a little story told me by a German-American who had served in the German army in 1870-71. His name is Windmiller and he was on his return to his American home with his wife and daughter after having visited the fatherland and some battlefields where he had faced the French mitrailleuse. He had lain in a house with one lieutenant of his sharpshooter batallion, for the purpose of keeping off some French assailants. The two held the enemy at a distance by keeping up a brisk fire so as to give the impression that there were great numbers of them. As a result they drew upon themselves the hostile fire from different quarters and even of artillery. The house was often hit but its two defenders remained unharmed. Upon his visit, Mr. Windmiller found the house preserved in the same condition he had left it in with all the marks of the French bullets. He climbed on an opposite wall to photograph the place, but an old woman told him that he could buy a picture of the house in the village store, and truly there he found it printed on a postcard with an inscription which declared that it had been "défendue par *des braves francstireurs*." Pictures do not prove the stories told about them.

In America the opinion is often strongly expressed that it is a right of every one, of civilians and also of women, to attack an invading enemy, to shoot at hostile troops from their windows, from ambush, from anywhere. But we answer that if this be the case, if private persons take part in the war, they forfeit their right as neutrals to the enemies' protection of their lives and property; and it will be a matter of course that war will revert to its original savagery. If civilians take part in the combat the invading enemy will be forced in sheer self-defense to extend the war to civilians.

Before condemning the punishment of snipers, please take the trouble to read the reports printed in German papers about Belgian civilians' participation in the war, and consider that German officers are human beings possessed of a deep-seated love of their men. What are they to do if they enter a village and are suddenly attacked from all sides by snipers hidden in surrounding houses? I saw the letter of a captain published somewhere who reported that he had lost more men in such a situation than in the open battlefield. How would one of our most kind-hearted humane readers act if he were in a similar position? Perhaps he would say: "A goodly number of my men have been killed and wounded; the dead have gone to heaven. It is Christian to forgive the enemy, and I will bless the people who have done the deed."

* * * *

Another English opinion appeared in the "Saturday Review" as long ago as February, 1896. It is written from a "biological" standpoint; it makes a plea for the Russians and the French and is important because it is this view which has directed British politics, which created the Triple Entente and caused the British government to conspire with Belgium in secret treaties by which England was in honor bound to begin the war. This article was written for Britons alone, not for Germans nor for Americans. In its closing paragraph it insists first on imperialism ("federate our colonies"); second, on the defeat of Germany; and, third, readiness to fight America. It is reprinted on another page of this issue.

The article is apparently written by the same author who a year later wrote the other article of the "Saturday Review," republished as the first article of the October number of "The Open Court." The underlying ideas are quite similar and here also the principle of extermination is taught as the most important factor in the progress of evolution. We read:[6] "Were every German to be wiped out tomorrow, there is no English trade, no English pursuit that would not immediately expand. Were every Englishman to be wiped out tomorrow, the Germans would gain in proportion. . . . One or the other has to go; one or the other will go."

How untrue this principle is we shall see later on. England is even now suffering from the war by having her trade with Germany ruined.

The Bishop of Carlisle, the Right Reverend J. W. Diggle, D.D., must have read the article from the biological point of view. In an article in the "Hibbert Journal" of October, 1914, "The Ethics of War," he says: "Biological science affirms that in the animal world the highest types have been evolved out of pitiless struggles." The Lord Bishop seems to accept this affirmation as a fact and declares "that war, both in its roots and fruits, is evil." But he takes comfort in the "most encouraging fact that, under the moral government of the world, even evil can be compelled to bring forth good. . . . And the unparalleled crime of the crucifixion is still leading humanity forward toward its final redemption. These facts are very strange and deep."

Mr. L. P. Jacks publishes his opinion editorially in the same number of the "Hibbert Journal," under the strange title, "Mechanism, Diabolism and the War," and we quote the following sentences:

"Every one who reflects on the present state of Europe must feel that he is

[4] October 17, 1914, p. 59.

[5] For their statement see "The European War," in the October "Open Court," p. 630.

[6] Compare this with the sentence quoted in the middle of page 608 in the October "Open Court."

in the presence of something anomalous, self-contradictory and absurd. . . . Intellect, trained for the discovery of truth by elaborate systems of education, takes service under the Father of Lies, calls itself 'diplomacy,' and lures nations to ruin. . . . What is the force that unites us? The sense of common danger, the call of common duty, the certainty of common suffering, the memory of a common past—each plays a part. . . . Having regard to all the circumstances under which this war has been forced upon us, I cannot doubt that it may be converted into a great moral opportunity. . . . The primary feature will be the reawakening of the moral consciousness of the people. . . . Luxury, frivolity, and class selfishness will receive a check. . . . We shall all know better than before what it is to have a man's part in the world. . . . Our religion also will be less voluble and more sincere; we shall have seen something of the terrors of the Lord."

Sir Henry Jones in the same periodical expresses his conviction in the words: "This war has come upon us as a duty." . . . "The British people as a whole . . . have gone forth into this struggle with an open brow and a clear conscience." "All the same, the substantial truth is that the German people regards itself as a nation with a mission, and we will do well to remember that its conscience also is in the war."

German policy is thus characterized: "It is the reasoned belief in territorial brigandage and in the methods of barbarism, provided they are employed by and for the sake of the German nation. . . . The pathos of the situation is overwhelming."

On another page T. W. Rolleston speaks of "the megalomania of Germany, or more strictly of Prussia, which is now forcing such terrible issues on Europe, her towering ambitions, her attitude of cynical disregard of every national or individual right which might stand in the way of these ambitions or clog their flight towards the goal of world-power."

English Critics of British Politics.

It does credit to the English people that there are independent men among them who do not endorse their country's war policy and who denounce the government for having started the war. Best known of these critics are the three cabinet members who resigned because of their disapproval.

We will here quote two other opinions, one of the Hon. Bertrand Russell, as reprinted in the "Cambridge Magazine," from the "Labour Leader," the other of Arthur Ponsonby published in "The Nation" (London) of August 22, 1914, p. 763.

The former blames as the cause of the war the intolerable dread of one another in which the people of Europe have been living. Mr. Russell says:

"In every nation, by the secrecy of diplomacy, by co-operation of the press with the manufacturers of armaments, by the desire of the rich and the educated to distract the attention of the working classes from social injustice, suspicion of other nations is carefully cultivated, until a state of nightmare terror is produced, and men are prepared to attack the enemy at once, before he is ready to inflict the ruin which he is believed to be contemplating. In sudden vertigo, the nations rush into the dreaded horror; reason is called treachery, mercy is called weakness, and universal delirium drives the world to destruction.

"All the nations suffer by the war, and knew in advance that they would suffer. In all the nations, the bulk of ordinary men and women must have dreaded war. Yet all felt the war thrust upon them by the absolute necessity of preserving themselves from invasion and national extinction. Austria-Hungary, a kind of outpost of western civilization among the turbulent Balkan states, felt its existence threatened by revolutionary Slavs within its own borders, supported by the aggressive and warlike Servians on its frontier. Russia, being of the same race and religion as the Servians, felt bound in honor to protect them against Austria. Germany, knowing that the defeat of Austria would leave it at the mercy of Russia, felt bound to support Austria. France, from dread of a repetition of 1870, had allied itself with Russia, and was compelled for self-preservation to support Russia as soon as Germany was involved. And England, believing that the German navy was designed to secure our downfall, had felt impelled through fear to form the *entente* with France and Russia.

"If, when this war is ended, the world is to enjoy a secure peace, the nations must be relieved of the intolerable fear which has weighed them down and driven them into the present horror. Not only must armaments be immensely reduced, but the machinery of mobilization must be everywhere rendered more cumbrous and more democratic, the diplomacy must be conducted more publicly and by men more in touch with the people, and arbitration treaties must bind nations to seek a peaceful settlement of their differences before appealing to brute force. All these things can be secured after the present war if the democracy is insistent; none will be secured if the negotiations are left in the hands of the men who made the war."

Mr. Ponsonby's letter reads in extract thus:

"I am not an uncompromising 'peace-at-any-price,' 'stop-the-war' advocate, but am as jealous of my country's honor as any one that could be found. Nothing matters while our national safety is threatened, and I ask myself: . . . Would it not be better to be silent and so tacitly express approval of the past policy of the government, and applaud the self-laudatory articles with which the press is filled? It would certainly be very much easier, and I wish to goodness I could do it.

"But principles I believe in cannot be dispelled at will, and do not allow me any peace of mind. Inconvenient questions keep on presenting themselves to me and waiting for an answer. . . . I am not going to embark on a long-reasoned argument which cannot be compressed into the limits of a letter. I will simply ask some questions and answer them with a single monosyllable.

"Have the Government during the past six years joined in the insane competition in armaments, and led the way in matters of expenditures? *Yes.* . . .

"Have they consistently advocated supported, and encouraged the policy of the balance of power, which divided Europe into two hostile camps, producing high tension and possible outbreak of war at every diplomatic dispute that arose? *Yes.* . . .

"So far from the correspondence in the White Papers being the cause of the war, does it not clearly show that our previous policy had committed us, and we were simply entangled in the meshes of our own creation? *Yes.*

"Is it right or even advisable to make binding engagements with other nations behind the backs of the people in secret? *No.*

"Did the Government declare in the most explicit way that we were free and unfettered in the event of war, when all the time British and French naval experts were drawing up plans for mutual defense and assistance? *Yes.*

"Should we have declared war on France if she had found it incumbent on her for the sake of national safety, to send her army across the Belgian frontier? *No.*

"Did Germany know from the first that we were bound to support France and did she want to fight us? *No.* . . .

"Did the Prime Minister in referring to what he called the 'infamous proposal,' at the same time draw attention to the German Ambassador's conciliatory request at a later date that we should 'formulate conditions on which we would remain neutral'? *No.*

"Is not Germany's chief fear, which has been enormously increased of late, a Slav inroad from Russia? *Yes.*

"Does our support of Russia mean the strengthening of Russian autocracy and Russian militarism, and the consequent check of the development and enlightenment of the Russian people? *Yes.*

"Will Russian success mean a further acquisition of territory by Russia in Europe, and is not this very undesirable? *Yes.*

"Is there a vestige of foundation, in view of the hopeless strategic position in which Germany now finds herself, for the idea that this is all the outcome of a German plot against this country? *No.*

"Is it possible or desirable that the German empire should be shattered and her national expansion forever prevented? *No.*

"Is the capture of all German colonies likely to make a passive and submissive Germany in the future? *No.*

"Was there before the outbreak of the war any animosity among the British people against the Germans? *No.*

"Is there reason to suspect that in the official world an anti-German policy has been steadily pursued for some time past? *Yes.*

"Is it not deplorable that when Great Britain is plunged into the most devastating war the world has ever seen, we should none of us know clearly what we are fighting for? *Yes.*

"Are the peoples of Europe going to be massacred in hundreds of thousands, and are incalculable numbers of non-combatants going to be reduced to misery and ruin only because a few ministers, diplomats and monarchs have quarrelled? *Yes.*

"Are the victors going to gain anything, either materially or morally by this war? *No.*"

England may be proud of the fact that these isolated criticisms have been published in England.

Twelve Points Assured.

I repeat here that I shall change my opinion and gladly confess it publicly if I can be convinced of being mistaken. I deem the following facts assured:

1. Pan-Slavism is a movement instigated and directed by Russia. Its true aim is to confederate all Slavs under Russian rule, and since many Slavs, including the Poles, the Bulgarians and the Bosnians, are opposed to Russian rule and against Pan-Slavism, the Serbs are its main supporters outside Russia. A victory of Pan-Slavism would not only doom Poland to a continuance of her slavery but also deal a death-blow to Austria-Hungary, because there are numerous Slavs living in that country intermingled with Germans, Magyars, the Saxons of Transylvania and Roumanians. The present war is a conflict between Pan-Slavism and Germanism in which Great Britain, against her real interest supports the former.

2. As the Russians have developed a system of international intrigue, mainly against the English, and have employed spies more than any other nation, so the Serbs deemed it proper to fight their real or supposed enemies by assassins, and were encouraged by the Russian government.

3. Both Servia's method of practicing assassination and Russia's support of it were carried on officially, even the Crown Prince of Servia being implicated in suspicion, and so Russia was in honor bound to protect Servia when Austria-Hungary demanded a thorough investigation into the conspiracy which caused the death of the archduke at Sarajevo. However, neither Servia nor Russia could afford to let the truth of the details become fully known and established.

4. The Germanic races detest assassination. It should be remembered that when Napoleon I crushed Germany, the German people rose against him and beat him in an honest and open fight at Leipsic and at Waterloo after several failures such as Schill's rebellion, but not even one attempt was made to assassinate the tyrant. It seems quite unintelligible that England, a country more Germanic in blood than Germany, could support or sympathize with the Russo-Servian cause which spells ruin first to Austria-Hungary and then also to Germany, and there is but one excuse: England always plays the protector of small states. The point may briefly be summed up that while Austria-Hungary meant to extirpate assassination, Russia and England insisted that Servia's sovereignty should not be interfered with; its government should be allowed to continue its policy which Austria-Hungary and Germany regard as criminal.

5. Russia continued to mobilize in spite of official assurances that it was not doing so, and Germany came to the conclusion that war had become unavoidable.

6. The Kaiser made vain efforts by a personal correspondence with Czar Nicholas and King George of England to avoid the war, or at least to isolate it as much as possible, but Russia had promised to support Servia and England was "in honor bound" to help Russia and France.

7. Germany had positive information that the French intended to advance into Germany through Belgium and since she was threatened by Russia and France at the same time, determined to prevent the French plan. Germany regretted that she was compelled to break Belgian neutrality but was fully justified later on by finding positive evidence that the Belgians had broken neutrality long before a German soldier set foot on Belgian ground.

8. Germany's breach of Belgian neutrality was made England's pretext for a declaration of war—a very questionable act in consideration of the fact that England herself had been guilty of a breach of Belgian neutrality. We grant, however, that England was "in honor bound" to come to Belgium's assistance, on account of her former agreements with Belgium.

9. From the standpoint of Belgium it is to be regretted that England did not protect her in her extremity as Belgium had a right to expect, but England was not sufficiently prepared for the war she had declared, except perhaps on sea. Apparently she expected that her continental allies would be sufficient to crush Germany.

10. France went into the war because she nourished her old grudge against Germany and demanded revenge. She believed she had considerably improved her army, especially her artillery, and was convinced that Germany had remained stagnant; at the same time she felt assured that Russia with her overwhelming numbers would soon enough invade Germany on the east and take Berlin.

11. England, jealous of Germany's expansion and determined not to allow any further increase of her navy, had concluded the Triple Entente with France and Russia and felt in honor bound to join the belligerents, thinking it would be safe—an easy task.

12. Germany has suffered much in former centuries from incursions of her neighbors, especially the French. Under the pressure of repeated and unprovoked unjust attacks Germany has been compelled to unite into an empire and introduce a well-organized institution of self-defense, recently called "militarism." Through many sad experiences, Germany has learned that the best defense is to take the offensive and strike the first blow. This foresight on the part of Germany has been called "aggressiveness." As soon as the Kaiser recognized that war was inevitable and that the Triple Entente was determined to crush Germany, he acted promptly and led his army against his enemies.

These are the twelve main points that characterize the origin of the war and we will here only add that the Belgian civilian population took part in the fight on a large scale, sometimes even in a most barbarous fashion, so that the German troops frequently suffered heavier losses by sniping than in battle, and this naturally led to severe punishments of the guilty. These reprisals were called "atrocities" and are stoutly believed by the supporters of the British cause, although they are sufficiently refuted by the Round Robin of the five American reporters.

Was the War Unavoidable?

War was avoidable if the belligerents had used any sense at all, common sense or foresight, or wisdom. The Czar would have kept peace, so far as he personally was concerned, but in his correspondence with the Kaiser he speaks of the pressure exercised upon him, and this pressure comes from those around him, the archdukes headed by his uncle Nicolaus Nikolajewitch. The Kaiser tried his best to avert the calamity of fighting all Europe. Nevertheless, as soon as he saw that his enemies were determined on war he no longer hesitated but took a most vigorous initiative according to his old Prussian traditions.

It appears that Russia would not have ventured into the war if England had not promised to join. Statements have been made to this effect, but documentary evidence is still lacking. We deem it probable.

One thing may safely be asserted, that whereas the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy was intended to preserve the present status of Europe, the Triple Entente of England with France and Russia meant war. It was a federation of three positively antagonistic races made for the purpose of combining these three most unlike and mutually uncongenial nationalities to serve on common hatred. The aim of the three was to crush Germany, and it can scarcely be doubted that English statecraft is the moving power of the whole scheme. Thus it seems assured that war became unavoidable at the moment when the Triple Entente was concluded.

England has always been anxious to rule the seas and her European policy has always pursued the aim of antagonizing the main powers on the continent and posing as protectress of the small states. She has been especially careful not to let the coast opposite England fall into powerful hands, so an attack on Belgium appeared to her like an attack on Great Britain.

Here lies the defect in English statecraft. Either England should have sent the English army at once to Belgium for the sake of protecting Belgium efficiently against a German invasion, or she should have advised Belgium to allow the Germans to pass through the country on their promise to respect Belgian independence. In this latter case the Germans could not have taken the Belgian coast for the purpose of attacking England. As matters stand now, English diplomats have ruined Belgium and forced Germany into a hostile attitude towards England. The statesmen of England thought they could afford to venture

into a war when Germany was surrounded by enemies on both the east and west, and England would thereby maintain her supremacy on the seas.

Speaking of the wars of England since Queen Elizabeth, Field-Marshal Earl Roberts expresses his view in the "Hibbert Journal" (October, 1914), as follows:

"This struggle has always the same underlying motive—viz., the determination on the part of England that no single state shall be allowed to upset the balance of power and to dominate the western half of Europe. As soon as any state attempts this, and then gains possession of, or tries to establish itself in, the Low Countries, then England is compelled to take up arms.

"In Queen Elizabeth's reign Spain was the powerful and aggressive nation of western Europe, and she was established in the Netherlands; and when the great Armada sailed the chief design of the whole operation was that this powerful fleet should gain command of the English Channel, pick up the Duke of Parma's trained veterans in the Low Countries, and escort them to the English coast. The real menace to England lay in the fact that Spanish power was established in the Low Countries. The main purpose of Marlborough's famous campaigns was to check the ambitious designs of the French under Louis XIV, and the great battles of Ramilies, Malplaquet and Oudenarde were fought in the Low Countries.

"The war against the French Republic was undertaken because the French had seized the mouth of the Scheldt; the fighting began in Flanders in 1793, and ended at Waterloo, a few miles south of Brussels, in 1815.

"At the beginning of the twentieth century we find ourselves engaged in a colossal struggle against Germany, for she is now the strong and aggressive power which seeks to dominate the western half of Europe, and has, we hope only for a time, established herself in Belgium.

"If Germany succeeds in maintaining her hold on Belgium, Holland and Denmark will pass under her sway. Then her seaboard will extend in one unbroken line from Memel, along the southern shore of the Baltic, round Denmark, and then by Holland and Belgium to the shores of the English Channel itself. In Holland and Belgium she will find great naval bases close to our own shores. The hardy sailors and fishermen of Denmark and Holland —seamen little, if at all, inferior to our own—will be taken to man the warships of the German navy, and the naval competition between Germany and ourselves will become many times more severe than it is at present."

Incidentally we will say in comment on Earl Roberts' historical reflections that the victories which in England are commonly attributed to Marlborough were won by Eugene, Prince of Savoy, and the battle of Waterloo was lost by Wellington when the Prussian army under Blücher appeared in time to save the day and rout Napoleon.

The English denounce German militarism as barbarous; but their "naval supremacy" is considered as unobjectionable. Says Earl Roberts: "The British Isles are the heart of the empire, parts of which are scattered all over the face of the globe. These scattered portions of the empire, though sundered by the Seven Seas, are kept together by the British navy which guards those seas. Naval supremacy is therefore absolutely necessary for us if we are to maintain the empire."

By "empire" Earl Roberts means imperialism, a union of England with her colonies which would make the colonies obedient dependencies in such a way that if the British premier decides on war, Africa, India, Australia with New Zealand, and Canada shall be drawn into the struggle. The same proposition is made in the "Saturday Review" article of 1896, cited above and reprinted on another page, where the demand is expressed by the words "to federate." We remember that imperialism in Germany has been bitterly condemned by British authors, but for the maintenance of Great Britain's dominion all over the world the federation of all colonies into an empire is an indispensable principle; and further the British empire, in this sense of imperialism, presupposes Great Britain's naval supremacy.

In addition, the powers on the continent ought to be equally balanced; Earl Roberts quotes from Lord Milner: "But in order to help maintain that balance we require an army, and no puny army." This means "militarism." Militarism is to be destroyed in Germany, but England ought to have it.

And we agree with Earl Roberts. If militarism had existed in Great Britain as it exists in Germany, if every Englishman had to serve in the army, Sir Edward Grey would not have ventured into this war so unconcernedly as he did, and for this reason, if not for others as well, it is highly desirable that the German system of militarism should be introduced into Great Britain.

If we grant the premises from which Earl Roberts argues, that Britain dominance over the world (or, as he more guardedly expresses it, her "naval supremacy") is "absolutely necessary" for the British, his warlike attitude is quite natural, and, both from the old standpoint of Macchiavellian politics and from the biological point of view, the policy of the English government would be quite intelligible. The British cabinet held these views and so war was unavoidable.

But is the biological standpoint really true, and is it wise to act accordingly? It risks England's present position by a war which might hasten the crisis with exactly the evil result that English statesmen intend to avoid.

A Struggle for Leadership.

There is a certain justice in English ambition to keep ahead in the struggle for leadership in the world. Every nation has a right to do her best to excel all the others and be the first among them. It is the old principle taught in ancient Greece where Homer thus expressed it in his Iliad:

"Always to be in the lead and to be to the others superior."

England has been the dominant nation in the world and maintains her prominence by ruling the seas: but two rivals are slowly growing stronger with the probability that each of them will take a place besides Great Britain, and these are Germany and the United States. Should their growth be tolerated? Should not the increase of their power be stopped in time before it is too late? From the standpoint of the English author who expresses the biological view, Great Britain should be on guard. Russia is not dangerous; France is not dangerous; no other smaller power can become dangerous. There are only two rivals, Germany and America. Our English author says directly *Germania est delenda*, and implies as the future aim, *America est delenda*. Is not this principle right? Is not the maxim of Homer both true and noble? And is not the struggle for existence a law of nature fully proved by science?

Britannia still rules the seas; and we can very well understand that she would and should do anything, even risk a war, to maintain her supremacy. We grant that she has a right to do so, but we believe that she has not taken the right way to carry out her determination.

England has done wrong in forcing the war upon Germany, and though the moment is comparatively well chosen, though Germany is at present in a most precarious position, it seems clear to me that England is greatly endangered and has herself to blame if she loses her world dominion in the struggle.

Has not Great Britain's action in declaring war on Germany fully justified Germany in building a navy? Without any cause of her own for war England joined Germany's enemies and destroyed her large trade over sea through the use of superior naval power. England's statesmen know perfectly well that Germany's breach of Belgian neutrality was excusable and fully justified, but they claim that the war was deliberately forced upon England by Germany's aggressiveness because Germany has been from time to time increasing not only her army but also her navy, and especially after the establishment of the Triple Entente. Her navy is now almost half as large as the British navy, and according to English opinion this is reason enough to claim that Germany has forced England to begin the war and to blame her for aggressiveness. Says Earl Roberts: "The agreements between Great Britain and France were signed in London 1904" . . . the "good understanding between Great Britain, France and Russia was completed in 1907," and in another place he points out the great fault of Germany, saying:

"The German Army was increased in 1912, and again in 1913, to such an extent that the peace strength expanded from about 650,000 in 1911 to 822,000 in 1913; and it is a fact worthy of note that this addition of 170,000 men to the numbers with the colors—an addition just equal to our Expeditionary Force —was made almost immediately after the Morocco crisis of 1911, when the British Government had shown its determination to stand by the side of France against any attempt of German aggression."

So it is apparent that in British opinion Germany bears all the guilt. The Triple Entente succeeded in thwarting Germany's attempt to receive a portion of Morocco which the French reserved for themselves. The English succeeded in gaining the good will of the strongest nations against Germany, and Germany deemed it wise to strengthen her defense. If Germany had remained as weak as in 1806, England would have condescended to patronize the German people as she patronizes all weak nations, for instance Servia and Belgium.

England has always been an enemy of every nation that might become a competitor of her naval supremacy, but small nations enjoy her ostensible friendship. A small nation is one that could never gain headway on the ocean, never build a navy and never have a chance to dominate the world. England's love of small nations has always been praised by the British as her benevolent humanitarianism, as her kindness for the downtrodden, but closely considered it is due to selfishness, for these smaller nations have always given pretexts for England to promote her own interest. So, for instance, Belgium is now claimed to be a protegée of England, but in fact Belgium has been utilized as English territory on the continent, and at the instigation of English statesmen the Belgians have been fighting the battles of England in the vain confidence that England was defending their cause.

Poor Belgium is a victim of English politics, for the English have not given them enough assistance to protect Belgian territory from the horrors of war. The people living on the same stretch of country, formerly connected with Holland under the name of the Netherlands, were once a most powerful seafaring state, but England waged a war on these Netherlands for no other reason than because the country had become almost as powerful as England on the seas. But no nation may rule the waves but England, and so the Netherlands fell a victim to English politics and lost valuable colonies beyond the seas. Now it is Germany's turn to have her navy destroyed, and English jingoes do not hesitate to announce the United States of America as the next power to be overcome in order to preserve for the future that supremacy on the seas which is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the British empire.

The Higher View.

We grant that life is struggle and struggle cannot be avoidable in life. We grant that struggle implies war and that under certain circumstances war is unavoidable. Therefore every nation (our own United States by no means excepted) is in duty bound to be always ready for self-defense, and this implies militarism. But we maintain that the fierceness of the struggle, its suffering, its unnecessary pangs and pains can be eliminated, or at any rate reduced and this is done in the progress of civilization. Unnecessary wars can be avoided, and they will be avoided not so much by humaneness and kindheartedness as by intelligence. Humaneness does not work, because a genuine true humaneness, a humaneness associated with intelligence, is too rare, and is practically pure sentiment which does not affect the broad masses, for we must not forget that mankind is brutish, not humane. The salvation of mankind can be brought about only by education, by teaching how the worst ills of life can be avoided, and that much of the evil which people suffer is of their own making.

Why was this or that war unavoidable? Because the people who started it did not possess sufficient insight to recognize its inadvisability. To speak plainly, the stupidity of the leading men is the ultimate cause of a war.

Take an example.

The war of secession was actually unavoidable because at the time the people did not understand the slave question. First, there were some idealists who believed in the liberty, equality and brotherhood of man, who thought the negro was as much a child of God as the white man, and slavery a most damnable institution. I shall not enter into details which modify the ideal; suffice it to say that if men are equal before the law it does not mean that they are of the same worth and value. Those who felt instinctively the errors of the ideal saw the reverse aspect of the statement and claimed that the land of cotton needed workers in the fields and that the maintenance of slavery was a question of life or death for the southerners. The difference of opinion caused the demand for secession. Hence the war was unavoidable.

Now let us assume that one among the leading men had understood the slave question, and especially this phase of it; while slavery seems to be a special phase in the economical development of mankind, it always abolishes itself when the time comes. Slavery is a benefit not only for the slave owner, but as a rule also for the slave, who is incapable of making a living for himself. The slave owner has to provide for him, has to care for his future and in this way takes many burdens off his shoulder which he is as yet incapable of carrying. To keep slaves is expensive, and as soon as there is a sufficient amount of free labor that can do the work more cheaply, slavery will die out rapidly.

This statement is simple and undeniable; and it is a fact that no one would now be willing, even if it were not against the law, to reintroduce slavery in the southern states because free labor is cheaper than the maintenance of slaves, and from this point of view we will learn that slavery would in time have abolished itself and the abolition of slavery would possibly and probably have come about gradually and at a more seasonable period.

If this truth had been known and appreciated there would have been no necessity for our war of secession. Ignorance made the war unavoidable. I do not mean to say that the people were unintelligent and stupid in every respect, they were as clever and intelligent as people are nowadays; but they were ignorant on one point which happened to be the silent issue of the day. Their excitement blinded them to the truth that would have been their salvation.

The present war is unavoidable in the same sense, but it could have been avoided if the men who started it had been possessed of more intelligence on the point at issue. God did not endow them with that wisdom, and so I pray that their stupidity may be regarded as an extenuation of their crime—but the results are terrible.

What is the reason of the war, the underlying ground that makes it unavoidable? I do not now mean the occasion. The occasion is the assassination of the archduke and the right of Servia, on the plea of her sovereignty, to have an investigation of the plot prevented. The real reason of the war is Great Britain's fear that Germany might grow too powerful. The jealousy that has developed between the two nations is founded on their rivalry. The author of the English article in the "Saturday Review" written from a "biological" point of view said that Germany is at present the only dangerous competitor and in the future the next will be America. If the laws of nature can be relied upon the struggle is unavoidable. Men impressed with the truth of this idea have guided the destiny of England; they brought about the Triple Entente, they planned to utilize neutral Belgium as a basis for a British attack on Germany. Germany knew that the war with England was threatening and she began to prepare for it, nor can we blame her for doing so. She began to build a navy which, though very much weaker in numbers than the English navy, is by no means inferior in quality.

Now the question arises, was the war truly unavoidable under these circumstances? I answer, Yes. It was unavoidable if we grant that the men who brought it about were blessed with that gift of God we have characterized as a lack of intelligence. These men are no doubt very clever and bright in every other respect, but they lack a deeper insight into what I call the higher view, which throws light on the salient point at issue. The present war could have been avoided if the men who made it had understood the law of progress in the history of the world; but the avoidance of unnecessary war will be possible only when the leading men of the world's affairs will take the higher view of politics and learn the law of civilization by which the unnecessary ills of struggle may be eliminated.

First I would tell the man who wrote *Germania est delenda*, that England would not gain by the destruction of Germany. On the contrary she would lose, as she actually has lost now in many quarters through destruction of her own commerce with Germany. But I want to make another more important point.

Suppose I were the owner of a drugstore doing a lucrative business and just when I felt that I had established a good business, which practically amounted to a monopoly, another drug store was established by an enterprising young competitor across the street, and at a further distance in the American quarter of the town a third one was starting in business. My business had become somewhat stationary, we might even say stagnant, but I had a hard time in establishing it and felt that it was my own and that my competitors had no right to interfere with

my trade. If I could do away with them, there was no branch in my store which would not become more prosperous. By killing a competitor I would certainly get rid of him, but would gain nothing. The shop would remain as sloven as before. In order to make true progress I must imitate my rival's progressiveness, must improve my methods and do better than he! To kill people is against the law in a civilized society, but sovereign states do not recognize any international law, and the sword must decide questions of right. So it has been in the past and I fear it will still continue for a long time. Here comes in the duty of developing manhood, or, to use the modern term, "militarism."

In history, the progressive nation has generally been superior in intelligence to her powerful aggressor. Take for instance the world power of Persia and little Greece, the former inexhaustible in resources, the latter inspired by ideals representing a definite stage in the development of mankind, the study of which was called later on *humaniora*. The situation was absolutely hopeless for Greece on any human consideration; a miracle only could save her from the teeming millions of the Persian hosts, and yet the miracle happened. Greece came out victorious. It is true the stupid rivalry between Sparta and Athens ruined Greece, but the spirit of Greece lived in the Macedonian hero Alexander, and he made Greek civilization triumph over the older culture of Asia.

Numbers of soldiers are very important in battle, the quantity of tonnage is a great factor in a naval encounter, but after all, quality is decisive, the quality of soldiers and sailors, of ships and armament, and above all of intelligence.

I wonder whether the English cabinet has taken that point into consideration. It does not seem so, for they were apparently unprepared for the occurrences in the war. They are now clamoring for "an army and a large army." Why did they not train an army before they declared war? Because they were so uninformed about Germany that they regarded her army an easy prey to superior numbers.

And what constitutes Germany's strength? It is the German spirit, German grit, German intelligence, it is quality which we might characterize in the word "Germandom," to translate what the Germans call *Deutschthum*.

Germandom, or *Deutschthum*, is a peculiar phase in the development of mankind, and its essential feature may be characterized as objectivity. I do not mean to say that objectivity is absent in England, in France, in the United States and other countries, but it is more predominant in Germany and constitutes an aim, an ideal, a state of mind to be desired for certain purposes and is closely connected with the efflorescence of science.

Science is the ideal of the present age, and it is best realized and most widespread in Germany. It is there applied to practical life more than in any other country. German education is superior and the Germans are more quick-witted and versatile than the English.

England has not been so progressive as Germany. A comparison of the two countries does not show England in a favorable light. France has improved wonderfully, but not as much as Germany. The wealth of England is still enormous, but it is not well distributed. There is the rich aristocracy and the wretched population of London's east end, whose destitution can nowhere be equaled either in France or Germany. It even seems as if every conservative man was shrinking from having any change introduced into the social system. A great scientist in England once told me: "We make no changes because one change might lead to others and our whole system of social arrangements might collapse." What would appear as a reform in the beginning might end in an utter breakdown of the entire body politic.

Several visiting foreigners have assured me that according to their sincere conviction England is on its downward march, that it is the least progressive nation and is beginning to lag considerably behind the advance of the times. Englishmen, they say, can least easily adapt themselves to new conditions; they are slow and at the same time proud, they look upon other European nations, the Germans and the French included, at best with benevolent condescension, sometimes with contempt, while Americans, so far as they approve of them at all, are but second-class Englishmen. More accurately speaking the people of the United States are third class, because the Canadians and other colonials range in second degree. I will make these statements without further discussion because a full explanation will lead too far here, and I prefer to set forth the higher view which would make a war avoidable.

From the lower standpoint as expressed by the anonymous author of the article from a biological point of view, the war is actually as unavoidable as the war of secession was in the United States. Germany has grown with an unprecedented rapidity in prosperity and power; if her progress continues, she will outgrow the British empire within a calculable time and if the British empire means to retain her grip on the globe, she will have to outdo Germany and keep ahead of her. This is as much England's duty as it is Germany's right to grow and expand and do better than Great Britain.

But I will ask the question right here, If Germany were eliminated would every Englishman really be benefitted thereby? In a certain sense, perhaps; England would lose a rival. But in another sense, not; the British would remain or fall back into their old slovenly way of carrying on their business. They would not profit by killing off their rival, they would not learn, they would not progress; and when other rivals rise, either in America or in some other continent from their own colonies, or perhaps in Russia they would again be obliged to dispose of their rivals by knocking them out. If they are smart enough and follow the old methods taught by Macchiavelli, they might succeed, but they would not succeed in furthering mankind to a higher and higher development.

The stages of progressive mankind are not accidental, they are predetermined. And when the Persians, those sturdy mountaineers, appeared in history they took the lead and became the rulers of Babylon and the whole Babylonian empire. But the Greeks reached a higher plane, and though few in numbers could not be subdued but grew and expanded until they overthrew the Persian empire, and the Greek spirit permeated all hither Asia.

A new civilization arose and it took root in all civilized nations, but mainly in what we have characterized as Germandom; and this Germandom is not the civilization born of German blood, it is the civilization of mankind which concentrated mainly in Germany. The Greeks passed away, but if mankind wanted to advance and become superior to the Greeks, it could not have done so by eliminating the Greeks, by slaying them or disposing of them in any way. The northern barbarians would always have remained barbarians had they not risen above their own stage and attained the plane of Greek thought. The Germans have done this more than any other nation, not merely by learning what the Greeks taught, but by becoming Greeks themselves. I do not deny that since the Renaissance there have been Greek spirits in Italy, France and also in England, but the Germans have imbibed Hellenism into their souls in its purest form, and in their literature it rose to a classical efflorescence in Schiller and Goethe.

Further the Germans were always more cosmopolitan than others and this is instanced in the fact that they were interested in all other nations. There has been no work of significance in England, in France, in Spain, in Russia, that has not been translated into German. Shakespeare, Cervantes, Molière, Turgeniev, are as well known and appreciated in Germany as in their own countries, and the most valuable thought of all the world has grown into the spirit of German literature. The soul of every other civilized nation has taken abode in Germany; every one was welcome, every one was appreciated, every one has grown into Germandom.

Nor is Germany limited to German blood in its inmost constitution, its biological system. Some of the most representative Germans are Slavs, Poles or Wends, some are French Huguenots, and still others. Italians, and there is no nationality of Europe which is not interwoven into the texture of the German nation. Nor must we forget that Germany owes valuable contributions to Judaism, the main and best representative of the old Oriental nations. Germandom has become most cosmopolitan, a feature which is developing in a still higher degree in America.

If the English would outdo the Germans, they can do it not by killing them but by imitating them. They must adopt that Germandom which they now despise. They must learn from the Germans. They must adopt their methods, they must introduce reforms which will best be modelled after German patterns, they must imitate German efficiency also in defense, or in

other words, they must copy German militarism.

To eliminate by war and slaughter a rival who is dangerous because he is too progressive and growing too powerful, may be the proper thing to do from the lower standpoint, which in the "Saturday Review" has been called "biological," but at best it will be a poor and unsatisfactory method of keeping ahead. This method of keeping ahead is dangerous, for history teaches us that the people to be disposed of in this brutal manner usually accomplish exactly what their enemies planned to prevent and so the Biblical sentence is frequently applicable that "ye thought evil against me, but God meant it unto good" (Gen. 1:20).

The underlying question of this war is after all a question of power. The war is to decide whether England will retain her supremacy over the seas, which means her dominance over the world; and questions of power cannot be decided by argument, they must be decided by the proof of actual superiority. England's strength lay in peace,[7] but she has chosen war. England risks much more than Germany, certainly more than her leaders think or have thought. The author of the articles in the "Saturday Review" thinks "that England is the only great power who could fight Germany without tremendous risk and without doubt of the issue."

To me it seems almost pitiable that a few men could mislead the English people and rush them into the war, the greatest calamity that ever could fall upon England. It is a misfortune that these men, originally a few jingoes, seized the government, manufactured opinion, induced the country to ally itself first with France, then with Russia, sowed hatred against Germany, the nation that is most kin to the English, and walk a path that will lead to perdition. When the war is over we shall understand history better, we shall see more clearly, and those statesmen who have begun the war will be wiser.

Before 1870 Germany counted thirty-eight million inhabitants and now contains sixty-six millions. She has grown in power not by militarism but by a peaceful development. But according to Sir Edward Grey himself the "unmeasured aggrandizement" is the true reason of the war. If that is the case, the reason of the war is indeed a mere question of power. Two cannot be the first. According to such conceptions the seas must belong to one nation; any important rival must be disposed of in battle while the small ones may be tolerated. There is no question of right; it is a question of supremacy, of retaining leadership. Herein lies the reason that the British have no arguments and do not even need a *casus belli*. They state their reasons in general phrases, as Germany's militarism, Germany's increase of power, Germany's unprecedented growth, etc. England does not seem to feel the unfairness of the present war, but neither did she see the unfairness of her former wars. It is really an astonishing fact that no English war in modern times can be defended. And now, why begin a war to exterminate Germany's militarism or imperialism? France has a severer militarism, and real imperialism is most developed in Russia. And if Germany be crushed now, will she not rise phœnix-like again and again? And will not that spirit which now dominates Germandom surely conquer in the end?

Here is the point we make on the issue: The English statesmen will not attain what they want, they will not keep England in the lead, they are positively endangering England's predominance in the world most terribly. The odds are awful against Germany, the moment for attacking her was shrewdly chosen; but it would have been wiser to conquer Germany with her own weapons by introducing German methods in England and raising the level of English institutions, of English schools and industrial conditions, of English science, medicine, chemistry, and other branches, to the German standard. The reverse is done. In Russia the very name Petersburg is changed to Petrograd, and if every trace of German influence were wiped out in Russia the Muscovites would certainly be the losers, and if German music is to be cut out in England as has been proposed, and if German medicines are to be replaced by English imitations, the English drugstore may have reasons to be grateful, but scarcely English patients.

One way to keep in the lead is to kill a rival. It is the old barbarous way and after all inefficient. The higher way is not only nobler, but also better and leads to success. It consists in the firm endeavor to excel your rival. That is not easy, for it demands hard labor, but it leads to the goal.

[7] The war with the Boers was the same mistake. The Boers would have lost in a peaceful competition with the "uitlanders," but England preferred war, a war most disastrous to England. England subjected the Boers but laid the basis for a future United States of South Africa.

National Ideals, Morality, and the Justification of Force
Diplomacy and Politics in the War

THE MORALS OF WAR.

Is War Immoral?

Milwaukee Free Press.

Professor Hugo Muensterberg.

[The following article is composed of extracts from Prof. Muensterberg's new book, "The War and America," just published by D. Appleton & Co. The first edition was practically exhausted in advance of publication.—Editor.]

A gigantic destruction of human life such as this war demands must naturally force on every one the wish for a substitute which is less painful to the imagination. But any schemes which renounce those higher gifts of war that serve the historic progress of mankind are utterly unfit and would never be of lasting value.

It might not be difficult to construct plans which conserve the chance distribution of national possessions today still more firmly than any mere treaty and arbitration schemes. But whenever the aim is simply to guarantee the present national boundaries without means to change them in constant adjustment to new inner needs of the plan is condemned by the tribunal of historic morality.

I for my part see only one logical possibility. War making could be overcome only if the fundamental condition of wars were artificially changed, and this would not be utterly beyond man's power.

Almost all the wars between nations have been struggles to gain territory, or at least to deprive other nations of their territory. International wars would disappear if nations did not own their countries. The idea of such a state of mankind would be entirely parallel to that of socialism for individuals in the state.

The socialistic plan abolishes the economic struggle of the individuals by eliminating capitalism. This world plan for the nations would abolish the struggle of war by eliminating territorialism. The territory on the globe would be distributed so that any one million beings would receive an equal share.

Of course, it would not be equality of size, but of value. The territory of Turkey even today is larger than that of France, Germany, England and Italy taken together. The equal distribution would therefore involve very different areas. But fundamentally any one million persons would gain equal chances, and as with the growth of decay of the population and with the development of the territory new distributions would always be arranged, no one would have any interest in fighting. No nation would possess land any more than the socialistic individual would possess capital.

This seems to me the only possible solution of the problem which would not stifle the progress of mankind. As long as nations have possessions of land there will be constant need of new adjustment, which no human court, but only war can regulate. The anti-territorialism would bring to the nations all the blessings which are hoped from anticipation for the individuals.

There would be no poor and no economic misery if socialism were carried through; there would be no militarism and no war, if cosmochor-

Ein gemüthlicher Skat in den Katakomben von Bandesincourt.

A QUIET GAME OF "SKAT" IN THE CATACOMBS AT BANDESINCOURT

(By Courtesy of the "Illinois Staats-Zeitung")

ism were the scheme of the world. The word cosmochorism is formed from the Greek, chora, the land. A cosmopolitan order of mankind would be one in which the state loses its individuality; in cosmochoristic order the nations would retain their state forms, but their land would belong to the whole world.

I do think that the transition to socialism is possible and would not even be extremely difficult in our present days. I think that an equal distribution of land for all the peoples on earth without any one people having a right to possession of land would be equally possible. Cosmochorism might be carried out even without externally changing much in the present status. But it would carry with it all those important and thousand times discussed disadvantages of the socialistic system.

Most men are still convinced that the evils of capitalism are less than those which a socialistic order would involve. The stimulus which the possession of private and inheritable property has given to the world ought not to be dispensed with. The progress of mankind in the same way needs the possibility of private land possession by the individual nations; it needs the rivalry, and I believe that such an anti-territorialistic plan ought ultimately to be defeated for the same reasons for which the majority of the civilized nations still opposes the socialism of the anti-capitalists.

But this is certain: As long as private possession of land by the nations is sanctioned incessant changes in the size of the territories are needed and must be secured by free competition.

Of course it may happen that the industrious, intelligent merchant has bad luck and remains poor while his less worthy rival grows rich by accident or trickery! No unfailing justice lies in the decision of the account books. Yet on the whole our economic system is backed by the belief that free competition brings gain to the worthy and keeps down the less efficient.

In this sense certainly no unfailing justice lies in the decision of the weapons but in the great average history has proved that those nations will rise which are worthy of it and those will fall which deserve punishment from the highest point of view of civilization. Success or failure in war may come to nations without any reference to certain outlying valuable factors of national culture. France was beaten by Germany at a time when it was superior to its opponent in the art of painting. But on the whole the empire of the third Napoleon deserved to crumble.

The Austrian army had a good day yesterday. It was only "practically exterminated."—From "The Chicago Tribune," September 18, 1914.

IS WAR IMMORAL?

The Courage of Their Convictions.

New Yorker Staats-Zeitung.

Herman Ridder.

As I glance through the New York papers from day to day and see the amount of criticism that is being heaped upon my head because of my editorial policy with regard to the Staats-Zeitung, I often wonder wherein lies the blame which attaches to me. Do my critics believe for a moment that the Staats-Zeitung should follow the path of the New York Herald, for instance, and become a French paper published in the German language? Do not misunderstand me, for I have the most sincere admiration for the New York Herald and its frank declaration of friendship for France.

An editor must have the courage of his conviction and no man can truthfully tell me that I am afraid to print what I believe to be true. If I were to publish an American paper printed in the English language I would conduct it in the same vigorous and definite manner that I conduct an American paper printed in the German language. I, for one, have no patience with the journalistic code that permits a publisher to conduct one paper for one side and another for the other. **As an example, consider Mr. W. R. Hearst, and anyone will do for an example. He**

prints a picture of British troops in his New York American of Sept. 9th, and the descriptive matter reads: "This is the type of English soldier who is doing such tremendous work on the battle front in France." The same day he brings the same picture in his German paper and the descriptive matter is arranged to suit the German taste, reading: "British troops that run so fast that it is not possible for the Germans to capture them." However, that is the business of Mr. Hearst and not mine. If he is successful in keeping his left hand from knowing what his right hand is doing and at the same time in satisfying his constituents on both sides, he is performing a feat of journalistic legerdemain which calls for applause from all galleries.

I do not doubt that England and the friends of England would like to see the war in Europe sugar-coated and capsulized for the particular benefit of the inhabitants of the British Isles. Among those friends of England I class a certain element of the American press, which is today crying out against the partial destruction of the cathedral at Rheims. Two weeks ago this same element of the press featured in its Sunday editions the utilization by the enemies of Germany of cathedral towers to mount guns against airships. I have been attacked and villainized because I could see in the damage done to the cathedral in Rheims nothing beyond what was required by the circumstances of the case.

It is purest piffle to say that because Rheims has been spared through seven centuries it should be spared today. During no one of those seven centuries was Rheims the center of conflict between a million men fighting for their hearths and homes and a greater number bent on the destruction of the same. It is not necessary to go into the details of military privileges in the time of war. The most simple-minded editorial writer must admit not only the possibility of unintentional damage to the prominent landmarks in the theater of operation, but also the right of each belligerent to protect himself against the employment of such landmarks by the enemy. We cannot discuss the war at all unless we are prepared to accept the word of each side with the same faith in its integrity. The German Emperor has expressed himself clearly and unmistakably in the sense that the armies of Germany will not resort to unnecessary acts of destruction. Let us be candid and fair-minded and accept this assurance until the contrary is proven. We have to date absolutely nothing in controversion thereof. It is not without the bounds of probability that the fortunes of war should bring the allied armies to the banks of the Rhine and that the great Gothic cathedral at Cologne should suffer a fate similar to that of the cathedral in Rheims. If that day should come to pass, England would have a very different line of argument to offer.

It is a simple matter to talk of reprisals, when the war has been carried into German territory. Such talk, however, can serve but one purpose: to justify what German arms have done in Belgium and France. In the same breath England cries out against the destruction of Louvain and Rheims and then promises to destroy the first place of art she can lay her hands upon in Germany. Would it not raise a greater mead of sympathy in the world at large if that self-satisfied nation which has stirred up this world conflagration would take its stand solidly on one side of the fence or the other?

I feel as keenly as any man can the irreparable loss to art and architecture involved in the present war, but what I cannot and will not allow myself to be talked or wailed or bulldozed into thinking is that the destruction of material things can be compared with the wiping out of the thousands of human lives that are being cut short in this unholy struggle forced upon Germany. I have been assailed on every side because I have not joined in the general pro-English outcry against the inevitable results of war in the country of the enemy. If I could see one single point where Germany has been wrong or the wail of the Allies justified, I would go half way to meet my assailants.

On the contrary, I cannot but feel that the American people are being asked to forget a great deal in order that they may place their faith implicitly in the logic of England's present expression of horrified surprise at the eventualities which have taken place on the continent. The halls of the national museum of London are crowded with the loot of the world. It is well nigh a century now since Byron taunted Britain with the theft of the "Elgin Marbles" and they have not yet been returned to the Parthenon. In the smallness of our occidental vision we are inclined to magnify the value of Europe's treasures of art, to the disadvantage of those of the East. Those who are loudest in their criticism of the necessary results of armed conflict in Europe, forget the blackened swarth of British arms in India, carved from one end of the country to the other by the ruthless policy of instilling respect by the wanton destruction of religious edifices. It does not matter whether reared to Jehovah, Jove or Lord, religious houses should be spared when possible and British arms forgot this fact in India and China. Why, then, should Britain and a pro-British press in this country raise their voices when a temple meets an unfortunate fate in a city held and defended by the enemy?

The whole plaint is too hypocritical, too much in keeping with England's whole plan of campaign against Germany, to be deserving of serious consideration on this side of the water. The value of England's sincerity in condemning Germany's conduct of the war is measured by her talk of reprisals in kind on German soil. By virtue of German foresight and preparedness, the conflict is now being waged in the territory of the enemy. But does one single misguided soul on this side of the Atlantic believe for a moment that were the theater of war now on German soil, British and French arms would respect Germany's art treasures one whit more than German arms, bound by the necessities of war, have respected those of France and Belgium? The answer is in the Louvre and the London Museum.

DO THE PEOPLE WANT WAR?

Loyalty of German Socialists.

Literary Digest, New York.

The German followers of the great Socialist leader Bebel are very different from the French followers of Jaurès, the brilliant Socialist and antimilitarist, recently assassinated because of his outspoken opposition to the military ardor and warlike enthusiasm which he saw animating the bulk of his fellow countrymen on the brink of war. The German Socialists are ready to fight down what they style Russian despotism, and they rally round their Government in its war policy because of their hatred and dread of the Czar. They style the Kaiser "a prince of peace," and speak of him as "showing himself the protector of universal tranquility." The chief organ of Socialism in Berlin, the Vorwärts, contains the following editorial utterance:

"We are always open enemies of the monarchic form of government, and we always will be. We were often obliged to conduct a bitter opposition to the temperamental wearer of the crown. But we have to acknowledge today that William II. has shown himself the friend of universal peace."

In harmony with this is the speech made at a mass-meeting of Social Democrats by N. Feuerstein, Socialist member of the Reichstag, from which the Vossische Zeitung (Berlin) quotes the following passage:

"We are all convinced that the German Government is peace-loving and desires nothing better than to upbold the peace. But in the case of the present war it is the duty of every Social Democrat called to arms to do his best fighting beside his fellow countrymen, especially when operations are directed against Russia, whose absolute despotism constitutes a menace and danger to civilized Europe."

"War in our country," declares the Volkstimme, a Socialist organ of Chemnitz, compels all comrades 'to unite against the foe,' and this paper proceeds to say:

"All must set aside the aims and purposes of their party, and bear in mind one fact—Germany, and in a larger sense all Europe, is endangered by Russian despotism. At this moment we all feel the duty to fight chiefly and exclusively against Russian despotism. Germany's women and children must not become the prey of Russian bestiality; the German country must not be the spoil of Cossacks; because if the Allies should be victorious, not an English governor or a French

republican would rule over Germany, but the Russian Czar. Therefore we must defend at this moment everything that means German culture and German liberty against a merciless and barbaric enemy."

A similar sentiment is expressed by the Socialist Deputy Kolk, in an article in the Volksfreund (Carlsruhe), when he says:

"If the Russian Government should really be senseless enough to force, against all common sense, reason, and humanity, this European war, every Social Democrat will be expected to do his duty toward his fatherland, culture, and humanity. It will be the last thing that Social Democracy could endure to have Russian Czarism act as political arbiter of Europe."

Deputy Haase, speaking in the Reichstag, voiced the view of the Socialists in a speech regretting the war, but pledging support to the Government.*

*Also read editorial from "The Hartford Daily Courant," entitled "A Piece of Evidence," reprinted in full on another page.

We ask our readers to read carefully "The Session of the German Reichstag on August the Fourth, 1914," which has been printed in pamphlet form by the Germanistic Society of Chicago, 332 South Michigan Ave., Chicago.

This pamphlet contains the speeches of the Imperial Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg, Dr. Kaempf, President of the Reichstag, Mr. Haase, representative of the Socialist party, which were compiled and translated into English by Mr. Alexander R. Hohlfeld, Professor of German at the University of Wisconsin. These pamphlets may be purchased in any quantity at the above mentioned office of the society. The prices are five cents for a single copy, and all profits from them will be turned over to the Society of the Red Cross.

DO THE PEOPLE WANT WAR?

The Popularity of the War.

Editorial, New York Sun.

The Peace Parade makes today a fit time to ask: Is not war always or usually popular?

Here is no question of the merits; merely of the facts. Take our own country. A candid study of history might or might not say that the United States had as good reason to go to war with France as with Great Britain in the infant years of the nineteenth century. It chose war with Great Britain. A war, it has been said, forced upon Madison by the young Democrats of the West and South. Was it not, outside of New England, whose shipping interests suffered, a popular war? Opposition to it was about the final stroke to the Federalist party. It was scarcely a war of brilliant American success on the land at least, until that post-pacem victory of Jackson's at New Orleans, yet the memory of it survives as something we are supposed to be proud of.

The Mexican war again was popular outside of the Free Soilers and Abolitionists. It gave the country a Whig President. Participation in it was all there was to General Scott's candidacy in the moribund Whig party of 1852.

The political fate of the Copperheads, of the Democratic nonsense of 1864, is familiar to everybody. The Republican party long lived on the war.

In 1898 the country, if Congress represented the country, forced Mr. McKinley into the war with Spain.

Politically, to oppose a war, at least after it has been declared, is fatal. The people who didn't want war are usually a little more bellicose and fiery for its prosecution than its original supporters.

We are all against the war in Europe, partly from general weak philanthropic peace sentiments—we don't speak of them as weak in themselves, but as flabbily and insincerely held when war has become an American, not a European, fact—partly because it causes various losses and inconveniences to the people of the United States. But, if war at home has always been popular, can we say that there is any firm reality to our beautiful romantic pacifism?

"Honor and vital interests:" is anybody really going to refer them to some "impartial tribunal?" To its honor and vital interests a nation can't help being partial. And, then, there are so many causes, outside these categories, which may bring war. As M. Renan, or one of his characters in the "Philosophic Dramas" says, in effect: "War is rather the result of a given situation than of the will.

We won't say may the Lord deliver the United States permanently from war, for all the piety of Europe seems military at present; but such is, of course, the hope of most of us.

In reminding the peace paraders of the political and popular strength which war seems to possess, we wish merely to emphasize the difficulty, perhaps the human impossibility, of making man or woman an unwarlike, at any rate, a war shunning, animal.

It is Immoral for a Nation to Allow Criminal Neighbors to Prostitute its Sacred Trust

MISCELLANEOUS.

GERMAN SCHOLARS AND THE LARGER VIEW.

Cultivate the philosophic point of view.—Editor.

Professor Wilhelm Ostwald, president of the Monistic Alliance, and the right-hand man of Ernst Haeckel, expresses his views on the present war in the official monthly organ of the Monists, "Das Monistische Jahrhundert," page 860. He shows a conciliatory spirit, and we quote from his article the following paragraphs:

"Amid the noise and hubbub of war the scientifically minded man must not lose sight of the fact that war is after all an abnormal state. Peace is the aim and end of war. But this peace we must endeavor to shape in such a way that it does not render unnecessarily difficult the resumption of normal relations between the great civilized peoples of the earth. We are dependent, materially and spiritually, on other nations and states, as they are on us.

"Above all let us beware of imputing to a race or people the deeds of its government or of small groups of isolated states. Let us guard against generalizations which lead to rash judgments concerning the national character of individual peoples.

"It avails nothing to wage a war which has for its object the wresting of world dominion, or the acquiring of a political hegemony which would be but the prelude to a bitter struggle of the other nations against the formidable dominating people. We are waging war to preserve our independent national existence. We are battling for the life of our political organism, which is the foundation for the further development of German culture.

"We consider the community of German culture, however, as part and parcel of the international fellowship of men throughout the world. We value our labor of civilization not only as a labor for the German nation, but as a contribution to the development of mankind. Even in time of war we must remember that this labor will be the more fruitful, the livelier the exchange of material and spiritual things—the same interchange which has carried human development to its present stage. An international interchange of culture is the chief essential even for flourishing national civilizations, as well as for the unimpeded progress of man."

Similar sentiment is to be found in the fourth yearbook of the Schopenhauer Society, where Prof. Paul Deussen writes: " 'Not to my contemporaries,' says Schopenhauer, 'not to my countrymen, but to humanity do I commit my work which is now completed, in the confidence that it will not be without value to the race.' Science, and more than every other science, philosophy, is international. . . . Foolish, very foolish, therefore, is the conduct of certain German professors who have renounced their foreign honors and titles. And what shall we say of a member of our so-

ciety who demanded that citizens of those states which are at war with us should be excluded from the Schopenhauer Society, and who, when it was pointed out that our foreign members certainly condemned this infamous war as much as we Germans, protested that she could not belong to an association in which Frenchmen, Englishmen and Russians took part, and announced her withdrawal from our society, indeed even published her brave resolution in the column of a local paper in her provincial town. We shall not shed any tears for her having gone."

AN AMERICAN RESIDENT OF FRANCE.

On the Philosophy of the Failure of preparedness for War.—Editor, *War Echoes.*

Grenoble, Nov. 12, 1914.

The Open Court.

My Dear Dr. Carus:

I have read with interest your article on "The European War" in the October number of "The Open Court" and note your frankness in saying, "Should I be mistaken I wish to be refuted."

It is not with any hope of convincing you that you are mistaken that I write you, but simply as a friend desirous that you know exactly my opinion and my point of view, for I have given the question a great deal of thought.

You may think that my thirty-four years' residence in France has prejudiced me, but you must not forget that I was born and educated in America, and am still an American, while I cannot forget that you are an ex-officer of the German army and an ardent promulgator of "German culture."

I note that you criticize English and French papers, though you make quotations from them, when it serves your purpose, of what seem to me unquestionable fabrications.

Undoubtedly a large part of what we read in the daily press is pure fancy, but from my own experience in talking with the wounded, with refugees, and people back from the front, to say nothing of unimpeachable documents, I am absolutely convinced that there have been horrible atrocities, cold-blooded cruelties and flagrant injustice, to say nothing of wanton, needless destruction far surpassing what any journalist has been able to picture. But when we add to this the thousands of killed, the hundreds of thousands wounded and maimed for life, the millions of innocent sufferers, men, women and children, the billions of dollars' worth of property and business enterprise wantonly thrown away, it staggers one. What a "Great Illusion."

But this is not all. Think of the hatred engendered among civilized people, more extensive and bitter than any example you can cite in history. For if you correctly describe the enthusiasm in Germany, you must remember that in France it is the same thing. Here there are no parties, no discords, every man, woman and child believes they are fighting for their very existence; and it is the same in Belgium, England and Russia.

Now all this convinces me that we are witnessing the most momentous crisis in the world's history, only comparable with that of the long drawn-out Reformation. What will it lead to? I hope and believe to international and compulsory arbitration, which is my dream; especially do I hope for this where questions of honor are at stake, for I can conceive of no question of honor being justly settled when a rat terrier kills a mouse or even a tabby cat.

It is, as you know, a long and complicated story which has led to the present situation. Volumes have been and will be written on the subject. I will simply refer to one or two of the points whereon I differ from you.

But first there is one point, and I think in this we agree; perhaps nobody will be found to differ from us; and that is that Germany has built up the most marvelous army the world has ever seen. When war broke out it had reached its maximum strength in numbers, in discipline, in armament and preparedness for a sudden call. Never before was such a magnificent fighting machine conceived of.

Now from what I have read, heard and seen, it is my opinion that more marvelous still is the way in which Germany has disciplined everything, thought, science, art, industry and commerce, to one purpose, the greatness and power of Germany. Every man, woman and child is convinced of its incomparable superiority on all points to any other nation. By the way, a little logic should lead us to the conclusion, that during the present crisis the German press has been censored, and calumnies and untruths have been circulated with a system and thoroughness not possible by any other people. I say this with no sarcastic spirit. Were I a German I should likely be proud of it, for all Germans are; but as an independent I can only say that if you bar the military part of it, the rest would sooner or later be counterbalanced in other countries.

Militarism, pure and simple, or disciplined brute force, I consider fit only for savages, whether it be in Germany, France, England or the United States, and there is some of it everywhere; but when carried to the extent Germany has carried it it becomes abhorrent and should be suppressed.

It is this military spirit, this confidence in their army and brute force that makes so many Germans unsympathetic. There is little doubt in my mind that what made the German people so enthusiastic over this war, was the universal conviction that they would swallow the French army at a gulp and leisurely chew up Russia without any serious resistance; and their sudden and intense hatred of England is only due to the fact that they think it interferes with their little pleasure trip.

You say the dream of your life has been a federation of "England and the United States, centering about Germany" to insure the peace of the world. Possibly some people think that France, England and Russia should be intrusted with the job, and I think their chances of success not less probable.

It is this conception of the incomparable superiority of "German culture" and German righteousness, giving her the right to dominate and direct the world, that staggers me. After all, is not Germany, as a world power, and a great nation, a mushroom growth of fifty years' standing? Has no other nation a culture, a history, men of worth? Can you not respect in others a spirit of independence and patriotism, even of national pride, however small that nation may be? And you would entrust the domination and control to one nation or group of nations. No, Dr. Carus, no nation ever has been or ever will be so near God as to be worthy of that mission, and I believe my dream nearer realization than yours.

Contrary to you, I believe Austria's ultimatum to Servia the immediate cause of this war. One man and one man only could have stopped it between the 28th and 30th of July, and that man is the German Emperor. That ultimatum and the violation of the neutrality of Belgium are the two dominating facts of the crisis. All your history, going back to Caesar, and all your precedents carry no weight with me. The crisis is here and so momentous that it behooves humanity to cry halt, and in some way make the repetition of two such atrocities impossible. When that is done there is a possibility of the commencement of the realization of my dream, and not before.

I am not an Englishman, but all the arguments put forward to prove that England brought on this war seem to me silly twaddle. It is my opinion that if Germany had had a diplomat of the caliber of Sir Edward Grey, the war would not have been entered upon as it was.

I believe the world has greatly changed for the better during the last hundred years, the mentality of the lower classes as well as of the upper has developed, but you would seem to think that Germany alone has progressed.

The majority of thinking Frenchmen, while proud of the genius of Napoleon, admit that what he represented was doomed to failure. Similarly I believe that in a hundred years from now German thinkers and historians will feel humiliated when they read that famous "Appeal to Civilized Nations" signed by ninety-three of the most illustrious savants of Germany. Among other things they say: "Without our militarism our civilization would have been annihilated long ago," and "The German army and the German people are one." Evidently they have a different conception of German civilization and German culture from what I should like to see them pride themselves in. These ninety-three German savants will not help much towards the realization of my dream.

The intellectual element in France is as enthusiastic over real "German

—From "The Chicago Tribune," October 23, 1914

Culture" as Germans themselves. Goethe, Beethoven, Kant, etc., will live even if Germany and every German living were blotted out of existence. There is no need of a German army or a German navy to impose them on people of real culture.

One may differ from others, but I see no reason, when convictions are sincere, why they should alter friendship.

Yours very sincerely,
JOHN STEEL.

Editorial Comments.

While it is true that I was born in Germany and am an ex-officer of the German army, I claim emphatically that it is not without good reason that I am pro-German in this war. I took a positively anti-German position at the time of the Manila troubles, and I know that the larger number of German-Americans were on the same side. I am not blind to certain German shortcomings, and I concede that many Germans present themselves to foreigners in a most unfavorable light.

I agree with Mr. Steel that the worst feature of the war is the hatred engendered between the various nationalities, and the worst hatred has originated where I lament it most, between Germany and England. I recognize that this hatred has been fostered in certain circles and in certain yellow journals; but it seems to me, and facts confirm it, that in England this spirit has taken hold of the government, while the German government has done its best to come to an amicable understanding. Since England supported the Slavs and the French, popular indignation in Germany has so much increased that the Germans feel friendly toward the French and indifferent toward the Russians, but extremely bitter toward the English. It will be long before this hostility can be overcome. I have read in German papers that while the Germans in the field are on terms of hostile comradeship

along the French lines, while they exchange little courtesies and under certain conditions abstain from hostilities, this spirit is absolutely lacking where the English are concerned, and a similar odium of the English has also been noticed among the French prisoners of war who express a strong aversion to their British fellows detained in the same camp.

Mr. Steel's view of German militarism seems to me strongly influenced by French and English representations of it. I know German militarism in its good aspect and all I can concede is that there are some blustering Germans who lack the necessary discretion and naturally make a very offensive impression upon foreigners; but I wish to insist that such unpleasant individuals exist in all nations, and I believe many Americans traveling abroad have often had occasion to feel ashamed of some of their fellow countrymen who have made themselves offensive when touring through Europe. The French as a rule are the least blatant because wherever they make a display of national conceit it is done with such a child-like vanity that they appear amiable even in a display of their faults.

The dream of my life has indeed been an alliance between England, Germany and the United States, but I did not think the others should be "centered" about Germany. Smaller nations would form groups about each of the three. Mr. Steel has read the passage hastily, for what I said was that "if these three groups of nations, centering about Germany, England and the United States, stand together, the peace of the world will be assured."

Mr. Steel has given his conception of my view, and I will say that for different reasons I do not deem either the French or the Russians fit to sway the destinies of the world. Both are peculiarly liable to be prejudiced in their judgment of others. Neither can understand a foreigner; and I begin to fear that the British are little better in this regard. It is a great mistake to consider Germany's advance in the last fifty years as the whole of German history. The development of German strength is not a "mushroom growth," as Mr. Steel thinks. It is the slow development of a healthy and vigorous race under most unfavorable conditions. The Germans were deprived of the results of their labor again and again, until, under the most dire stress of necessity, they developed what is now defense. Now that they have become called militarism for the sake of self-strong they are blamed for defending themselves and overthrowing their enemies.

I have never declared that the Teutonic race should be the sole arbiter of the world's history. On the contrary I have emphasized again and again that other nations, such as the French, and even such smaller ones as Switzerland, Holland, Sweden, and Norway, etc., have made most valuable contributions to the development of a world-civilization. At the same time civilization in these is not based on blood, that is, on the closeness of their relationship to the Teutonic people.[1] Please consider that France has constantly received a strong admixture of German blood, not only before Caesar conquered Gaul, not only when the Franks, the Burgundians, the Visigoths, the Normans, and Alamans settled in Gaul, but also in recent times. Paris and other cities are constantly flooded with German immigrants, and the importance of this immigration should not be underrated.

I can only say that I differ as to the facts concerning Mr. Steel's statement that the German Emperor could have prevented the war by not standing by Austria against the regicide propaganda of pan-Slavism, vigorously and, I am sorry to say, ignominiously supported by Sir Edward Grey.

Together with this letter of Mr. Steel I am in receipt of a statement by Americans living in Munich who proclaim in most vigorous terms their support of the German cause on the ground that "England is *directly responsible* for, and must share the guilt of, this terrible war," saying that "at the most critical hour in the history of European civilization, England arrayed herself on the side of Servian regicide and in the interest of Russian autocracy and barbarism."

[1] See for instance my explanation of "Germandom" in the December number of "The Open Court," pp. 769-772.

O. C. K. I do not agree with your statement that "when the interests of a country no longer demand that she keep a treaty she has a perfect right to break it."

Your reference is to the reply to G. R. V. in last Saturday's issue, in regard to Italy's action in withdrawing from the Triple Alliance. A line must be drawn between theory and practice, here as elsewhere; and the practice of nations has been to observe their agreements with other nations only so long as it has been to their interests to do so. You will find few examples in history where this principle has not guided the conduct of nations. Diplomacy often times has skillfully covered its observance, but the principle has nevertheless been there. Self-preservation is the first law of nations as of men, and anything which interferes with it must give way to it. In opposing the pretention of England in Venezuela in 1895, Richard Olney, then Secretary of State and one of the most clear-visioned men who have ever held the post, used these significant words: "The people of the United States have learned in the school of experience to what extent the relations of states to each other depend not upon sentiment nor principle, but upon selfish interests." We may not agree with the ethics of this condition, but we must admit the fact of its existence, and the fact constitutes its own justification. "What ever is," said Pope, "is right."—From the "Questions and Answers" column in the "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung," November 6, 1914.

FATE AND THE WAR.

If Progress is inevitable, we hear the cry of the patriot and martyr in battles.—The Editor.

By the Editor.*

It almost appears as if Friedrich von Bernhardi had made the present war. No books of his have appeared until recently, and he was little known as an author before his death in 1913. One of his books, "On the Customs of War," was published in 1902, but it was merely an official statement of the German General Staff for public information. His main work, entitled "Germany and the Next War," which appeared in 1912 in the midst of peace, now sounds like a prophecy, and the contents of this book have been popularized in a still more recent book (published in 1913) entitled "Our Future—A Word of Warning to the German Nation." General Bernhardi was apparently an able general, and also a keen diplomat who had studied the history of nations, their wars, their rise and decline and ever-shifting positions in the world, to such an extent as to make him a most able judge of national development in the history of mankind. That he, a German general, should have proved to be a true German patriot is surely deserving only of commendation; that he was a good writer must likewise be counted in his favor; but if we are to consider him as a prophet, his rôle has truly been a terrible one, for his prophecy seems to have been almost fatalistic in its consequences. But I will add here that, as Herr Dernburg claims, Bernhardi's pessimistic utterances and his assistance in the movement for increased armaments were not approved by the German government, and caused his discharge.

In spite of his high rank in the army and his position in the General Staff, Friedrich von Bernhardi was little known in Germany. His warning though in some places obviously directed against the peace policy of the Kaiser, was not specially heeded by the German people, and as an author he remained unknown to fame. Unfortunately, however, his second book was translated into English, the work being done by J. Ellis Barker who did not hesitate to change its title, "Our Future—A Word of Warning to the German Nation," into the more alarming words, *Britain as Germany's Vassal.* This change is not just to the author, for there is not a word in Bernhardi's book which suggests the idea of making Britain a vassal of Germany. On the contrary it is a book, as Bernhardi himself says, of "warning to the Germans," and he claims that Germany stands at that point of her development where she has to decide for herself whether she will remain a continental power of secondary importance or whether she will continue her course of expansion

*In order to assist the reader to the logical connection with the discussion that leads up to this final reply, in winding up a most valuable debate on the many points in question in connection with the war, the reader is advised to look up Carus, Jourdain, War—(European)—in the Index. This article is the final reply by the Editor of "The Open Court," Dr. Carus, to Mr. Jourdain's *"An Answer to the 'European War.'"*

and become a world-power possessing colonies, like England and the United States.

General Bernhardi recently undertook a journey round the world to gather impressions, and he passed through the United States; but though he had then finished his literary career, he was unknown. His presence here did not create even a ripple of excitement, and there are few who saw his name mentioned in the papers. He became famous only since the translation of his books created a stir in England; and an Englishman can well shudder with fear as he contemplates the need of Germany's expansion and the native vigor of her teeming millions demanding also their share of space on this globe. On the other hand, Bernhardi points out England's established policy of refusing to tolerate the growth of another naval power and of antagonizing whichever state happens to be the most powerful in continental Europe.

England and Germany have formerly been united by the closest ties of national relationship and the personal kinship of their rulers. For several centuries the English royal family has hailed from Germany, and has been related to the houses of Hanover, Saxony, Coburg and Prussia. The present King of England and the Kaiser are cousins. Queen Victoria was the grandmother of both, and if the laws of succession were slightly modified or some of the Queen's descendants had unexpectedly died, or had not been born, both thrones might be held by the same man.

The English language, a daughter of Anglo-Saxon speech, is practically a Low German dialect, and the Low Germans of the northern part of the fatherland constitute the dominant and, in military matters, the most efficient portion of northern Germany. The English people come from the territory where formerly Saxon or Low German was spoken, and the Lowland Scots are of the same race. The Saxons conquered the Celtic portions of Britain, and also Ireland, and though they form only about one-third of the population of Great Britain they have impressed upon the remainder their language and national character.

At present the inhabitants of Great Britain are about 45,000,000, but with a very far-sighted and practical policy they have succeeded in acquiring the most important inhabitable portions of the globe, such as southern Africa, Australia, Canada and India, and at the same time have possessed themselves of all important naval bases, chief among them being the Suez Canal together with Aden at the end of the Red Sea, and Malta, and Gibraltar.

England's position is practically that of ruler of the ocean and with great foresight the English have always insisted on having the strongest navy in the world. In modern politics England has always opposed any nation likely to develop a powerful navy, and so it was perhaps inevitable that Great Britain should be arrayed against Germany notwithstanding her old bloodties with that country, the kinship of their royal families, and all their common historical interests, and should side with her old enemy, France, and even with Russia, so dangerous to England everywhere in Asia. She has allied herself with these for the sole purpose of checking the more systematic and therefore more formidable advance of Germany.

The German danger was pointed out by an anonymous pen in two articles which appeared in the London "Saturday Review"[1] and which must be mentioned here because their underlying principles have guided English politics; they have led to the establishment of the Triple Entente, and they explain the plan of an English invasion of France through Belgium and the determination to have Germany crushed between France and Russia while England destroyed Germany's trade and starved the whole country into submission, a plan which it was expected would be very easy and one whose execution was urged while it was still feasible.

The English apprehension of the German danger was the real cause of the war; the Servian quarrel was only the occasion on which Russian eagerness to assert its Pan-Slavic ambition with the help of the Triple Entente grew bold enough to start the trouble, and the German breach of Belgian neutrality furnished England a pretext to join in the general fray.

In former articles I have defended Germany for standing by Austria in her determination to have the conspiracy of the regicide fully investigated, and I have also maintained that, in view of the fact that she was threatened with an invasion through Belgium, Germany was justified in attempting a passage through this no longer neutral territory. There is no need of re-opening the discussion on this problem. Since we know that England herself had intended to break into Germany through Belgium, Germany's action is perfectly justified. I assume that every one who wishes to investigate the situation with impartiality will familiarize himself with the documents discovered at Brussels, which do not admit of any other interpretation than that Belgium had joined with England and France in the project of an attack on Rhenish Germany. In connection with this we refer to the letter of Baron Greindl, at that time Belgian ambassador at Berlin, who warns his government against the danger to which such a step would expose them. England saw no wrong in breaking Belgian neutrality with Belgium's consent, but she angrily denounces Germany for breaking it without that consent.

Baron Greindl was a Belgian patriot. He did not want to have the Germans admitted to Belgian soil; he wanted to preserve the independence of his country. For this reason he deemed it dangerous to hand the Belgian fortresses and defenses over to the British and French who were more easily invited than disposed of when no longer needed. His warnings remained unheeded and now comprise a document testifying to anti-German intrigue. Another letter of a similar purport was written July 30, 1914, by M. de l'Escaille, the Belgian ambassador at St. Petersburg. This was also found by the Germans in Brussels and was published in the "Norddeutsche Zeitung." M. de l'Escaille recognizes that the war has been unavoidable from the time that the war party at St. Petersburg gained the upper hand, and he concludes thus:

"The army, which feels itself strong, is full of enthusiasm and relies on great hopes based on the enormous progress that has been achieved since the Japanese war. The navy is so far from having realized the program of its reconstruction and its reorganization that it can scarcely enter into the matter of reckoning. It is probably there that the motive lies which gives such great importance to the assurance of England's support."

This expectation was expressed before the Germans entered Belgium. It is clear that England wanted to throw her full weight into the balance with France and Russia. The Germans asked twice whether England would remain neutral if Belgium were left alone or if Germany promised not to attack France by sea, or, if not, what conditions would satisfy her; but Sir Edward Grey refused to commit himself and so Germany could run no risk of a hostile attack through Belgium and saw no other chance to forestall her enemies. Even then she would have guaranteed Belgian independence if Belgium had been willing to allow her passage through Belgian territory. It was the duty of Germany to protect first of all her own citizens and so she reluctantly decided to open the war by taking Belgium, otherwise the British and French trenches might now lie around Aix-la-Chapelle or Cologne.

The English make light of the discoveries of the *Conventions anglo-belges* at Brussels, and speak of them as "an academic discussion," relating only to the "event of Belgian neutrality being infringed upon by one of its neighbors," but to a reader of these documents there is no doubt that Belgium joined England and France with definite promises and made common cause with them. The documents prove a plan to attack Germany; they mention the possibility of an attempted march of German troops through Belgium only as one eventuality, not as the condition of the whole proposition.

The question that remains is simply a problem of the future. It is this: Will Germany continue to expand, or will England's dominating power crush it before its navy is large enough to rival her own on the seas? In other words, we stand before a crisis in history. The crisis is here. But the question is, were the diplomats of England wise in having it decided by war? —for no one who has studied the diplomatic events of the last days of July, 1914, doubts that England brought about the war. Can England much longer, either by war or peace, maintain her dominant position in the world? The truth is that, apart from her forty-five millions at home, she counts not more then twenty millions of whites in her colonies—Canada, Australia, South Africa and India—to defend her vast empire, and she has not even enough sailors to man her navy—which is not surprising when we consider the constant drain there must be to keep up to the two-

[1]See "The Open Court" for October, 1914, p. 577, and December, 1914, p. 719.

power standard. England is a comparatively small country, her people are not as prolific as the Germans, and her hold on her tremendous colonial possessions is more or less precarious. Ought she not, under these circumstances, to have allied herself with some virile country such as Germany, and would not both countries have benefitted thereby?

The question has been proposed, whether England, Germany and the United States could agree to stand together for a peaceful development, and have questions of right or wrong decided by mutual agreement. Of course the basic question of mutual recognition of their respective spheres should be settled at the start. This would have been the ideal solution, and it is the one we have always advocated; but it seems that the distrust between the nations has grown too strong to permit any friendly understanding between them, for English policy has recently been very determined to put a check upon any possible aggrandizement of German colonies or colonial life. The English have also been very much opposed to the increase of Germany's navy, and, on the other hand, the Germans have been just as determined not to allow any interference with the development of their military or naval power.

Germany would have preferred to continue a peaceful competition with England like that which prevailed before the war, and from her own standpoint this would have been the better course. Germany was noticeably gaining, and England seemed either unwilling to exert herself to outdo German trade and commerce, or unable to outdo it. War finally appeared to the British government to be the only chance of suppressing the German danger.

If two nations are actually unwilling to allow each other free development the result must be war, and in this sense we speak of the war as having been unavoidable. It is not a question of right, it is a question of might.

In studying the facts closely, and in trying to understand what the English and the sponsors of their policy mean by the "aggressiveness" of Germany, we conclude that it is Germany's unwelcome advance in population, in trade, in power, in influence, in wealth, etc., by which it may rival England. No wonder they deem it intolerable. The question is only whether it is wise to check their intolerable aggressiveness by war. I believe it would have been wiser to compete with Germany by adopting German methods and striving to outdo the Germans in their peaceful accomplishments, by imitating their schools, by fostering science and teaching the growing generation to apply themselves in a severer attention to the duties of life.

Another feature of modern Germany which the English find unpleasant is her militarism. They would much prefer to see her helpless. But this very institution of universal military service is the strength of Germany, and it is this that renders her invincible. It is Germany's backbone. If England wants to continue this war she will have to adopt universal military service, and she could not do better than imitate the much denounced German militarism as speedily as possible.

England has chosen the war, not Germany! England was unprepared for the war for she thought it would be an easy game. Her former wars have been easy, and this war too seemed as sure; and it was a matter of course to crush any power that threatened to grow stronger and richer than herself. In the Triple Entente with all its secret implications and corollaries, they believed, lay their weapon for the isolation and strangulation of Germany. From the English point of view, however, I do not condemn them for the course they have pursued, for they certainly have ample cause for apprehension; and from the old standpoint of Macchiavellian statecraft there is no right or wrong in diplomacy. But even from their point of view their diplomacy has been grossly deceived; the Triple Entente will not accomplish what they hoped for; and the disaster which they have planned for Germany will recoil on their own heads.

The present situation appears like the work of fate. Similar conditions have repeated themselves in history. And is it to be wondered at that the Kaiser, though he did his utmost to preserve peace, should finally be forced into this conflict against his will? It is as if the German people had been compelled to come forth in all their might to show themselves worthy of becoming a world-power.

The Germans are naturally a peaceful people. Their much denounced militarism is positively a peaceful institution, for it means that every father, son and brother must fight the battles of his country. If England possessed this system the English people would have been considerably less vociferous in their clamors for war.

Germany has accepted the challenge, not for the sake of gaining a new and larger position in the world, but simply to maintain her old hold and to ward off the invaders to the west and the east. Here, however, appears a new factor in history. England has become the main enemy of Germany, and it will be very difficult, if possible at all, to eradicate the intense hatred which has suddenly arisen in Germany against their cousins beyond the channel.

A university professor whose only son and all of whose sons-in-law are in the field writes: "We pity the French and are sorry that the Belgians were so misguided; we regret that our men have to pit their lives against the Cossacks. But we feel a positive hostility toward the English. They have become the arch-enemy of Germany and we know that peace, an honorable peace, will be possible only if we succeed in humbling Albion. We shall probably fight against France and Russia only until we can establish ourselves on foreign soil in a secure defensive position, and then we will concentrate all our forces against England."

Another friend of mine, also a university professor, a scholar highly respected also in English-speaking countries, writes as follows:

"Our losses on the battlefield, especially in the west, are terrible, but how is it with the enemy? We have to fight hard for every foot of territory we gain, but even if the struggle is slow no one doubts here but we shall win in the end; for there is but one enemy, and that is England. She is not only our enemy, but the enemy of mankind.

"You have not the slightest idea of the intense hatred against England which moves all Germany. Since documents have been found in Brussels proving a compact made between Belgium and England, a plan according to which Belgium would allow English troops to march through Belgian territory into the Rhenish provinces of Germany, indignation, wrath and contempt for British hypocrisy knows no limits among us. And yet the English government could take Germany's breach of Belgium's neutrality as a reason for declaring war, whereas the English and French had broken it long before.

"England is the instigator of the whole war and of all the unspeakable misery which has been brought not only upon innocent Germany, but also upon the allies themselves, the Belgians and the French. The most simple-minded man in the *Landwehr* and every peasant knows this to be the case, so that for centuries the deadliest hatred against England will remain the most sacred inheritance in every German family, to be handed down from father to son.

"And what will be the harvest of this terrible crop of hatred? Even if peace could be obtained now, this hatred will remain, and the thought of England as the cause of all this horror will not be blotted out in future generations. It will produce new seeds for future wars, and the representatives of the German people will always be ready to grant any number of millions needed for preparing attacks upon England. Our armies see the need of conquering the Russians in the east and the French in the west, but all their ambition burns for a humiliation of England, and *they will succeed!* Nothing is more apparent than the degeneration of that ruthless nation, and careful observers have noticed the several symptoms which show the lowering of their national conscience, of which every day brings new evidences."

The hatred of England which has suddenly developed in Germany is explicable only through England's sudden and unexpected declaration of war, an act which showed conclusively that England had definitely determined that Germany's commercial and naval development should receive a crushing blow. Previous to the summer of 1914, there was not the slightest animosity towards England among the great majority of Germans. The report that the most popular toast in certain circles in Germany since the time of Edward VII has been *Der Tag* or *Die Stunde* (referring to the day or hour when Germany should finally settle accounts with England) is absolutely unknown to me, although I have been in Germany repeatedly and should certainly have seen something of this bellicose attitude had it existed. In certain quarters in Germany, it is true, there has always been an antagonism to England, but the idea of war with that country has never been prevalent in military circles. Possibly such a toast may have been offered in the

German navy, as might just as easily be the case in any other navy since England is practically the only possible opponent on the seas; but it certainly could not have been in general use in the army. Some one may possibly have witnessed such a toast in some corner, but, if so, it was certainly an exception and does not represent the general spirit before August, 1914.

Whatever my English friends have said in their accusations of Germany has only confirmed my conviction that Germany is right in being what she is to-day, and that the steps she has taken in self-defense are justified. One of my friendly critics ends his private letter with the following postscript: "When Germany shall have lost all her navy, all her colonies, all Polish Prussia, she will be greater than ever spiritually—greater in the things which made her great in 1813—and 1870 also."

I grant that Germany was great in the beginning of the nineteenth century; it was the Germany of Goethe, Schiller, Mozart, Beethoven, etc. Napoleon's armies were garrisoned in the country, and the people were impoverished by unendurable war-taxes; yet Germany was great, and accomplished things that will be immortal. It is this state of Germany that the English would like to restore, helpless but noble, poor but ideal, downtrodden by her invaders but famous for poetry and science. Such is the idea of my friend, Mr. Poultney Bigelow. Perhaps the historian of the future will declare that Germany in her greatest distress in 1806-1813 was greater than in her military glory and in the restoration of the empire in 1871; but, after all, I can not blame the Germans for taking steps to prevent the return of this humiliating state of purely ideal greatness. The Triple Entente was concluded to check Germany's growth and the question now is not whether the Serbs should or should not be allowed to assassinate the heirs to the throne of Austria, or whether the Belgians have or have not the right to allow the English and forbid the Germans to march through Belgium. The question is whether the Triple Entente can crush Germany, and I say they will not succeed.

At best, from the English standpoint, the war will fizzle out in a drawn state of hostility without reaching a definite decision. The hope in which the war was undertaken and which seemed so easy of realization—the hope that Germany could be crushed between the French and the Russians—will scarcely be fulfilled and becomes more and more improbable. On the other hand it becomes more and more apparent that Germany suffers less through her isolation than England, whose trade is also crippled through the war. On the one hand the Germans adapt themselves more easily to new conditions which really are not worse than a prohibitive tariff (so highly praised by protectionists in this country), and, on the other hand, England suffers as much, perhaps more, through this patriotic destruction of trade and in addition runs greater risks. Her domination in India, South Africa and Egypt seems pretty well established, but it may be shaken at any time, and if so, it will probably collapse. The war is a test of Germany, but it will prove equally a test of those who are responsible for the war, and above all of England. And it seems to me very doubtful whether England will stand the test. It is strange that my English friends do not see the question from this point of view.

Wars are not made by kings or emperors, nor are they made by the people. They come upon mankind like fate. They seem predestined. When they first break upon us they have a stultifying effect and all manner of insane hates are engendered; but as time passes on the wounds heal—though sometimes slowly, as for instance after the Thirty Years' War—new times and conditions arise, new generations come on, and, forgetful of the past, the development of mankind progresses along fresh channels. If mankind stood on a higher plane, if the leaders in European politics had commanded a broader vision, the war might have been avoided, but, as conditions were, it was inevitable. We inhabitants of the United States can only regret this struggle, for we are closely allied to both England and Germany, and we feel keenly the terrible losses on both sides. And for the outcome,—*nous verrons se que nous verrons!*

IN ANSWER TO CRITICS.

In the current issue I have taken pleasure in publishing a number of articles which take the opposite ground to my own, but I do not feel like resuming the controversy and restating my arguments. In most cases my critics simply offer anti-German testimony from any source available, but their arguments do not carry conviction, and I have seen no reason for changing my position. The enemies of Germany harp continually on the same string. Over and over again they repeat the charge of atrocities, and Sir A. Conan Doyle speaks of this war as nothing but murder. I recommend, however, the perusal of the open letter by Mr. James O'Donnell Bennett, the well-known American journalist, in answer to Sir Conan Doyle, which was published in the "Chicago Tribune" of January 17, 1915. In his letter Mr. Bennett expresses his astonishment that a man of Sir Conan Doyle's intelligence can lend his pen to the propagation of such untruths. Mr. Bennett is a man whose honesty is beyond question, and, although an eye-witness of German manœuvres in Belgium and France, he was nowhere able to discover a foundation for these stories. On the contrary, he has observed many highly humane features both among the German soldiers, and among the civilians; and the wounded and prisoners from the enemy's ranks—English, French and Belgian—are the appreciative recipients of many kindnesses at their hands.

Another favorite theme resorted to by those bent on proving the injustice of the German cause is the German breach of Belgian neutrality; and this is reiterated again and again in spite of the well-known discovery in Brussels of documents proving that an arrangement had long before been concluded between England and Belgium for the purpose of invading Rhenish Germany. In these papers all the details are specified, the harbors at which the English troops should be landed, the provision of interpreters and also of capable spies for the German provinces. Such a contract cannot be interpreted as a mere provision for defense, and when a neutral country enters into such a compact it forfeits its protection under international treaties.

I might add that the contents of these Brussels documents have been published in convenient pamphlet form, with facsimiles of the original French and a rather precarious English translation, under the title "The Case of Belgium;" they are procurable from "The International Monthly, Inc.," of New York City, and also doubtless through German consulates. "The Continental Times" (Berlin W. 50, Augsburger Str., 38), in its issue of November 25, 1914, has likewise reprinted the substance of the documents, which are no doubt procurable also, through German consulates. Consult: "*The Case of Belgium,*" in *War Echoes.*—Editor.

WAR AS A HUMAN NECESSITY.

Is War a Necessity?

The Great Struggle in Europe.

The Annalist, New York.

It remains for the psychologist, if he can, to tell us why people pretend to disbelieve in war and yet both glorify and practice it.

No civilized country can teach the history of itself to its youth without glorifying the wars of their fathers. It begins in the elementary textbooks, and even before that in the story books. Who was the Father of his Country? George Washington, a General, victorious in war against tremendous odds. Fancy beginning the narrative of this country's liberation with such assertions as that the Revolutionists were a lot of wild, blood-lusting men who involved themselves and the American colonists in a war with England, reckless of the fact that it was immoral and unnecessary and altogether unprofitable, and that if the Thirteen Colonies had remained at peace with the mother country it would have been much better in the end!

But, of course, you say, that was a righteous war. There is such a thing as intolerable provocation. A war in self-defense, a war of liberation, a war for the rights of man—those may be righteous wars.

That leaves us worse off for argument than before.

True, there is such a thing as righteous war, and will be so long as people other than ourselves are capable of unrighteousness, in our point of view, but one must see that when one has admitted the righteousness of war at all, on any ground, he has admitted pretty nearly the whole case of war, because there is no such thing as an unrighteous war, taking it from the point of view of those who engage in it.

Only a few weeks ago our own country, now boasting of its hold upon peace and feeling somehow morally superior to the war-crazed people of Europe—we

ourselves adopted force in Mexico, sacrificed lives to take the Custom House of Vera Cruz, and were prepared to do battle with a man named Huerta. That seemed to us to be a necessary and righteous thing to do, and we did it sorrowfully, but it was the beginning of war (happily averted), and might have cost thousands of lives on both sides. We thought it a proper thing to do. We justified it to ourselves, or we couldn't have undertaken to do it; but the Mexicans, at least a great many of them, and almost certainly a very large majority of them, thought very differently, and were perhaps as unready and unable to see the righteousness of it as France is to see the righteousness of Germany making war upon her, or as Germany is to see righteousness in the cause of the Allies.

Germany may be both wrong and blind, but she has simply got to believe in the justice of her cause, else war would be impossible. The spectacle of the German Socialists themselves going to war, willing to shoot down other Socialists from France, all of whom were for peace in theory independently of economic and racial lines—what does that signify?

The French Revolution, 100 years ago, was thought to be an event of tremendous auguries for the people. It was the coming of the people into their own. The people thereafter should rule, and never again would two Kings be able to send their subjects into a battlefield, as Carlyle said, to shoot the souls out of one another. People were under the delusion, you see, that Kings made war. Then came the uprising of the masses in many directions, especially in England, and after that rose Socialism, the most important movement, perhaps, of the last century. It was opposed to war, and proposed to keep peace in the world. But what has happened? Socialism has failed to keep the peace, and three Kings are said to have plunged Europe into the greatest war in the history of Western civilization. They didn't, though. They were but the agents, the instruments, the helpless leaders. One does not have to go so far as Tolstoy, who eliminated the personal equation entirely, to be able to see that Kings and Emperors cannot make war alone, nor at all, save in obedience to an urge so much greater than themselves as perhaps to sweep them all away.

The world has been ruled by strength since man possessed it, and though that may change in time, it will require a great deal of time, indeed, so that for the present it is enough to say that there is no substitute for it. Indeed, it is impossible to teach the history of civilization itself without glorifying war and the heroism of war. Man has had to fight for his place in the sun, for his liberties and for his economic rights.

Assume the Slav peril really to exist. What then? The Slavs are people with emotions and traditions and wants and qualities, as other people are, and yet they are dammed up, nearly 200,000,000 of them, on an inhospitable soil, practicing industry, frugality, and reproduction. Fancy their saying to Europe, "Please, we want a place in the sun!" Would they get it? Certainly not. When they are strong enough, then they can get it—by taking it. They think they have a right to fight for it, and the German Emperor thinks he has a right to resist, believing, no doubt, that in doing so he is the servant of all Western civilization and protects it against a rising tide of semi-Asiatics. The consequence is war.

IS WAR A NECESSITY?

Why General Disarmament is Impossible.

Leslie's Illustrated Weekly.

Dr. Constantin Theodor Dumba.

EDITOR'S NOTE:

The editorial in "Leslie's" of September 10th, entitled "Make It the Last War," which recommended that the civilized world should insist that no treaty of peace between three belligerent nations should be concluded unless it involved an agreement for general disarmament has attracted wide attention and much approval. The Ambassador to the United States from Austria-Hungary, Dr. Constantin Theodor Dumba, Privy Councilor, writes the following interesting and enlightening letter on the subject. We commend it to the careful perusal of our readers. It comes from a statesman and scholar as well as a diplomat of the highest reputation:

To the Editor of Leslie's:

I cordially sympathize with the high humanitarian feelings which inspired your editorial in favor of disarmament. War is a horror, and the sufferings entailed by it are outrageous, barbarous and in keeping neither with religion nor with real civilization. And yet I profoundly regret to be unable to agree with your suggestion to "Command peace by refusing to purchase the war bonds or the manufactured products of any nation that will not consent to a general disarmament."

After a gigantic struggle like the present, a natural reaction sets in. The continental nations, exhausted and impoverished by a prolonged war, will be unable to bear even the heavy burdens of armament now weighing them down. They will be compelled to submit—at least for some time—to the verdict of history, to the solution brought by the peace treaty to come. But general disarmament is impossible for the reason that the victors in the present struggle would never consent to it, even if they were able to impose it upon the defeated Powers. Can Great Britain, if victorious, possibly proceed to such a reduction of her fleet that she no longer would enjoy absolute command of the sea? Does she not rely for her food supplies on this control of the sea, considering that her 40,000,000 of inhabitants could be reduced to starvation the moment she should lose her absolute power over the ocean?

As to Germany, of course if she is reduced to Prussia's fate in 1806, she might disarm; but then she would cease to be an independent power. Owing to her central geographical position she is exposed to frontal attacks from France, her hereditary enemy, and from Russia, the protagonist of Slavonic expansion. It is a question of life and death to her to keep a strong and highly efficient army to protect her frontier and her independence.

To give you another example: Can the United States fulfill its civilizing mission without a strong navy? Can she defend the Panama Canal, police the Central American republics, prevent Japanese encroachments on the Pacific, after having disarmed her dreadnoughts?

Again, with other Powers, such as Austria-Hungary, Russia, Italy, the army is a civilizing and educating institution in which the illiterates learn at least the rudiments of reading and writing, and by discipline and efficiency are raised from the low cultural level of peasantry. Besides, a strong army is necessary even in France to check the socialistic tendencies and dangerous outrages of the Unions (federations of labor) threatening general strikes, and to prevent anarchy.

As to the suggestion against the purchase of war bonds and of the manufactured products of any nation refusing to disarm, I regret to say that it does not seem to me practical. Wealthy nations with unlimited resources like Great Britain, France or even Germany, place their war bonds with their own people, especially in moments of great national enthusiasm. A boycott of foreign commodities may be kept up for some time, while national passions are roused—as in Turkey against Greece in 1908—but gradually the high waves of popular feeling subside and trade follows its natural outlets and paths indicated by self-interest. Whoever produces better or cheaper is certain in the long run to find buyers.

Peoples, like individuals, are governed by the instinct of self-preservation, and whenever their existence is at stake nothing will prevent them from recourse to the extreme means of violence in order to annihilate their foes. This is the reason why I am reluctantly compelled to regard the cry for general disarmament as a generous utopia.

C. DUMBA.

"The World," as Established by Joseph Pulitzer, May 19, 1883.

"An institution that should always fight for progress and reform, never tolerate injustice or corruption, always fight demagogues of all parties, never belong to any party, always oppose privileged classes and public plunderers, never lack sympathy with the poor, always remain devoted to the public welfare, never be satisfied with merely printing news, always be drastically independent, never be afraid to attack wrong, whether by predatory plutocracy or predatory poverty."

The above appears daily as first item on the editorial page of "The World," New York.—The Publisher of "War Echoes."

Joffre reports an "undeniable" victory, which proves that he doesn't know Von Bernstorff.—From the "Boston Evening Transcript."

No Nation without Laws; No Law without Force; Conflict and Force Ergo: The Tail End of Every Law is a Whip

WHAT CONSTITUTES MILITARISM?

Reply to Certain Hypocritical Assertions of the Allies.

Editorial, Army and Navy Journal, New York.

The persistence with which there is flung across the oceans the assertion that the allies will not agree to peace till "German militarism is wiped out" has so systematic an aspect that it would seem that some people are determined to make militarism the scapegoat of this war. Hence it is part of present and future wisdom to analyze the term "German militarism," to ascertain exactly what is meant by it, for our efforts for the last forty years to awaken the American people to the need of an adequate army and navy has been met with the parrot-like cry of "militarism." By "German militarism" there must be meant something entirely different from every other kind of militarism, for the accredited intention of the allies has nothing to do with French or British or Russian militarism, and if they found their own door yards encumbered they certainly would not go abroad with brooms.

By German militarism, then, we take it, is meant a plant of a peculiarly baleful influence upon civilization, a plant that grows only on German soil, and unless exterminated threatens to blight the whole world. It is gratifying in a measure to have the term militarism against which the present wrath is directed qualified with the word German, for too long before has it been applied to any attempt to give a country proper military defenses. It has been applied to the preparations which little Switzerland has taken for the development of an army, and even the modern statesmen of China who have sought to arouse that country from her torpor by giving to her people that stimulus and sense of solidarity that come from the possession of a military establishment have had the word militarism thrown at them.

But the present war has resulted in a differentiation. There is militarism and militarism. The special brand which needs the immediate application of an extinguisher is the German brand. The inference is not unwarranted, therefore, that those who hope to purify the world by getting rid of German militarism see in it elements which the military establishments of other big continental nations do not possess.

We have kept a fairly close watch of the development of the military systems of Europe in the last fifty years, and we confess to an utter inability to find anything in "German militarism" which differs radically from the military establishments of other countries. The two fundamentals of present-day "German militarism" are universal compulsory military service for all citizens of the German empire and complete readiness. But compulsory military service is not confined to Germany. It obtains in France, Austria, Italy and Russia. In fact, of the large European powers, Great Britain alone has no compulsory service law.

It is not, then, in compulsory service that "German militarism" differs from the other "militarisms" of Europe. It may be said that Germany's military establishment exacts more of the country in the way of annual drafts from the ranks of its young men than any other of the nations of the continent, but study of the military strength of Germany and France disclose the fact that with a population nearly twenty-five millions less the actual war strength of the two countries is practically the same. We base this statement as to practical equality of numbers on the admissions made in the work published a few months ago from the pen of Lieutenant Colonel W. von Bremen, of the German army, which was recently extensively reviewed in our columns. The title of this work is "The German Army After Its Reorganization." On page 6 of this volume the German officer-author says:

> After the autumn of 1914 we shall be able to dispose, in time of peace, of 735,000 men without counting officers. France after the autumn of 1913 has been able to dispose of 749,000 men. As to the war effectives one can make only estimates, but in doing so one arrives at the conclusion that France, after making the proper deductions for fortress garrisons, will be able to put into the field an army of 2,750,000 men. It is possible that we can put as many into the field, but not more, at the present moment.

If with a far smaller population France is able to put into the field a trained army as great as that of Germany, it must be plain that French "militarism" is drawing more heavily on the men of that country than the German system is drawing on the men of Germany. Comparatively, then, if the maintenance of large forces is a drain upon a country, as is claimed, France suffers more from her militarism than does Germany. The point is thus firmly established that "German militarism" does not demand extraordinary sacrifices from the people of the empire, that the sacrifices are greater in France. Two things have now been cleared up: (1) That Germany is not peculiar in having compulsory service; (2) that her military system does not draw upon her resources as heavily in proportion to population as other systems draw upon her neighbors.

There is left, then, only the last supposition, namely, that "German militarism" is condemnable because of its extreme readiness. But this is a feature of her military system for which Germany should be praised, not blamed, for what is any army worth if it is not ready when the call comes? The more nearly ready it is, the more nearly it approaches those standards of value and efficiency for which all great commanders have striven through all the ages. Instead, therefore, of "German militarism" being something that should be "wiped out," it is something that should be imitated closely imitated by other nations, not excepting our own United States. By being as ready as it proved itself to be at the outbreak of the present hostilities, Germany has got more out of its army for the expense involved in maintaining it than perhaps any other nation, and in this respect is a shining example to her neighbors.

Further proof that it cannot be the compulsory military service obtaining in Germany that merits this general "wiping out" of which we hear so much just now is furnished by the attitude of Field Marshal Lord Roberts and other distinguished British soldiers toward compulsory service. Lord Roberts was so gravely impressed by the military unpreparedness of Great Britain that a few years ago he organized a league the purpose of which was to carry on a propaganda in favor of compulsory service. The agitation he began has resulted in dividing the military sentiment of the British empire into large camps, one favoring the present voluntary system and the other advocating the ideas of Lord Roberts, which are practically the ideas obtaining in Germany.

We have referred only to "German militarism" on land, for we do not believe that its enemies would desire to bring in the question of whether "militarism" also includes large sea forces, for if they did, they would find the British navy, which has been overwhelmingly predominant on the seas for generations, condemned by the force of their own logic. If there is such a thing as militarism on land, it is only fair to conclude that there is a militarism of the sea as well. Yet we believe that there would be a loud protest if an attempt were made to indict Great Britain on the ground that her "naval militarism" were something that should be utterly "wiped out." As a matter of fact, however, the army of Germany is not so large in proportion to the armies of her neighbors as the navy of England is compared to the navies of other nations. It may be argued that an overwhelming navy is essention to Great Britain on account of her colonial possessions. Nobody will gainsay that, nor should anyone doubt that Germany may find in the existence of two great enemies to the east and west of her an equally good excuse for the excellent army which she has had for more than half a century.

Thus an analysis of the thing called "German militarism" discloses nothing that has in it any aspect or character of a monster that is going about among the nations seeking whom it may devour. On the contrary, it is found to contain elements of national strength that other nations would do well to copy and that even England has been urged to adopt.—Reprinted from the editorial page of the "Milwaukee Free Press," of October 8, 1914.

MILITARISM AND THE WAR.

This is the tenth article of a series on THE EUROPEAN WAR, which appeared in the October Number of THE OPEN COURT, under the title "Militarism," written by the Editor, Dr. Paul Carus.

Consult the INDEX for the complete series, and, in order to see where, in the various Chapters of the book, the different articles of this treatise may be found, look for EUROPEAN WAR (THE). In this way the reader may read the entire series of articles in their original order, if he chooses to do so, while the present arrangement still gives him the advantage of bringing the various articles under their proper, respective Chapter-headings of the book.

This is a series of exceptionally fine articles on the subject in question, and they bear a unique and important relation to each other. Be sure to read them also in their original order.—Editor, "War Echoes."

The term "militarism" is of recent coinage, and it may mean the German institution of universal military service, or the shortcomings of military institutions. The former is militarism as it ought to be, the latter are excrescences of military arrogance, a kind of social disease which will naturally and from time to time make its appearance, or develop into an epidemic. There is no need of explaining the disease of militarism which, as it seems, was contracted by some members of the officers' corps at Zabern, and which has been severely censured in Germany by the Reichstag. We will only say that militarism, in that sense, has always been of a transient nature and has never been worse in Germany than in other countries.

Militarism, as an institution of the German empire, established by law, with the full consent of the German people, for the sake of national defense, is a state of things that can neither be condemned nor commended off-hand, but must be studied and understood. Only people who know it, not merely from experience but also in its history and actual efficiency, can really express an intelligent opinion regarding it.

If there is any one outside of Germany who can speak with authority on the subject, it is the writer of the present article. He is sufficiently informed as to its history during the last one hundred and six years; he has served in the German army and has been an officer in a Saxon artillery regiment; he knows the German needs, which demand the sacrifice of military service, and is well acquainted with the spirit of German patriotism which, for the sake of patriotism, assents to it.

The German army is different from any other, and especially from the English army. The official definition of the German army reads that it is "the German people in arms"—*das deutsche Volk in Waffen.* The fatherland does not enlist mercenaries; it calls upon every able-bodied man of the nation to appear at the colors and be ready for the defense of his country. The Kaiser is the leader, the lord of battle, who has the highest command, and to whom every soldier has to swear his oath of allegiance.

How often do foreigners misrepresent the state of things, and pity the German soldiers for allowing themselves to be enslaved in the service of a tyrant who will lead them to be slaughtered. What foolishness! Does any one believe that the German army could win its decisive battles if it consisted of slaves and were serving the private interests of a vainglorious monarch? Great battles can be won only by free men inspired by an idea, and the Germans of to-day do not fight for the possession of a few hundred million pounds sterling, not for dollars and cents, but for their homes, their liberty, their country. In order to defeat Germany, her enemies will have to slay the whole male population capable of bearing arms.

The origin of the present system of militarism dates back one hundred and five or six years, to the time when Napoleon I had humiliated Prussia. One of the conqueror's conditions of peace was that the Prussian army should be limited in numbers. So the Prussian general Scharnhorst kept on changing his soldiers; he had them trained and discharged, only to be replaced by new recruits, and when the day of liberation dawned, the inhabitants rose in great masses, not as raw recruits, but as trained men, in an army about four times as strong as had been permitted to be kept. This system of regarding the standing army as a school has been worked out first for Prussia and then for Germany, to its present completion, not for the benefit of one man, but for the people; and the history of Germany has impressed the necessity of militarism upon the whole nation. The suddenness with which the present war broke upon Germany is but a new proof of the absolute necessity of a national defense.

Militarism in this sense, as a systematic defense of the nation, will not be abolished, as some ignoramuses predict, but will be more securely and permanently established than ever in the fatherland, and all the enemies of Germany will have to adopt it if they intend to have the same, or approximately the same, military efficiency.

France has introduced militarism, but the English newspaper writers find no fault with French militarism, although it is more severe than the German system, and lacks its intellectual advantages. I will only mention here the one-year service in Germany, reserved for youths of higher education, a distinction which is not permitted in France, on the ground that there ought not to be preference of any kind in a republic. But the preference shown is not that of a privileged class, it is not due to noble birth, nor to wealth; this preference is allowed to those who, by public examinations or in their course of education, prove themselves worthy of this distinction; any one can secure the privilege if he but reaches the required standard of education. From these volunteers for one-year service, the officers are chosen for the reserves. This privilege of a one-year service looks like an aristocratic institution. It is not, and, as a result, there is no one, not even among the Social Democrats, who finds fault with it. On the contrary, it is a stimulus to education.

The German army is one of the most democratic institutions in the world. Its supreme law is efficiency, and that is being attained without respect to persons. The son of a duke, a prince, the millionaire's son, or any poor fellow from the lowest ranks of the peasantry, all are treated alike, all have to perform their duty, and from the beginning the best example has been set by the princes of the imperial house, the Hohenzollerns themselves.

And what is the result? The German people acquire an invaluable education in duty, in promptness, in accuracy, qualities in which all other nationalities, without exception, are sorely deficient. Even young men who do not serve are benefited by German militarism, for they inevitably imbibe its spirit.

How often has the criticism been made, that the German youths lose two or three years from the most important part of their lives, in military service; but the truth is that the money annually spent on the army brings as great returns as that which is expended for public schools; this militarism is part and parcel of the German education, and sometimes men wonder where Germans have acquired those qualities of sturdiness, of a sense of duty, of exactness in details. A wealthy foreigner living in Germany, and wishing to engage a driver, will naturally first propose to a candidate for the position the question whether he has served in the army; for if he has done so, he will probably be the more efficient and the more reliable. Would not our American youths be better equipped for life if they had served in the army?

Germany's militarism does not suit Germany's enemies, for militarism, in the best sense of the term, has enabled Germany to withstand the attacks of her foes. While the Germans were absolutely peaceful, their neighbors fell upon the fatherland and tore off province after province from the empire, and those German tribes that found no support in the common fatherland became independent. Strasburg and other cities of Alsace-Lorraine, became French, Pomerania fell to Sweden, the Netherlands and Switzerland became independent, and finally the entire German empire broke down. Thus the exigencies of national struggles developed German militarism so called, to supply the manhood of the country with a methodical training in self-defense.

Mr. H. G. Wells, the English novelist, declares that "every soldier who fights against Germany now is a crusader against war." He adds: "This greatest of all wars is not just another war; it is the last war!"

There are many apparently intelligent people who claim that England, France and Russia are not fighting Germany, but the militarism

of Germany, and as soon as the power of this institution is broken, the era of universal peace will be at hand. There is scarcely any need of refuting the hypocrisy of this claim. One thing is certain: if in Great Britain every man were in duty bound to rally to the defense of his country, the British would not have rushed into war, and it is probable that if the German type of militarism were introduced throughout the world, there would be fewer wars, and none of them would be entered into with such frivolous and unscrupulous stupidity as the war of this year.

Militarism.

And here is Mr. Jourdain's reply to the Editor's discussion of this subject.—Editor, *War Echoes.*

In this section the Editor makes a useful distinction between two uses of the word militarism.[4] With the training of a large proportion of the citizens of military age for military service, which is the practice of nearly every country in Europe, few English critics find fault; though hitherto England, standing outside the European system, has contented herself with a small professional army. The French are also "the French nation in arms."[5] The militarism that is condemned by England and France is not only "the disease of militarism contracted by some members of the officers' corps at Zabern,"[6] but the political condition characterized by the predominance of the military class and its armed doctrine. It was against this subordination to armed doctrine that Theodor Mommsen warned his constituents at Halle: "Have a care, gentlemen, lest in this state which has been at once a power in arms and a power in intelligence, the intelligence should vanish, and nothing but the pure military state should remain." *

Growing Militarism.

And here is Mr. Jourdain's reply to the Editor's discussion of this subject.—Editor, *War Echoes.*

Whether a peace party will make an end of armaments[7] in the future or whether militarists, the men who believe with Moltke that universal peace is "a dream and not a pleasant dream," is an academic question suitable for a debating society, and from its nature insoluble at the present moment. Other contentions in this section are that Germany has been converted from a friendly to an inimical nation, which has been dealt with already, and that in Germany warfare has developed into a science.[8] "The German army is a school in which German youths are training to be good soldiers and the German staff is also a school in which officers are instructed in strategy. There is not a Moltke to lead them, but Moltke's spirit guides them all. Should one of them die to-day, even if he occupy the highest rank, there are dozens who can take up his work." Strategy is not the monopoly of the German general staff; and the German operations on both fronts have hitherto shown small signs of serious strategy. In the west there was the occupation of Belgium and, while the way to Calais and Dunkirk lay open, the rush to Paris. Then the retreat from Paris, a defeat on the Marne; and—Calais is now the objective! In the east, an advance toward Warsaw and a strategic retreat with heavy losses. Some of the army's defects in war were foreseen by a critic of the manœuvres in 1911 when the military expert of the "Times"[9] gave warning that "the German army has seen less of modern war than any other which stands in the front rank. The contempt which it displays for the effects of modern fire, and professes to hold for armies of naval states with which it may come in conflict can only be set down to ignorance." But the end tries all, and it is not wise, as the Editor points out, to discredit the enemy.[10]

Illustrations.

At the close of my examination of the Editor's statement of Germany's case I wish to draw attention to some of the illustrations in the October number of "The Open Court." As a pendant to the serious damage to Rheims cathedral the Editor gives a photograph of the Castle of Heidelberg, and the same juxtaposition of the two buildings has occurred to German purveyors of picture postcards. No one defends the ravage of the Palatinate in 1688, but as I have pointed out we do not draw our precedents from the reign of Louis XIV. With reference to the three views of Nuremberg, the Editor writes: "It is almost forgotten that according to newspaper reports, the first bombs were not dropped over Antwerp or France or England, but from French aëroplanes on this city of old German art." "Newspaper reports" (exclusively in German papers, by the way) are not sufficient evidence for this statement. It is inconsistent with the attitude of the French government, which withdrew the French army six miles from the frontier to prevent a collision before the outbreak of war[1] and later protested against German bomb-dropping upon and bombardment of unfortified towns.

England's Blood-Guilt in the World War.

The Editor's contribution to the discussion of Germany's case is by far the largest and most considerable of the papers in the October number. But there remain two papers to be considered. That by Professor Burgess,[2]* reproduced from the "Springfield Republican," brings forward no point of importance, and its value may be gathered from the fact that he gives up a whole page to an account of a dinner at Wilhelmshöhe with the Emperor, including a list of the guests. Haeckel's contribution, "England's Blood Guilt in the World War," like the German appeal "To the Civilized World," is interesting as showing that German savants have not realized that assertion is not proof. We read:

"Parliament and the Press of the hostile Triple Entente, the English, French and Russian newspapers are endeavoring . . . to throw the whole blame upon Germany. . . . Emperor William II has, in the twenty-six years of his reign, done everything within his power to preserve for the German people the blessings of peace. . . . Similarly, the other two members of the Triple Alliance, Austria-Hungary and Italy, have ever endeavored to preserve the precious blessing of peace and avoid European complications. *Rather does* the whole responsibility for the outbreak of this world war fall on that mighty triple coalition, the *entente cordiale.* . . .

"In the splendid speech from the throne with which Emperor William II opened the German Reichstag on August 4 he *showed* the real causes that drove the enemies of our German empire to their insidious attack, envy of the prosperity of the dear fatherland," etc.[3]

The method is that of a Free Kirk minister dealing with the difficulties of belief in the existence of John the Baptist. He began: "Some people say John the Baptist did not exist." (Very solemnly) "He *did!* Having disposed of that difficulty. . . ."

It is the spirit of the German appeal to the civilized world[4] with its many national trumpet-peals, each beginning "It is not true," sheer denial with no attempt at adducing evidence for the denial. The appeal might have originated in the Wolff bureau, not in the minds of savants. As the *Nation*[5] points out, "Nowhere is there any evidence of a desire to undertake an unbiased investigation of facts, logic is thrown to the winds, and we are treated to a flood of rhetoric and of

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[4] "O. C.," p. 636. Militarism, according to the "New English Dictionary," is "the spirit and tendencies characteristic of the professional soldier,.....the political condition characterized by the predominance of the military class in government and administration; the tendency to regard military efficiency as the paramount interest of the state."

[5] Before the war the French army, with 84 per cent of competent men called up, was even more "a nation in arms" than the German army with only 53 per cent of such men called up.

[6] "O. C.," p. 636. It is hardly correct that militarism in this sense "has never been worse in Germany than in other countries."

*But the intelligence has not yet vanished; to the contrary, it is the ever-increasing superiority and surpassing *Efficiency* that Germany's enemies fear.—Editor, *War Echoes.*

[7] "Ibid.," pp. 639-640.

[8] "Ibid.," p. 642.

[9] "There is nothing in the higher leading at the manœuvres of a distinguished character, and mistakes were committed which tended to shake the confidence of foreign spectators in the reputation of the command....The German army, apart from its numbers, confidence in itself and high state of organization, does not present any signs of superiority over the best foreign models and in some ways does not rise above the second rate." "Times," October 28, 1911.

[10] The cheerful brutality of Mr. Winston Churchill's speech at the recruiting meeting at Liverpool in which he used the following words: "If the German navy does not come out and fight, they will be brought out like rats in a hole" (Quoted in "O. C.," p. 641), is also to be deprecated.

[1] "The French troops have orders not to go nearer to the German frontier than a distance of 10 kilometers, so as to avoid any grounds for accusations of provocation to Germany." "G. B. and the E. C.," p. 69.

[2] "O. C.," pp. 587-595.

*Consult Burgess in Index.—Editor.

[3] "Ibid.," p. 581.

[4] This appeal was published by ninety-three German savants and artists. Among the signatures are Eucken, Haeckel, Freda, Humperdinck, Sudermann, Hauptmann, Lamprecht, Kaulbach, Dörpfeld.

[5] "The Nation" (New York), October 29, 1914.

unsupported statements. . . . It really seems as if some of the professors who have rushed into print to defend Germany's cause are doing it quite as much harm as the enemy." The appeal to the cultured world has destroyed the myth of German culture.

The rest of Haeckel's paper is notable only for a few misstatements—such as that "Russia in the beginning of August declared war on Germany and Austria,"[6] whereas Germany sent an ultimatum to Russia on July 31,[7] at a time when negotiations were still proceeding between Russia and Austria,[8] and that England aims at a world empire, "the annihilation of the independent German empire, the destruction of German life and works, the subjection of the German people to British domination,"[9] a dream worthy of a German mind. The conclusion has a very unlucky prophecy, also an outcome of German subjectivity, that Germany would find powerful allies among the nations that already bear England's unbearable yoke—Canada, India, Austria, Egypt and South Africa. Prophecy is of all controversial weapons the most dangerous.

Twelve Points Assured.

And here is Mr. Jourdain's reply to the Editor's discussion of this subject. —Editor.

The only important controversial points in the Editor's December article, "Lessons of the War," are summed up in the section "Twelve Points Assured," pp. 758-760. The Editor regards certain points as assured. Could he give any evidence that Russia "officially" supports a policy of assassination in Servia (p. 758)? In the fourth paragraph he assumes that the conflict between Austria-Hungary and Servia is the result of the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914. We now know, thanks to Signor Giolitti's revelations to the Italian parliament, that the murder of the archduke and the indictment of Servia's complicity, which figured so largely in the Austrian ultimatum, had little to do with the settled purpose of Austrian policy. In the middle of 1913 Signor Giolitti, then Italian prime minister, was informed by the Austro-Hungarian government that it contemplated immediate action against Servia and reckoned on the support of Italy under the terms of the Triple Alliance. The Italian government replied that it could not regard the action indicated as constituting a *casus foederis*, which would never arise out of an aggressive act. This reply induced Austria-Hungary to postpone action. As the Austro-Hungarian policy was already set in 1913, it is absurd to speak of it as conditioned by the Sarajevo assassination in 1914. I have already dealt with further points such as the Belgian neutrality and Russian mobilization. In the case of Germany's "positive evidence that the Belgians had broken neutrality long before a German soldier set foot on Belgian soil," the English case is strengthened by Herr Dernburg's publication of the military convention between England and Belgium. The proposed help from England, it is definitely stated in this document, was only to be given *after Belgian neutrality had been violated.*

[6] "O. C.," p. 584.*

[7] "G. B. and the E. C.," p. 66.

[8] On July 31, "the Austro-Hungarian ambassador declared the readiness of his government to discuss the substance of the Austrian ultimatum to Servia." "Ibid.," p. 69.

[9] "O. C.," p. 585.

* For the complete reference see Jourdain in the Index.—Editor.

VEST POCKET ESSAY.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

By George Fitch, Author of "At Good Old Siwash."

The German empire is a world power which is contained, with difficulty, by Europe. It has 200,000 square miles and 65,000,000 round citizens. It alarms England on the west, backs Russia off on the east, impinges seriously on Austria to the south and reduces France to a state of frantic irritation on the southeast. It is not large in area, but has a 14-inch rifled voice with large penetration which is widely respected.

The German empire once consisted of a large number of kingdoms, each of which are a different variety of sausage and were otherwise at variance. About 50 years ago, however, these nations united and since then Germany has grown until even Russia is respectful in its presence.

The German empire has two armies which inspire great fear. One is composed of a million soldiers and the other consists of several thousand traveling men who are selling goods from Cape Horn to Nome. Germany manufactures everything from battleships to Teddy bears, and its cities are growing faster than Chicago. They do not, however, grow in the same way. German cities are handsome and clean and whenever a man throws paper on the street he is arrested. Americans subject to heart failure from great shocks should not visit German cities.

Germany is surrounded by the North Sea, the Baltic Sea, the Alps and custom houses. Its greatest rivers are the Rhine, the Elbe, Wurzburger, Pilsener and Munchener. There is not much water in Germany, and the citizen who drinks any of it is charged with wasting a natural resource.

Germany has the finest musicians, the deepest thinkers, the largest airships, the fastest automobiles, the greatest steamships, the tallest cathedrals, the haughtiest lieutenants and the most obedient private citizens in the world. The whole duty of Germany is to obey the army and the whole duty of the army is to obey the Kaiser.

SAVING A CATHEDRAL.

From "The Chicago Tribune," October 24, 1914.

Chicago, Oct. 21.—(Editor of The Tribune.)—Of the many valuable and interesting facts which your correspondents on the European battlefields have recently brought before the American public I consider the article in this morning's "Tribune" by Joseph Medill Patterson, together with your staff photographer's picture of the "Guns Mounted on the Antwerp Cathedral," one of the best and most convincing yet published.

The Christian world owes your correspondents a deep gratitude for the saving of this beautiful cathedral. But for them this sacred structure would now be in ruins and we would have been told by London and Paris that it was willfully destroyed by the German guns as a pure act of vandalism by the German army. Your photograph speaks for itself and shows as the real vandals the French and Belgian governments, who send their armies to mount guns on top of these cathedral towers. Many will now say what a pity your photographer was not in Reims, for he probably would have saved that sacred edifice by another such photograph.

The millions of liberty loving and impartial citizens throughout the United States will continue to appreciate your efforts for truth and justice in this lamentable conflict.

J. Matthews.

DEWEY AND DIEDRICHS.

Quarrel of "Newspaper Manufacture," Said American Admiral.

(From "The Fatherland," New York, October 14, 1914.)

From the days of Frederick the Great and General George Washington, the German people have been the friends of the United States, while twice England has been engaged in war with us, and time and again she has all but provoked us to war, notably in 1861-5, and during the Venezuela episode. But enemies of Germany have tried to erect the Dewey-Diedrichs affair in Manila harbor into a German attempt to embarrass the United States. Hence it is interesting to recall an exchange of letters between the two admirals, published July 6, 1898. The first is addressed to Dewey under date of March 17, and reads:

Sir:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of March 4, informing me your excellency has been promoted Admiral. While congratulating your excellency sincerely upon this new token of recognition, I beg you to believe your good news has given me the greatest satisfaction.

I have the honor to be your Excellency's obedient servant.

DIEDRICHS.

Admiral Dewey replied April 16, saying:

Dear Admiral von Diedrichs:—I wish to thank you most heartily for your cordial letter of congratulations upon my promotion. It is a great pleasure for me to feel my advancement is a source of satisfaction to you, and I rejoice that our differences have been of newspaper manufacture.

Hoping to have the pleasure of meeting you again before leaving this station, I am, very sincerely,

DEWEY.

THE FIELD DENTIST
Dentist Office in the Field behind the Trenches in Galicia
(By Courtesy of the "Chicago Abendpost")

GROWING MILITARISM AND THE WAR.

This is the eleventh article of a series on THE EUROPEAN WAR, which appeared in the October Number of THE OPEN COURT, under the title "Growing Militarism," written by the Editor, Dr. Paul Carus.

Consult the INDEX for the complete series, and, in order to see where, in the various Chapters of the book, the different articles of this treatise may be found, look for EUROPEAN WAR (THE). In this way the reader may read the entire series of articles in their original order, if he chooses to do so, while the present arrangement still gives him the advantage of bringing the various articles under their proper, respective Chapter-headings of the book.

This is a series of exceptionally fine articles on the subject in question, and they bear a unique and important relation to each other. Be sure to read them also in their original order.—Editor, "War Echoes."

The advocates of peace are often peculiar people; they preach peace on earth, and their ideal is quite commendable; but each clamors for his own peace. England will preserve peace so long as she owns the seas, and Germany's chief fault is the exasperating persistence with which she builds up a navy. Italians of the "peace" party condemn war, but they justify the conquest of Tripoli; and there are Americans, for example, Mr. William Randolph Hearst and Mr. Richmond P. Hobson, who demand a strong American navy to dominate the Pacific and the Atlantic.

Such views are often uttered. A certain famous "peace advocate" once said that he would shoulder the gun himself to keep the Japanese out of the United States, and Mr. Tschirn, whose German poem we have quoted above, also belongs to those who desire "peace at any price."

There are some in England who declare that the present war will be the last one; that it is commendable, because it is a war against militarism; but one Englishman, Mr. C. Cohen, a liberal and freethinker, prophesies that this war can not lead to peace, but is sowing future discord. He says: "Who is to say that there shall be no more wars? Is it England? Is it Russia? Is it France? Is it the three combined? Will any of these trust the others enough to depute the task? Are Russia and France and England in alliance with each other because of their mutual love or because of their enmity of others? Was it love of Russia that drove France into alliance, or hatred of Germany? And with Germany eliminated what bond is there that can unite the autocracy of the Czar and the republicanism of France?"

He continues: "An international agreement that would secure peace is a laudable ideal, but how is it to be secured? England, it may be assumed, will still demand the control of the seas. It suits us, and we say it is necessary to our existence. Very good; but can we expect every other country to submit to this ownership of the world's highway forever and with good feeling? Why, this fact alone will drive other nations along the old line of offensive and defensive alliances, the fruits of which we are reaping in the present war. And alliances based upon such considerations as hold the Christian nations

of the world together may be broken at any moment. Nor is there any power based upon force too strong to be overthrown. Of course, it may be said that it is to everybody's interest that some international agreement should be reached when this war is concluded, and such outbreaks prevented in future. Quite so; but on the other hand, it is never to anybody's real interest to go to war. Even to win is to lose. The truth is, that nations do not go to war because it really pays them, but because of misdirected ambitions and mistaken ideals; in other words, because of lack of intelligence and defective civilization.

"How wrongly the lessons of this war are being read, may be seen in the newspaper talk about 'blotting Germany out,' or 'wiping Germany off the map.' These are the greatest fools of all. If by 'blotting out Germany' is meant the destruction of the German navy and defeat of the German army, that may be done, and looks like being done—unless our press censorship is keeping us in the dark. But Germany remains, the German people remain, German ambitions remain, and there will also remain the memory of crushing defeat. And the man is a lunatic, blind alike to the lessons of history and the facts of human nature, who imagines that a nation of seventy millions can be 'blotted out.' All the power of Russia has not been able to crush the sentiment of nationality in Finland. All the power of Russia, Germany and Austria has not been able to crush out the sentiment of nationality in Poland. After four centuries, England, in spite of all it could do, finds the sentiment of Irish nationality as active as ever. Short of an absolute, a complete massacre, a nation of seventy millions cannot be 'blotted out.' They remain, their ideals and ambitions, and their way of looking at life, must always be reckoned with.†

"Armaments will go on; of that I feel assured, although I should be only too pleased to find myself mistaken."*

Note that Mr. Cohen expects Great Britain and her allies to win, but his belief is subject to a slight doubt. Certainly we agree with him in his conclusion when he says: "There is only one way to peace; and that is the growth of intelligence and humanity."

The peace advocates in England are certainly mistaken if they claim that this war is a war against militarism and that it will be the last war. There are symptoms of a growing militarism.

The British government has come to the conclusion that the war will not be so easy as originally supposed. It will need more soldiers, and so recruiting offices are opened. We read in the newspapers that Rudyard Kipling has offered his oratorical talent to persuade young men to join the army, and that he said:

"We must have many men, if we, with the allies, are to check the inrush of organized barbarism. We have only to look to Belgium to realize the minimum of what we may expect here. Germany's real object is the capture of England's wealth, trade and world-wide possessions."

If you knew a little more about Germany and were a little less infected with English egotism, Mr. Kipling, you would be ashamed of what you have said!

Speaking at a great recruiting meeting in Liverpool, Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, said: "If the German navy does not come out and fight, they will be brought out like rats in a hole. . . . The English should have no anxiety about the result of the war."

No comment is necessary on this specimen of modern English, as spoken in these days by the men who are guiding English destinies. England's navy must be proud of the First Lord of the Admiralty.

In the second week of September another inducement to join the army appeared in London, on large billboards, which read thus:

"We've got to beat Germany because her arrogant brutality is a menace to civilization; because she breaks treaties; because she murders non-combatants; because she destroys beautiful cities; because she sows mines in the open sea; because she fires on the sacred Red Cross; because her avowed object is to crush England.

"Men of England, remember Louvain.

"The fight is democracy vs. tyranny.

"Do you wish to share the fate of Belgium?

"If not, enlist now."

Why did the author of these posters not say: "The Germans are cannibals; they are coming to roast your babies for supper and will make boots of human skin!" Such descriptions of the Germans might have been more effective. They would not have been less false than the placard, and would have been more fanciful, more poetical and more romantic. In modern English newspapers, Germany is almost comparable to the ogre shouting:

"Fee, Fi, Fo, Fum,
I smell the blood of an Englishman,
Be he alive or be he dead,
I'll grind his bones to make my bread."

My dear English friends: If your liberty is really at stake, rush to the colors, have your names enrolled in your country's service, take up arms to defend England's honor; but I fear the honor of England has been tarnished, not by the Germans, but by your own ministers, by your statesmen, your diplomats, by those men who, by their secret treaties, by the machinations of the Triple Entente, have led you into a most perverse and stupid war. If your country needs defense, join the army, but first have your generals replaced by capable men who are able to meet an enemy as great as your Saxon brothers of the continent. And, above all, see to it that you fight for a cause that is honorable, not merely a flimsy excuse to rid your shopkeepers of a dangerous rival, even though the sum at stake may average two hundred million pounds a year! Fight for a cause endorsed by men of understanding, by men of honor!

And if you fight, do not slander your enemy, do not discredit him, do not lie about him, do not brag about your own superiority, your greater prowess, your courage, your unrivaled heroism; history will correct your bravadoes and you are running the risk of making yourselves ridiculous. The writer of these lines has been your friend, your defender, your supporter. He feels ashamed now of the misjudgment he has shown, and even yet he feels inclined to defend you by saying that, in his opinion, you English people are perfectly honorable, and that it is only a very small diplomatic clique that has misled you. This small clique has brought on the war without the consent of the people, and even now your government establishes a censorship of news and propagates deliberate falsehoods for the sake of defending the war, and to induce English youths to prop up the blunders that have been made.

I would try to convince you that, by provoking the war, Great Britain has not only done wrong—a grievous wrong—but she has proved to be blind. The war policy leads you to your own ruin. You have made an enemy of a people that has been your friend, and, in Germany, you will have a most insistent and dangerous enemy. At present you do not care, but the time will come when you will regret having lost Germany's good will. I can not help seeing greater danger in this war for England than for Germany. Great Britain is scarcely prepared to face the danger.

As soon as war has begun, people, as a rule, become impervious to reason, and I fear that my friends in England have reached that stage. They have grown mad; they have become incapable of arguing calmly and impartially. They believe all, they hope all, they suffer all. They believe all accusations against their enemies, the most impossible ones. They hope for victories where there is but little if any chance. They suffer defeats with patience, in anticipation of a final triumph which they, in their vanity, think must be theirs.

In Germany, warfare has been developed into a science, and it is not left to a genius who is able to assume leadership. The German army is a school in which German youths are trained to be good soldiers, and the German general staff is also a school in which officers are instructed

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† See "The Metaphysical Point of View of Italy in the Turkish War," in The Open Court, XXVI, p. 190.

*One of the noblest sentiments of my experience! This expression alone ought to commend the Author to the profoundest respect and a generous consideration of his articles.

We all appreciate, to a great extent, the value of the pros and cons on Militarism. Whatever we might say or do about it, I am convinced of one thing: the peace advocates who seem to deplore German militarism so much, and would impress us with their *noble* work of doing away with it, need lessons in logic and common sense, for I can hardly conceive of anything that would have a greater effect in an exactly opposite direction than that of their pretended and hypocritical boast.—Editor.

in strategy. There is not a Moltke to lead them, but Moltke's spirit guides them all. Should one of them die today, even if he occupy the highest rank, there are dozens who can take up the work.

The indignation of the Germans against the English is tremendous. The Germans were prepared for French hatred and Russian impudence, but the bickerings between these brother nations were (at least in the writer's opinion) petty jealousies such as often exist among quarrelsome brothers. But now England declares war at a moment when Germany is in the greatest danger from the simultaneous attack of her two neighbors, in the east and in the west, the two mightiest land-powers next to herself. And at this critical moment for Germany, England casts in her lot with Germany's foes, in the hope of dealing a crushing blow. But England may be mistaken. Things may turn out differently from what is now expected. My good English friends, how I wish you had not been so rash in venturing into this war—this abominable war, this vicious, mean, ill-intentioned war, this most stupid war.

The Roman proverb says, *Quem Deus perdere vult eum dementat.* When surrounded by enemies, Ulrich von Hutten, the valiant knight of the age of the Reformation, exclaimed, *Viel Feind, viel Ehr!* Certainly, Germany, much honor is thine, for thine enemies are numerous, and England among them! What a glory for Germany! What a shame on England!

Quantilla prudentia Britannia regitur! How small is the wisdom with which Great Britain is ruled.

JUST WHAT TERMS USED IN DESCRIBING BIG ARMIES MEAN.

From the Chicago Evening American, August 25, 1914.

Do you know the difference between a corps, a division, and a brigade? Few do. The terms are not used the same in the various armies. Here is an enlightening table:

Germany.

Army Corps—Its staff: Two infantry, two regiments of field artillery, three squadrons of cavalry, a company of pioneers, a bridge train, field bakeries, telegraph troops, field hospital, etc., one or two batteries of heavy field howitzers or mortars and a machine gun group. Total, 40,000 men.

Infantry Division—Two brigades. Total, 12,000 men.

Brigade—Two regiments. Total, 6,000 men.

Regiment—Three battalions of four companies each. Total, 3,000 men.

Battalion—Four companies of 250 men each. Total 1,000 men.

Regiment of Field Artillery—Nine batteries of field guns and three of field battery, six guns; howitzers. Seventy-two pieces.

Brigade of Cavalry—Two and occasionally three regiments. Total, 1,600 to 2,400 men.

Regiment of Cavalry—Four squadrons of 200 men each. Total, 800 men.

France.

Army Corps—Two infantry divisions, one brigade of cavalry, one brigade of horse and foot artillery, one engineers' battalion, one squadron of train. Total, 40,000 men.

Infantry Division—Two brigades of infantry, one squadron of cavalry, twelve batteries. Total, 12,000 men and 48 guns.

Brigade—Two regiments of three battalions each. Total, 6,000 men.

Regiment—Three battalions of four companies each. Total, 3,000 men.

Battalion—Four companies of 250 men each. Total, 1,000 men.

Cavalry Division—Two and sometimes three brigades. Total, 3,200 to 4,800 men.

Brigade of Cavalry—Two regiments of eight squadrons, with two batteries of artillery.

Regiment of Cavalry—Four squadrons. Total, 800 men.

Squadron of Cavalry—Two hundred men.

Battery of Artillery—Six guns.

Great Britain.

Brigade of Infantry—Four battalions and administrative and medical units. Total, 4,000 men.

Cavalry Brigade—Two regiments of four squadrons each. Total, 800 men.

Brigade of Artillery—Three batteries eighteen guns; heavy artillery, fifteen field howitzers, two batteries, horse artillery, two batteries.

Battery—Six guns.

Division—Fifty-four field guns, twelve howitzers and four heavy field guns. Total 15,000 combatants.

Russia.

Battalion of Infantry—Eight hundred men.

Squadron of Cavalry—One hundred and twenty-five men.

Battery of Artillery—Eight guns.

TEN MAXIMS ARE LAID DOWN FOR GERMAN SOLDIERS.

By Harry Hansen.

(From "The Daily News," Chicago, September 28, 1914.)

(Special Correspondence of The Daily News.)

Aix-la-Chapelle, Germany, Sept. 14.—Here are ten maxims of the German army that come to me from an officer who considers them as potent as the ten commandments; there is no need to add that they epitomize the spirit of the German army:

No soldier can lead who has not first learned to obey.

The character of the discipline in an army augments or weakens its numerical strength.

A soldier insufficiently fed may be overcome without recourse to the sword.

Courage is worth more than cohorts.

The bravery and resourcefulness of an officer inoculates a thousand men.

A soldier should wish to teach the enemy, not learn from him.

He who prefers the defensive reaps greater security, but ultimately loses more than he gains.

A good soldier defeats rather than reviles the enemy.

The victor defeats himself if he allows the vanquished time to recuperate.

The soldier's worst enemies are presumptuousness and pride.

Interesting Comment and Speculation concerning Results of the War

EMERSON ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF WAR.

The struggle of Germany for the right to exist as a free and united nation is, in some respects, similar to our own struggle to preserve the Union. The high contemplations aroused in that great contest for human rights and the integrity of our Union were most fittingly expressed by Emerson, in his peroration on "Lincoln," and may be profitably pondered at this time:

There is a serene Providence which rules the fate of nations, which makes little account of time, little of one generation or race, makes no account of disasters, conquers alike by what is called defeat or by what is called victory, thrusts aside enemy and obstruction, crushes everything immoral as inhuman and obtains the ultimate triumph of the best race by the sacrifice of everything which resists the moral laws of the world. It makes its own instruments, creates the man for the time, trains him in poverty, inspires his genius, and arms him for his task. It has given every race its own talent, and ordains, that only that race which combines perfectly with the virtues of all, shall endure.*

*This extract rightly belongs at the end of Mr. Albert E. Henschel's article, *War Hypocrisy Unveiled,* found in Chapter II of War Echoes. But it was a great temptation to put this bit of Philosophy on War from Emerson under *Philosophy on the War.*—Editor.

L. E. M. Is it true that as an answer to the action of England and France in prohibiting the production of the compositions of Wagner and other leading German dramatists and composers, Germany has barred Shakespeare?

It is not. The question was raised in Germany of adopting this retaliating measure, but was unanimously opposed by the leading Germans consulted and was consequently lost. Among those most emphatic in their stand for the continued production of Shakespeare's plays were Professors Harnack and Max Liebermann and the Chancellor, Dr. v. Bethmann-Hollweg. Shakespeare will be played as usual.—Herman Ridder.

TAKING DEPARTURE AFTER RECOVERY

(By Courtesy of the "Chicago Abendpost")

GERMANY'S DESTRUCTION AS FORETOLD BY A FRENCHMAN.

In Major de Civrieux's book, *La fin de l'empire allemande.—La bataille du Champ des Bouleaux 191..* (Paris and Limoges, Henri Charles-Lavanzelle, 1912), we gain an interesting insight into the Belgian neutrality question as seen through French spectacles, and we get the impression that the invasion of Belgium by Germany was not only expected by France but ardently hoped for in order to make an end of Germany.

The book gives an imaginary picture of the end of Germany in the near future. This takes place in the following way: After the German fleet has been annihilated through a sudden attack by the English fleet, following, as the book says, the example of Japan in the Russo-Japanese war, without any further declaration of war, the invading German armies are defeated by the French at Apremont, southwest of Metz, then at Neufchateau, south of Toul, and on the Ourthe in Belgium; in the latter battle in conjunction with the English and Belgians. After these defeats the victors, strengthened further by the Dutch, press forward from different directions through the Rhine province and Westphalia, and finally make an end of Germany in "the battle of the Birch field" near Hamm. William II is also killed in this battle, as the last German emperor, his headquarters being smashed into a thousand fragments by bombs thrown from French flying machines.

In the book the following sentences are significant. First, that one in the preface, written by Major Driant, representative from Nancy, to the author of the book, and those by the author himself. Major Driant says: "The proposed violation of Belgian neutrality has long ceased to be a secret. True, every one resists this idea, we know that; but in spite of this, and in consequence of the intimate relations between France and England, this violation is unavoidable. It is of the most pressing interest to Germany to march through Belgium as quickly as possible, first, in order to hinder the junction of the British forces and the northern French armies, second, in order to gain the shortest and most weakly defended route to Paris."

The author, Civrieux, says in his imaginary description of the future war: "As long as the Belgian border was barred to the French movements every French attack, which found itself confined within the narrow space between Basel and Mezières, had to go to pieces against the powerful girdle of German fortifications in Alsace-Lorraine, and, behind them, against the fortified line of the Rhine. On this narrow space a campaign having a prospect of victory was impossible. Never could it have carried our troops along with enthusiasm. It would have come to a bitter and terrible struggle, and one of extreme sacrifice, without a spark of hope for victory in the hearts of the fighters. On the contrary, the superior mass of the Germans would have crushed the French through its weight alone, for the mobility of the French would have been restricted by the narrowness of the war area, yes, would have been made entirely ineffective. But now, all at once, the plains of Belgium were open to the French armies, where, besides, there were 100,000 Belgians ready to defend the violation of their neutrality. Now the prospect was altogether different. After a victorious fight on Belgian soil there would be an invasion into the enemy's country, toward the Lower Rhine, which was without fortifications, hand in hand with the English ally who ruled the sea and would now set foot on the continent."

IOWA CITY, IA., FEB. 11, 1915.

A. KAMPMEIER.

AN AMERICAN GENERAL ON THE WAR.

"The war will be over by fall, and the German submarine will win it," declared General Samuel Pearson, of Scranton, Pa., to a reporter of the New York "Staats-Zeitung" when he arrived on March 24th on the Danish steamer Hellig Olav. "The real submarine war has not commenced as yet; when Germany once begins it with all the power at her disposal, England will get the surprise of her life, and give in very quickly."

General Pearson was American Consul at Johannesburg, South Africa, when the Boer war broke out, and took part in the war against England as Quartermaster General of the Boer forces. At the outbreak of the present war he was sojourning in Germany, where he stayed until now, and has watched the unrolling of events with critical and expert eyes.

"It is possible," he said, "that there are still people here who believe in a defeat of Germany in this gigantic struggle for her existence, and it is also possible that the allies themselves are still hoping for a victory. Anybody, however, who has been in Germany since the outbreak of the war, and has kept his eyes and ears open, as I have done, cannot have any doubts as to the outcome of the war. Germany will, and must remain victor because it is one and indivisible, because all her preparations for this war have been made with the most wonderful foresight, and because her organization is so perfect that nothing has gone wrong since the beginning of the war. Any odds that may have been against her have been wiped out by her submarines. The German tribes and states ever since the declaration of war are more like a great big family than they have ever been before, and on her own soil Germany can never be overcome. The Germans of whom it was said formerly, 'Two Germans, three opinions,' now have only one opinion about the war, 'Forward till everything that is opposing us has been overcome,' and a people of seventy million, to whom this has become a kind of religious dogma, cannot be vanquished, and if the civilized world should go up against them.

"The German submarines will win the war in the long end, and I do not believe that it will take longer than fall. The real submarine war has not even begun, for most of the 116 German submarines are at present busy with laying 30,000 mines all around England. When that war once begins England will experience the surprise of her existence, against which the German 42-centimeter mortars will have been child's play. England may have made her calculations very accurately, but I believe that she has left the German submarines out of her calculations and that will be her doom. In the German ship yards forty thousand men are working day and night to complete further submarines, and I have been told that more than one of them is launched every week. Building material is on hand in great quantities, money more than sufficient, and as to soldiers and sailors, Germany will never want for them. Let America furnish the allies with all the guns and munitions they want, Germany manufactures herself everything that she needs, and her food supply is sufficient until the next crop; the 'neutrality' of the United States can only make the war last longer, but can have no decisive influence on the outcome.

"Personally I do not think so much of the Zeppelins as of the German submarines, but I am not an expert and as I have furthermore not seen these big airships in action I cannot judge authoritatively. It seems to me that they offer too large a target even if they have to be hit a number of times to be injured fatally. One thing is sure, that so far no aeroplane has been invented which could become dangerous to a Zeppelin. A Zeppelin can carry bombs of a maximum weight of four tons and there is no doubt about it that in a hostile fortress it could cause enormous destruction if only these bombs could be thrown with more accuracy.

"I am not of the opinion that the present way of fighting in trenches is something new. During the Boer war we used trenches with great success against the English, and Lee and Grant had used them during the Civil war.

"As to the Dardanelles, Germany is not troubled a bit. During the last five years they have been newly fortified by the Germans, and the old fortifications were at the same time greatly strengthened. I know that at the narrowest point of the channel are placed some 42 cm. mortars on either side, and if the battleships of the allies really should succeed to get that far, further they *will not get.*

"In Germany everything goes on as usual. The streets of Berlin have the same appearance as in times of peace except that you see soldiers everywhere. It is hard to believe when you see all these recruits, that already five to six million soldiers are in the field. In other countries it is not sufficiently recognized how little disturbance the war had produced in the everyday occupations of the German people, how business goes on as usual, and how at the same time there is a quiet but almost incredible enthusiasm permeating the whole people from the lowest to the very highest. If the neutral countries were correctly informed about all this I should think that the opinion would quickly change in favor of Germany, especially here in America, for the American loves to be on the winning side."

General Pearson declared that he would soon return to Germany, as he would not miss for the world the spectacle of the final German victory.

The German citizens of this country have heretofore avoided entering the political field as Germans. The spitework and falsifications of our newspapers and statesmen will be to blame if the Germans should find it necessary to organize a German party. Pressure always induces counter pressure. The Germans in America no longer want to tolerate oppression.—From a Faithful American.

The modern machine gun hasn't been able to put the bayonet out of business; which shows that you can't invent a substitute for courage.

THE NEW EUROPE AND THE NEW CULTURE.*

The World War will bring us a new Europe and a new culture. This opinion was upheld by Dr. Max Maurenbrecher in a lecture delivered to the "Hamburger Ortsgruppe des Deutschen Monistenbundes." It is today that the dream of centuries, that was to have been realized in the reestablishment of the German Empire on January 18, 1871, has first become a reality. A new unit of feeling and purpose unites the whole of the German nation. The breaking out of the war has settled many disputes. It has removed the final opposition to the establishment of the empire, and we shall never again quarrel as to whether it is necessary to assure the security of the nation, by means of strong military forces. After the decision we are mutually determined to do what is necessary. The policy of our Emperor has always reckoned with the possibility of a war with England (Heligoland, the fleet, friendship with Turkey); but it aimed at rendering this war impossible.

Now England's declaration of war has cleared matters up. Our whole future will have an anti-British tendency. But we are fighting against the English state, the universal empire, not against British culture or British people. Our trade will never more be able to exist in the shadow of British universal commerce; we have become independent. The British universal empire must be demolished if our policy is to flourish. It sounds harsh, but we must learn it and stand firm, then England's enemies will become our friends. Cultural intercourse with the British, however, must be taken up again after the war. In the same way we will look toward the East. Faithful to the promise made to his grandfather, the Emperor endeavored up to the last moment to keep peace with Russia. The Prussian government, too, has nearly always been backed up by Russia. But the Germans as a people were on the side of Austria, and felt Austria to be our friend and brother, Russia on the other hand, our enemy. The future of Germany now depends on her union with Austria. The watchword "Germans against Slavs" is now done away with, for the Slavs of Austria-Hungary are our allies. It is now a case of antagonism between occidental and oriental culture. The war has drawn this dividing line very distinctly.

As a universal empire, Germany alone is too small; only in combination with her natural ally will she constitute a will-power sufficient to turn the balance. Either the state on the Danube will remain, or the Russian state. At any rate if we are not powerful enough to split up the Russian Empire into its elements, we must at least prevent any further expansion. We are looking forward to a union from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf; Germany, Austria, the Balkan States (as many as care to

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* See also Index for Macchiavellism, by Dr. Paul Carus.—Editor.

join us), Turkey as far as the Indian frontier.

The speaker then turned his attention to the home policy. We do not depend on our ships for our bread, but on our farmers. Social democracy must learn to participate in the formation of our policy; the social idea must flow into the stream of culture. Culture is the general way in which a group of human beings live. It includes their economy and their politics. It is not a possession to satisfy, but a star we are determined to reach in the future. The lecturer touched delicately on the necessity for the fall of France and compared this with the internal growth of Germany out of the talent, the history and the present condition of the German nation. Fichte already saw in the hearts of the Germans the idea of cultivating a higher state of humanity. We shall form an economic power to sustain us, but we shall stand firm by our German culture. Our policy will constitute the means by which to climb up to a greater and firmer future. Then we shall experience a wonderful reconciliation with the history of our nation. It is just because we were split up and had to accustom ourselves to another culture, other religions and other political aims, that we are now able to enclose a portion of humanity within the bonds of culture without injuring them. We came later than other nations and were so much the fitter. This great reconciliation with our past is our best comfort, should everything turn out a mere vision. But if it is possible our WILL will bring about a new reality, for during the centuries we have grown capable of this work which the war is now to complete. This is the sacrifice, the tremendous stakes. But the goal is worth such a sacrifice, for it procures us the reconciliation for the private suffering.

The United States is not at war with any nation and the newspapers should be so conducted that the fact will be made clear to all who read.

WILL GERMANY BECOME A REPUBLIC?

In a letter to the New York "Evening Mail" Mr. George Caillaux, of British-Holland and French Huguenot ancestry, says: "What amuses me most is the prediction that the form of government in Germany will change to a republic. I do not see any reason for such a change. Everybody in Germany admires and loves the Kaiser; his administration was immensely successful; it brought prosperity and enormous wealth. A country seven-eighths the size of Texas, with 65,000,000 people, made remarkable progress in industry and scientific farming, so that the Germans doubled their crops in thirty years. Their prosperity, of course, depended on the forty years of peace and work.

"The municipal Governments are clean, and services are not equaled in any other country. The poor, sick and invalids are cared for in a remarkable way. Why should they change? To have every four years an election, we know, if we are honest, how these changes affect our business life. The uncertainty, what is to come next, would be very annoying for the conservative character of the Teutons.

"Besides, all of the responsible positions in Germany are held by people trained in their vocations and elected on account of their fitness. Graft is absolutely unknown, impossible."—From "The Crucible."

Reader, do you blame that German soldier who "upon a certain day took the farmer's hen away" to brake the monotony of the "large, furious, green sausages, built on a displeasing foundation of. stew?" We are almost inclined to believe that the German hating editorial writer of the "Chicago Herald" would do the same under equal conditions, although in his sanctum he may today pretend to be very shocked at every thing he himself and others of his ilk lay at the Germans' door.—The Publisher of "War Echoes."

ENGLAND'S DISILLUSIONS GREATEST.

COPENHAGEN, March 4.—The "Nationaltidende" says: The English and the British Prime Minister are for the first time beginning to realize clearly, that the world's war is a far harder thing than they had at first anticipated. When we glance back at the past seven months of war we find that all the military leaders and statesmen have miscalculated. The German general staff in the imagination that it could bring France to her knees before the Russian mobilization was completed;* the French and Russian leaders because they had not thought that Germany could bring into the field such a mighty army to protect her two fronts as she has been able to do. The Russian ministry of war, in its idea that it could annihilate the German army. The greatest disillusion, however, lies in Churchill's often repeated statement of his thorough satisfaction with the competency of the navy as being able to rule the seas, upon the top of which comes the German blockade. Even if Germany does not manage to threaten England seriously, there will still remain the disagreeable sentiment that England, professing to rule the waves, has been unable to defend her own coasts.—The "Continental Times," Berlin.

*Yes, but only a Russian **trick** prevented this!—Editor.

The lies about German Socialists are in keeping with the doctored cablegrams that represent the German army as defeated all along the line. If the stories which are constantly appearing in the anti-German press of this country were true, the French, English and Russian armies should by this time be well on their road to Berlin. So far from this being the case, they are fighting to hold their own against the onward march of the Kaiser's troops, which at this writing are advancing with the irresistible momentum of a mighty avalanche menacing with destruction all that stands in its way.

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